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IN THIS ISSUE

The seventieth birthday of **Leopold von Wiese**, "the last liberal," was observed by his colleagues and former students by a *Festgabe*, reviewed for the *Journal* (May, 1950, pp. 600–602) by his old associate, Paul Honigsheim. Professor von Wiese is president of the German Sociological Society and director of sociological research at the University of Cologne. He contributes to this issue a statement of his lifelong principle that sociology should be an empirical and independent social science. It was translated by **Ralph Lewis**, director of the Education Service Center in Munich.

John Biesanz and **Luke M. Smith** are, respectively, associate professor and special instructor in the department of sociology and anthropology at Wayne University. In their paper, "Race Relations in Panama and the Canal Zone," they discuss the forces from the external world which weaken racial discrimination.

In "Race Prejudice and Social Change," **Herman H. Long**, director of the race relations department of Fisk University, presents the view that prejudice is not sufficient to define race relations. More significant are social and cultural conditions which, fortunately, are modifiable.

The novel theory that man's growing biological control of himself, as seen, for example, in hormone therapy, will play the part formerly played by economic development in modifyng the structure and nature of the family is advanced by **M. J. Nimkoff** in "Technology, Biology, and the Changing Family." The author is professor of sociology at the Florida State University. His paper is part of an inquiry into recent changes in the family, undertaken in collaboration with William F. Ogburn.

Kermit Eby is associate professor of the social sciences at the University of Chicago. In his article, "The Expert in the Labor Movement," he draws upon his many years of experience as executive secretary of the Chicago Teachers Union to show that the man who wishes to acquaint himself with the labor movement can best do so by making himself generally useful in a union, because so much of union business is personal and informal.

In "Patterns of Poor Adjustment in Old Age," **John Frank Schmidt**, assistant professor of sociology at the University of Maryland, describes five classes who are unhappy in their declining years. The findings are derived from studies made in Kansas City and Akron.

Robert E. Clark is assistant professor of sociology at the Pennsylvania State College. He is interested in statistical statements of social disorganization. In his article in this issue he demonstrates, from field studies, that parole is most likely to be violated when the parolee is released to a community of different size from the one from which he came.

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THE PLACE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE IN GERMANY TODAY

LEOPOLD VON WIESE[1]

ABSTRACT

Sociology, considered in the light of its individual problem is not history of philosophy, jurisprudence, national economy, or social politics; it is rather an empirical and independent science. When it develops its specific characteristics as a knowledge of the social processes, it can become at the same time the basis of the focal point of all other social sciences. And these social sciences, considered from this point of view, then appear as special fields of social action, that is to say, human interaction.

The great number of current investigations in the comparative study of social science in Germany today is closely connected with the political condition of the present time. Because the war years prevented intellectual communication among the nations, one has the feeling that what is being done in other lands is not sufficiently well known. This results in the wish to form a peaceful international link between all peoples and to increase the degree of give-and-take inside the circle of American-European culture. This hope is particularly strong among social scientists. Especially desirable are collected works or series of lectures which would summarize the development of the social sciences in the individual countries, such, for example, as the "Twentieth Century Sociology" series of writings by G. Gurvitch and Wilbert E. Moore.

But this strong tendency to divide the social sciences—at best an agglomeration difficult to understand—into national sections and to deal with each section individually, as if each, arising from a separate national source, had developed independently, can on no account be accepted without reservations. A closer study of the question reveals certain similarities among countries. However, there are not only differences in the de-

[1] ["The Place of Social Science in Germany Today" was originally prepared by Professor Leopold von Wiese as one of the contributions to a symposium, "Germany Faces the Future," in which German specialists examine social and political trends in Germany today. By special arrangement, the author has agreed to the publication of his article in the *American Journal of Sociology*. A contemporary of Ferdinand Tönnies, Georg Simmel, and Max Weber, Leopold von Wiese has contributed more to empirical sociology than any other German scholar in this field. Now in his seventy-fifth year, he has relinquished his chair of sociology at the University of Cologne. However, he still continues to direct the Soziologische Abteilung des Forschungsinstitutes für Sozial- und Verwaltungswissenschaften (Sociological Department of Research Institute for Social and Administrative Sciences). Von Wiese's lifetime emphasis, clearly stated in his present article, is that sociology is an independent science whose main function is to investigate social process. In this connection he has consistently and constantly urged the development of social research methods. In contradistinction to most of the German sociologists who concern themselves with the philosophical interpretation of history, Von Wiese holds that the real objectives of sociology are to clarify the actual relationships between human beings.—RALPH LEWIS, *translator*.]

velopment among the different nations, so that one can distinguish an American, a German, a British, and a French sociology; but there are also trends and differences of opinion among the various schools of thought developing at different times within each individual nation. Simultaneous development does exist here and there but never for all countries at the same time. Although it is not possible to prove this in detail in this short article, it is important to point out, it seems to me, the urgent need of supplementing the present study of society by different countries with a scientific treatment that goes beyond all national boundaries. Consistent with the aim of the book *Germany Faces the Future*, my task is not to specialize but to give a general picture of the present-day situation of the social sciences in Germany, considering it as an individual part of the whole cultural and political complexion of the country.

If the various component elements of the social sciences are ignored, my task becomes difficult, because it must first be made completely clear how social science is to be categorized. Most of the students in America would undoubtedly agree that sociology is tied with social psychology and cultural anthropology. Inside the special field of sociology would also be included such elements as law, economics, and other sciences.

In Germany about the turn of the century, however, what was understood as social science was in reality social politics. It was at that time concerned with social problems and was generally defined as a science for the solution of workers' questions. Theoretical sociology, however, was considered as a branch of philosophy, or something quite different—anthropology. Social politics was applied economics. But ever since Tönnies, Simmel, and Max Weber the situation was preparing itself gradually toward a basic sociology around which the other social sciences could gather. Up to the present this has not been completely achieved, although constant progress is being made.

The difference in the development of German and American social science must be kept in mind if we are to prevent misunderstandings which usually creep in as soon as an explanation is attempted from the American point of view and with American terminology. Robert Faris has shown in his excellent outline of the *American Development in Sociology* how the presociological phase already existed in America in the eighteenth and in the greater part of the nineteenth centuries, during which time sociology belonged to the field of moral philosophy. Ethics and social welfare were most frequently presented by the theologians. From the seventies on Herbert Spencer began to make his influence felt. A tendency toward synthesis and consequently toward a positive philosophy containing elements of natural science made its appearance. (In the interest of brevity the names of authors are omitted.) By the end of the century the point of view was developed that sociology was an empirical individual science consisting of collective problems of society. It began to develop its own methods and its own techniques of observation.

Basically, however, the problems first became evident in the last two decades. They were considered in Germany as social questions, the workers' questions, ecology, the relationship of techniques and culture, the organization of industrial operations—in short, all practical questions which were formerly in the domain of politics and economics. However, even today one finds in the American literature very few interpretations of the state and the different social classes; one finds there a great deal more about social change and cultural lag, regionalism, urban and rural problems, sociometry—all of them problems of great significance for social culture which should also be given greater attention in Germany. It is not social politics or economics or law out of which these questions emerge, but rather psychology, demography, and social anthropology.

In Germany it was different. Whereas in America, formerly at least, the aftereffects of Spencer were greatly felt, it was the influence of Hegel and Marx that was clearly

noticeable in the early phase of German sociology. As a matter of fact, sociology in Germany was at first philosophy of history, and even today there are many authors recognized as sociologists who are really historical philosophers (e.g., Hans Freyer and Max Scheler).

In Germany the social sciences may be divided into three parts. One part may be considered as philosophy of history where the nature of the state and its relationship to the so-called "social society" receives the most emphasis; the second part of our literature—where the focal point of the problem is seen in a similar light by Marxistic and anti-Marxistic elements—is to be understood as the theory of the social classes, the point of view held by Marx himself; the third part may be considered as originating from the economic and legal sciences.

Between 1870 and 1910 the social sciences and the workers' questions were nearly identical, owing to the establishment of the organizations for social politics and the appearance of the so-called "desk socialists." This theory of social politics was strongly directed toward influencing the workers' conditions through legislation and therefore through the state, but it operated, like Marxism, through the idea of the social classes. Although originally displaying a strong ethical point of view, it did not have deep roots in philosophy. Led by such men as Tönnies, Simmel, Max and Alfred Weber, Werner Sombart, etc., the feeling for broad fundamental questions of society increased in intensity at the same time that the historical school began to lose some of its dominance. I myself knew at that time that sociology contained its own individual problems. It must, I said to myself, develop a field in the knowledge of social processes by which it is clearly distinct from the territories of the other neighboring sciences. Sociology, considered in the light of its individual problems, is not history of philosophy, juris prudence, national economy, or social politics; it is, rather, an empirical and independent science. When it develops its specific character as a knowledge of the social processes, it can become at the same time the basis and the focal point of all other social sciences. And these social sciences, considered from this point of view, then appear as special fields of social actions, that is to say, human interaction.

Simmel had, in an intelligent way, already broadened the understanding for the particularization of social subjects. But he had not made it systematic. In the 1920's American sociology by its own experience reached the same results, and the agreements which existed among Ross, Thomas, Park, Burgess, and others had a fruitful effect upon the work being carried out in Germany.

Since that time an effort has been made by a fourth group of German sociologists to make sociology an independent and empirical science, the center of all social sciences, as has been the case in America. This sociology will have the responsibility of distinguishing between a general and a specialized science of social life. It must identify itself with the strictest possible systematic procedure and must concern itself with practical problems.

The work of this fourth group, which does not intend to oppose other movements, but wants only to obtain its place beside them, was nurtured through institutes, newspapers, discussion possibilities, and the extension of the universities. It made commendable progress until it was slowed down by National Socialism and the second World War. Since 1945, however, a process of revitalization has been taking place. Even if there is some disagreement, the number of students and teachers sympathetic to our point of view has been growing and contributing to an effort to place the science of social relations and processes near the other three groups. Nevertheless, it remains true that with regard to theory the combined fields of German sociology do not currently offer a sufficiently unified discipline. All possible channels flow into the main stream, and the argument over method, which frequently does more harm than good, keeps on reappearing. The resultant misunderstandings and lack of knowledge about the

aims of the others, and, above all, of their achievements, are regrettable. In many ways one is too steeped in popular prejudices and glib slogans for a thoughtful examination of other ideas. But this is all over the world and not worse in Germany than elsewhere. It is unfortunate that the progress so urgently needed today should be retarded. No one wants to hinder the development of the philosophy of history, of legal theory, of individual psychology, or economic theory, but there ought to be a happier relationship between these—and other disciplines of men—on the one hand, and sociology, on the other.

The danger that sociology as a separate discipline will be overwhelmed by the older and better-known disciplines does not exist today in Germany in the same degree that it did thirty years ago, but it has not yet been entirely removed. On the other hand, another danger is present today, namely, that all possible techniques and mere research methods will completely crowd out theory and system; originating in America, this danger has been adopted and exaggerated by the sociology of certain European countries. Germany, however, has not so much to fear from it, primarily because a greater outlay on personnel and equipment is required for research work than Germany can afford. I do not want to be misunderstood on this score, as though I underestimated the importance of observations of social reality. On the contrary, because German investigators are exhibiting a susceptibility to speculation, metaphysics, and deduction, we should welcome the efforts to observe the realities of practical life through induction, sociometry, case studies, and other methods. The Cologne School, as a matter of fact, is moving in this direction and is trying to learn as much as possible from America. But we will not support the overemphasis on empiricism, which Robert Bierstedt, among others, so incisively criticized in the October (1949) issue of the *American Sociological Review*. Research work which is unsystematic and poor in theory frequently results in much activity but, measured by the results achieved, costs too much in time, money, and effort. Many times the investigator in this kind of research gets results which are no different from those previously known. The present task for all countries is to find a harmonious balance of system and theory on the one side and research work on the other.

With the emergence of an empiricism which is poor in theory comes another danger to which German social science is susceptible: the breaking-up of the independent basic science, sociology, into mere methods, some of which can be applied in other special sciences, for instance, economics, jurisprudence, theology, and philology. Consequently, the boundary lines for an individual field of study in sociology are restricted. Furthermore, a method of operation should exist which would consider the fact that social relationships influence the observed phenomena. People have a superficial attitude toward sociology. Therefore the adjective "sociological" is used by everyone in the world. It creates a situation where what is called "sociology" is like a tree with all branches and no trunk. This leads to great ambiguity. Indeed, it is said by some notable people in the field of sociology that the nature of sociology is indefinite; it shows a plurality of methods and a field of problems which change according to the circumstances. At the very moment when sociology has built a firm structure comes the disintegration, and this leads people to ask with a shrug of the shoulders: "What really is sociology?" This second danger also exists today for German social science.

This leads me, after having sketched the situation regarding the theory of social science, to the second question, which may receive even greater attention in some of the other relationships of our science to present political and cultural problems. What are the social sciences doing for the development of German practical life? What can they do? What should they do?

In view of the political upheavals accompanying the far-reaching changes in the social order, and in the general confusion

which is so widespread in Europe today, it is understandable that the questions are emphatically raised: What do the sociologists have to say? What do they teach us? What kind of advice can they give us? We are very often told: "The age of sociology is now beginning; it can finally show us what it can do. The whole world is impatiently awaiting its knowledge." Indeed, among the learned themselves the suggestion is frequently made that a kind of scientific jury be created which would make judgment and pass sentence just as the voice of conscience; after so many serious errors of the practical politicians the jury would take a position regarding every important decision of parliament, government, and administration. Sociologists to the front! Cinderella shall become a princess.

Until now, however, sociologists have been called upon only to a very small extent. Economists and psychologists are still preferred as advisers to various organizations. However, co-operation between politicians and theoreticians has already been going on for some time within the framework of the narrow field of social politics. While respectable ministry people, administrators, and party officials have to an increasing degree been won over to academic work, university teachers are also to be found in increasing numbers participating in public life, as was the case before 1945. But sociologists, as far as I can see, are not among them. This fact is related to the complicated way in which our social science has developed up to now. Authoritative persons, in practical life, have only very vague ideas of what these theoretical sociologists whom it is difficult to label can actually do. People whose lifework it is to study human interaction must, it is thought, be of more value now than they were before. But in each individual case one prefers the old, the accustomed, and the simply defined specialized thinking of the jurists, national economists, the medical people, and the psychologists. The eternal struggle over method and the eternal dispute among the learned in the field of sociology reap their just rewards. It is often thrown up to us: "When you yourself don't know what your task is, how can you expect that we ask you to join us at our conference table?"

In addition, the number of persons who may justifiably claim to be sociologists is small. Our science is still too much a part-time science; it is frequently considered as a supplementary and temporary discipline. We have many half- and even more quarter-sociologists. But it is necessary that certain living conditions be provided before an individual can be expected to concentrate on the main problems of social science. Between need and fulfilment of the need there is a great chasm.

Is, however, the need for the application of social scientific knowledge really so great? I believe that it is very great and that the indefinite feeling and ambiguous desire to penetrate the whole field of practical experiences with sociological thinking and thereby to undertake an intensive education in sociology is not a fashionable whim but an urgent necessity for meeting the confusion and the senselessness of our present-day culture. What, however, is this sociological thinking? It consists in the knowledge that the life of human beings in all kinds of societies possesses its own laws and its own determination. Although this determination is not easy to understand by superficial observation, it agrees in part with the deviating rules of individual life. Since, however, the individuals have to live in collective groups and the fate of each individual is dependent upon these social groups, everyone would have the strongest interest in learning the relationships of persons with groups and the contrasts between an individual and a group.

The difference between the manner of judgment of sociologically oriented people and the great majority of the naïve and uninformed is very great. This is somewhat the same as between physicists and nonphysicists, between engineers and those technically uninformed, between musicians and unmusical people. But in these latter cases the difference between experts and lay people is factually justified and therefore harmless. For physics, engineering, and music are done by physicists, engineers, and musicians, but

the leadership of social life lies mostly in the hands of those who are ignorant of social facts. Sociologists are playing the role of Cassandra.

I am by no means of the opinion that the task of practical state and social leadership shall be exclusively in the hands of the sociologists. The solution of practical problems is primarily a matter of will and not merely of knowledge and understanding. The scientific investigations in the highly complicated relationships of social life present us with so many contradictions, even riddles, that, when we sociologists are asked to predict what will actually happen, our answer must be, "We don't know." We see all too clearly that, when that which happens shows good results in one direction, it frequently leads to unfavorable consequences in another. Social life is not a mathematical problem for which there is only one solution; it is rather an ongoing problem which is never completely solved.

Practical people fear instinctively that, when problems are turned over to students of social science, the results will be twofold: (1) a constant controversy among the theoreticians themselves, each of whom attempts to show that he knows better than the other and to prove that only he is right; and (2) that what was formerly a simple-appearing thing has been made into an insoluble riddle by the sociologists.

However, these semivalid objections are of minor importance in comparison with the urgent need of recognizing that the ideas of the unselfish and tireless workers in social science should have a place in a world dominated by lust and stupidity. But even more important than the direct participation of the learned in practical social work is the deepening and broadening of the training, so that the number and quality of the teachers who will be in a position to influence their students on practical matters will be increased. In all Europe, and in Germany also, the teachers and the training institutions for social sciences are today far too few in numbers.

UNIVERSITY OF COLOGNE

RACE RELATIONS IN PANAMA AND THE CANAL ZONE

JOHN BIESANZ[1] AND LUKE M. SMITH

ABSTRACT

Racial discrimination may be an expression of basic values of formalism and discipline. It is strengthened by whatever makes an occupational status into a generalized status, and it is weakened by an extension of market and political freedom for all groups in the society. It is also weakened by competition between societies for the loyalty of the lower race caste.

The pattern of race relations in one region or country is sometimes compared with that in another, but the two territories are usually so far apart that daily mass contact between their populations is not possible.[2] On the Isthmus of Panama, however, in the same metropolitan area one side (the Canal Zone) is governed by the United States, the other side, just across the street, by the Republic of Panama—countries with quite different traditions in the treatment of Negroes. Moreover, a group of Negroes (not of American origin but of Panamanian ancestry, Catholic, and Spanish-speaking) is there brought under the influence of both patterns of race relations; some live and work on one side, some on the other side, while many live in the Republic and work in the Zone. Panamanian Negroes tend to conform to discriminatory practices when they go to the Zone side of the street; white Americans tend to accept equality when they go to the Panamanian side.

Why does this pattern of race relations exist in the Zone, whereas it does not exist in the contiguous territory of the Republic? Very few American Negroes have ever lived in the Zone, so that it was not necessary to extend the American pattern to Panamanian Negroes simply in order to retain the traditional caste relations between white and Negro Americans in the Zone.[3] The case of Panama and the Canal Zone directs attention toward the needs of a society as a social system and toward the ways in which a pattern of race relations fulfils these needs. From a certain viewpoint, the needs of a social system may be taken as: expressive (symbolic), adaptive (functional), and integrative (structural).[4]

Thus the comparison of race relations in Panama and the Canal Zone will be analyzed in three ways. First, by a comparison of these two societies with respect not only

[1] United States Visiting Professor at the National University in Panama in 1946–47. The present paper is based on Biesanz's field study in Panama at that time and during the two following summers.

[2] E.g., Romanzo Adams, *Interracial Marriages in Hawaii* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1937), pp. 121 ff., and Robert E. Park, "Introduction," pp. vii–xiv; Clarence E. Glick, "The Position of Racial Groups in Occupational Structures," *Social Forces*, XXVI (December, 1947), 206–11; Oscar I. Janowsky, *Nationalities and National Minorities* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1945), pp. 3–5; Robert K. Merton, "Fact and Factitiousness in Ethnic Questionnaires," *American Sociological Review*, V (1940), 13–28; Donald Pierson, *Negroes in Brazil* (Chicago; University of Chicago Press, 1942), pp. 321–50; Frank Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946), pp. 3–4, 42–127; Kimball Young, *Social Psychology* (New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1947), pp. 272, 279.

[3] For studies which deal with the other major group of Negroes on the Isthmus—English-speaking, Protestant, West Indian immigrants and their children—see John Biesanz, "Cultural and Economic Factors in Panamanian Race Relations," *American Sociological Review*, XIV (December, 1949), 772–79; and "Race Relations in the Canal Zone," *Phylon*, XI (First Quarter, 1950), 23–30.

[4] Robert F. Bales, *Interaction Process Analysis* (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Press, Inc., 1950), chaps. ii and v; Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949), esp. chap. i; Talcott Parsons, *Essays in Sociological Theory* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949), esp. chaps. i–iii; F. J. Roethlisberger and William J. Dickson, *Management and the Worker* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1939), chap. xxiv.

to race relations but also to other normative patterns. It must be seen to what extent a race relations pattern is symbolic behavior, expressive of basic values rather than merely *ad hoc* behavior. Second, by a functional analysis of the two societies. It must be shown to what extent any society, faced with the external situation of the Zone and operating with the same means and conditions, would tend to form a pattern of racial discrimination, *regardless of basic values*. Third, by an observation of the strains which occur in the social structure when there are changes in the external situation of the society. It must be shown whether racial discrimination in the Zone was functional at one time and later became nonfunctional or dysfunctional.[5]

FORMALISM AND DISCIPLINE IN RACE RELATIONS

Panamanian society is relatively less formal and disciplined, Zone society relatively more so. Furthermore, the points at which these values are emphasized in Panamanian society differ from the places where they are emphasized in the Zone. A comparison of normative patterns is shown in Table 1.[6]

A high degree of formalism and discipline is necessary for the chief function of the Zone society—operation of the Canal. Racial discrimination, while not necessarily functional, is at least an expression of basic values from which there come normative patterns which *are* functional. Further evidence of the relation between these values and racial discrimination is seen in Panamanian society. Here the point where formalism and discipline are relatively high—in the upper-class kinship structure—is precisely that point where racial discrimination is greatest.

[5] Cf. Merton, *op. cit.*, pp. 50–51.

[6] These are relative differences only, even though for the sake of simplicity the statements are made as unqualified differences. This is not intended to be a complete description of the value systems of the two societies. For example, there are also important values of equalitarianism and humanitarianism in American society which conflict with the racialism of this society.

FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS

Would any society, faced with the external situation of the Zone and operating with the same means and conditions, tend to form a pattern of racial discrimination, regardless of basic values? Some light can be thrown upon this question by comparing the Zone and the Republic with respect to technological, economic, political, and racial factors.

Technological norms.—The very existence of the Zone society depends upon the operation of the canal and of the railroad and sanitation—especially the control of yellow fever and malarial mosquitoes. These jobs require a high degree of skill and discipline; any society in the situation of the Zone, whether that society were homogeneous or heterogeneous racially, with or without racial equality, would have to place a high value upon formalism and discipline—unless the technology were to become greatly simplified.

Economic norms.—The society must be organized in order to get the technical jobs done. There must be a technical division of labor, with jobs going to those persons who have the known skill and reliability to perform them. It happens in the Zone that white Americans are known to have the necessary skill and reliability and that colored labor is by and large not qualified in these respects.

There must also be a system of remuneration for the motivation of the workers. At this point the Zone is confronted by economic factors not related to the technological, namely, two diverse standards of living—the high American standard and the relatively low Panamanian one. The remuneration pattern which is an adaptation to these economic norms is the division of employees into "gold-roll" and "silver-roll" categories (now officially called "U.S. rate" and "local rate"). These categories make the double distinction between (1) the higher labor (administrative, professional, skilled, and semiskilled) and the unskilled labor and (2) the American and the Panamanian standards of living. Consequently, to the extent that these economic norms exist, gold-

roll personnel must be both in the higher labor categories and American, and silver-roll personnel must be unskilled labor and Panamanian or some other group with a Panamanian living standard. The racial composition of the categories of remuneration is due largely to the racial composition of the available labor supply rather than to a policy of discrimination.

This remunerative system is then unintentionally made into the basic institution in the Zone. In addition to financial remuneration, there are payments in kind. The gold and silver categories apply to these also, so that gold-roll people receive better housing in segregated districts, are permitted to trade in commissaries which carry a higher prestige line of goods, send their children to schools which have better teaching, equipment, and curriculum, have different waiting-rooms at the medical dispensaries, and have different churches, clubs, places of recreation, and cemeteries. Whole towns are known as gold or silver towns.

This pattern of nonfinancial remuneration tends to make a specialized status into a generalized status. The chief symbol of this generalized status is the IC card, which identifies its holder as gold or silver roll and entitles him to the low-cost scrip books for

TABLE 1

COMPARISON OF NORMATIVE PATTERNS IN PANAMANIAN AND CANAL ZONE SOCIETY

The Republic	The Zone
1. Low technological rationality.	1. High technological rationality.
2. Poorly developed occupational roles; low efficiency and poor job discipline are normal expectations.	2. Highly developed occupational roles; high efficiency and good job discipline are normal expectations.
3. Low evaluation of the ethics of "earning one's way"; high evaluation of the ethics of "something for nothing."	3. High evaluation of the ethics of "earning one's way"; low evaluation of "something for nothing."
4. Unstable government; little separation of the man from the office; administration for personal, power ends is a normal expectation.	4. Stable government; clear separation of the man from the office; administration for impersonal, professional technical ends is a normal expectation.
5. Unstable family; frequent unions without formal sanction of church or state; high illegitimacy rates; frequent separation and desertion; extended but loose kinship structure; mistress system in middle and upper classes. However, among the upper class the extended family as a power group is strong.	5. Stable family; unions typically legalized; low illegitimacy rates; few separations and desertions; no institutionalized mistress system—one is either married or one is not married at all. Structurally isolated conjugal family is strong among all classes.
6. Informal friendship groups are strong, especially among adult males.	6. Conjugal pair groups are strong; informal friendships generally occur within the formal occupational structure.
7. Recreational life conducted in informal groups.	7. Recreational life conducted in formal associations.
8. Racial categories unclear; most people have some Negro ancestry but are considered as mestizo rather than Negro; considerable admixture of white, Indian, and Negro stock. Whites have highest prestige, mestizos lower, Negroes lowest; no formal discrimination in public places, residential districts, occupation, or public office, and such discrimination as does exist can usually be overcome by money or personal favoritism; intermarriage and intermating freely permitted. However, the upper class discourages marriage of Negroes into their group.	8. Racial categories sharply defined; persons known to have any Negro ancestry are classified as Negro; little admixture; whites have much higher prestige than Negroes; formal discrimination in most phases of life—occupation, residential districts, schools, restaurants, retail stores, clubhouses, churches, toilets, drinking fountains, etc.; intermarriage strictly forbidden in all classes, though not by law. Skilled occupations, professions, and administrative posts monopolized by whites.

the commissaries and to the other privileges of his status. Of course his wife and children share in these privileges. This remunerative pattern would produce a rigid status structure in the Zone even if the population were racially homogeneous.

The structural effect of the remunerative pattern is intensified by the property pattern. The situation in the Zone is that of a company town. Ownership of all land, production goods, and nonpersonal consumption goods (housing, schools, retail establishments, recreational facilities) is vested in a single employer. While the workers enjoy higher incomes (both financial and nonfinancial) than they could earn outside the Zone, they lose the right to trade on the open market—unless they go into the Republic. Their consumption choices are ascribed to them on the basis of their gold- or silver-roll position in the remunerative pattern.

Political norms.—The single employer-owner in the Zone is also the holder of power—the government of the United States. Hence a person's position in the remunerative system is even more of a generalized status. The technical jobs for which the Zone society is organized are both economically and militarily vital to the United States; they must be done at all costs, and thus there is a double necessity in limiting the flexibility of the social structure.

Furthermore, United States citizens, like the members of any national state, feel that they have an exclusive right to the higher-income opportunities which their government offers. In the Zone, military security provides a further reason why only American citizens are taken for the more important, higher-income jobs. Because the necessary technical and organizational skill and discipline are possessed mainly by Americans, ascribed and achieved statuses in the Zone somewhat overlap. These political norms would make for ascribed status even if there were no racial differences between gold and silver workers.

Racial norms.—At this point there appears a nonfunctional expression of the basic values. There may be good functional reasons why West Indian Negroes and Panamanians of color are on the silver roll; but there are neither technical, economic, nor political[7] reasons why very few American Negroes are employed in the Zone or why those who do have gold-roll jobs and salaries are nevertheless required to accept silver-roll nonfinancial remunerations. Race in American society is institutionally defined with that relatively high degree of formalism and discipline which is expressed in so many of its other patterns. All persons having a certain "racial uniform" are treated in much the same way, regardless of personal relationships. American Negroes in the United States, West Indian Negroes in the Canal Zone, and Panamanians of color are all given the status of "Negro."

Comparison with the Republic.—The function of Panamanian society is mainly the provision of services for the Canal Zone: labor, merchandising, and recreation. There is little industry, and agriculture is not highly developed. Hence Panamanian society neither has nor needs the high technical division of labor that exists in the Zone. One's remunerative status is less likely to become a generalized status, for there is only one standard of living (the Panamanian), ownership of both producers and consumers goods is diversified, and the economic organization is separated from the state. Finally, while racial categories do exist, they are loosely defined. Personal relationships rather than formal considerations are likely to determine whether a Negro can obtain the status of a white. When the functional differences between the Republic and the Zone are canceled, the diverse patterns of race relations in the two societies appear as symbolic behavior, expressive of diverse orientations toward basic values of formalism and discipline, rather than merely *ad hoc* behavior.

Suppose, now, that a change in the external situation requires a different expression of the basic values. Will the pattern of race relations then change? Both the Zone and the Republic can be used to inquire into this problem.

[7] In the sense of international, not domestic, politics.

STRAINS IN THE PATTERN OF RACE RELATIONS ACCOMPANYING CHANGES IN FUNCTIONAL PROBLEMS[8]

The pattern of racial discrimination in the Zone was functional at one time; but, with changes in the kind of job which the society must perform, it is becoming nonfunctional and even dysfunctional. The persistence of this pattern in the Zone was not due to habit or inertia, for, as will be shown, the pattern actually developed as it lost its function. Historically the Zone society may be divided into three periods: in the first the society had to adapt to certain external conditions in order to survive; in the second these functional problems were largely solved and problems of maintaining the structure arose; and, finally, there appeared a new set of external conditions which threatened the existence of the society.

The functional period.—From 1904 to 1914 the technical problems of building a canal and providing for sanitation were uppermost in the Zone society, for the whole Panamanian venture had required an enormous amount of capital and was highly speculative. The Zone was regarded by its inhabitants as a workshop rather than a society—residence was believed to be only for the duration of the job, and one's status in the Zone was specialized rather than generalized (one's generalized status lay "back home"). The monopoly of income opportunities in the Zone was "natural" because of the unique geographic situation of the Isthmus and the American monopoly of technology, organizing ability, and capital. Because of the overwhelming emphasis upon technological problems, the members of the Zone society were selected on the basis of ability to do the job rather than upon their society of origin. Hence the unskilled labor force included not only a large proportion of Negroes from the West Indies but also a small number of whites from southern Europe. For purposes of labor discipline and morale, each ethnic group was housed, fed, and otherwise taken care of in separate establishments and given the kind of cuisine to which it was accustomed. The higher personnel categories, being mostly white Americans, were of course segregated in the same way. Thus the gold- and silver-roll segregations were accepted as functional rather than structural, especially since the silver roll contained both Negroes and whites, and the Negroes themselves were from different islands in the West Indies and had different local customs and manners of speech.

The structural period.—After 1914, when the Canal had been built and its operation was fairly certain, emphasis was no longer upon sheer survival of the Zone society; however, the social structure, based upon the gold- and silver-roll categories, remained. The residents of the Zone began to define it as a full society rather than a mere workshop. Many workers, finding their incomes and generalized status higher in the Zone than in their homelands, remained. Many had acquired families and friends in the Zone, while social ties back home were weakened over the years. The American whites and the West Indian Negroes remained, but the European whites left, with the result that the gold and silver rolls tended to correspond more to a structural than to a functional division of society.

The Zone now became more of an artificial monopoly, politically protected. The white Americans on the gold roll retained their jobs and privileges for themselves, their children, and other white Americans arriving from the States. The Zone had been made into a much more pleasant place to live than it had been when the Americans had first arrived; the Americans felt themselves to be pioneers and took pride in the Zone as an earned possession. This feeling was especially strong among the skilled and semiskilled workers, who in the competitive economy of the States would at best have been insecure in the lower-middle-class status they enjoyed in the Zone. Fearful that the completion of the Canal would deprive them of their jobs, they used the pressure of their labor unions as means of prohibiting noncitizens, that is, West Indians and Panamanian Negroes, from holding skilled and semiskilled jobs (during the functional period some of these jobs had been held

[8] Cf. Bales, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

by capable Negroes). Higher technological education was denied children of silver workers through the device of the segregated schools. Technically competent silver workers were occasionally allowed into gold jobs but were given only the financial income and not the gold privileges, so that their generalized status remained silver (i.e., Negro). Labor unions and "old timers" clubs were the chief bearers of Zone traditions, especially those concerned with the remunerative pattern and its nonfinancial extensions. Thus the initiative to preserve this pattern came not from the top administrators who had originally established it for technical and economic reasons but from those persons whose generalized status was closely tied to the Zone, who could not have enjoyed nearly as good or secure incomes and status in the United States.

These structural categories, however, were no longer so successful in solving the functional problems of operating the canal and maintaining sanitation. This was because the West Indian Negroes and the Panamanians of all shades, who were categorically denied gold jobs and privileges, were also, like the white Americans, looking upon the Zone as a full society rather than a workshop. Hence the workers in the unskilled category became increasingly dissatisfied with conditions which they had once accepted during the functional period.

The new functional period.—Gradually the artificial, politically protected monopoly began to break up. Once more the Zone society had to adapt to certain external conditions in order to survive, but now these conditions were not of the physical and biological universe but of the social universe. The Zone had to adapt to competing societies. This period was clearly in evidence in World War II, when labor shortages gave the silver workers other markets. In 1946 another kind of competition entered the Zone. The United Public Workers Union of the CIO sent organizers from the American mainland, organized the silver workers, and thereby broke the monopoly formerly enjoyed by the gold-roll labor unions (mostly AF of L). These gold-roll unions had been the chief pressure groups for maintaining the racial discrimination in the Zone. There was also competition on a world-wide scale for the political loyalty of the silver workers. The Communist party played upon discontent as a means of obtaining members, and the United States government counterbid for loyalty by offering increased pay and privileges. In addition, the invidious terms "gold roll" and "silver roll" were replaced (officially but not in common parlance) by the economically more correct "U.S. rate" and "local rate," but the new functional period has only begun, and there is still much racial discrimination.

Finally, as time passed, the thinning ranks of the "old timers" were recruited by a new immigration of Americans. These recruits no longer experienced the monopolistic prestige which the "old timers" had felt, and they had to be inducted into the sentiments and patterns of the gold-roll group. For the newcomer the Zone offered just another job rather than the unique status of pioneer, so that he did not feel a great interest in preserving the discrimination pattern. What is actually happening in the new functional period is a structuring of the Zone society still more in the direction of highly developed occupational roles. Thus the pattern of racialism, which is an expression of the basic values of formalism and discipline, is being replaced by a more functional expression of these values.

Comparison with the Republic.—The principle that a social structure adapts itself to a changing external situation is also applicable to the pattern of race relations in Panamanian society. In recent years there has been a tendency for lighter-skinned Panamanians to be more aware of racial differences and to show prejudice against their darker-skinned countrymen. Traditionally there has been some slight base of racial discrimination in Panama but relatively little discrimination; furthermore, the race relations pattern in the Zone has irritated Panamanians and has been made a focus of complaints against "Yankee imperialism." Why, then, has this pattern seeped across the boundary line into the Republic?

The most satisfactory answer is that there has been a change in the external situation of Panamanian society. Historically the function of Panamanian society has been that of exploiting its natural monopoly of transportation across the Isthmus. With the digging of the canal, however, this task was transferred to another society by virtue of the technological, economic, and political norms already mentioned. Even though Panamanians have benefited greatly by the American operation of the canal, they have lost their former control of the situation, and their functional problem is now that of deriving an income from the Zone through the selling of services and by seeking political concessions from the United States.

Panamanians are, then, no longer participating in the functional tasks. They feel entitled to the income opportunities which the Zone has to offer, and they are irritated when these opportunities are given to West Indian Negroes. The crux of the matter comes when a technically trained, middle-class Panamanian is given silver nonfinancial remuneration even though he holds a gold job with gold pay. Often he gets only a silver job regardless of his ability. He concludes that the Americans have put him into the generalized status of Negro, that is, lower caste. Then as a means of achieving what he believes to be his birthright, the lighter-skinned Panamanian emphasizes his white status by exhibiting prejudice against his darker-skinned countrymen. This pattern of race relations is easily carried from the Zone into the Republic because the two territories are contiguous parts of the same metropolitan area, and one's generalized status can easily be the same on each side of the street. The existence of race prejudice in Panama is, then, adaptive rather than integrative-expressive, whereas in the Zone it is the other way around.

THEORETICAL STATEMENT

The basic values of formalism and discipline may be expressed in a pattern of racial discrimination.[9] They may be expressed also in patterns of high technological rationality and highly developed occupational roles. Thus industrial efficiency, in so far as it is expressive (symbolic) rather than merely adaptive (functional) contains a paradox: it requires strong emphasis upon specialized statuses while creating generalized statuses in another direction.

[9] Psychological studies have shown the relation between ethnocentric attitudes and formalism (perception of racial traits), disciplinarian and authoritarian attitudes, religious and moral conventionalism, occupation, and the status needs of socially insecure parents. See T. W. Adorno, "Types and Syndromes," in T. W. Adorno *et al.*, *The Authoritarian Personality* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1950), p. 767; Gordon W. Allport and Bernard M. Kramer, "Some Roots of Prejudice," *Journal of Psychology*, XXII (July, 1946), 9–39; Richard Centers, "Attitudes and Belief in Relation to Occupational Stratification," *Journal of Social Psychology*, XXVII (May, 1948), 179–85; Else Frenkel-Brunswik, "Parents and Children as Seen through the Interviews," in Adorno *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 385; Else Frenkel-Brunswik and D. Nevitt Sanford, "The Anti-Semitic Personality: A Research Report," in Ernst Simmel (ed.), *Anti-Semitism: A Social Disease* (New York: International Universities Press, 1946), pp. 96–124; Howard H. Harlan, "Some Factors Affecting Attitudes toward Jews," *American Sociological Review*, VII (1942), 821; Daniel J. Levison, "The Study of Ethnocentric Ideology," in Adorno *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 150; Kurt Lewin, Ronald Lippitt, and Ralph K. White, "Patterns of Aggressive Behavior in Experimentally Created 'Social Climates,'" *Journal of Social Psychology*, X (1939), 271–99; Ronald Lippitt and Marian Radke, "New Trends in the Investigation of Prejudice," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CCXLIV (March, 1946), 167–76; Gardner Murphy and Rensis Likert, *Public Opinion and the Individual* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1938), pp. 97–98; R. Nevitt Sanford, "Ethnocentrism in Relation to Some Religious Attitudes and Practices," in Adorno *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 220–21; R. A. Schermerhorn, *These Our People* (Boston, Mass.: Heath & Co., 1941), pp. 491, 493, 496.

However, these studies have given little consideration to the ways in which ethnocentric attitudes may fulfil the needs of a social system. In this respect it may be fruitful to re-examine Pareto's rentier ("prejudiced") and speculator ("liberal") personality ideal types. Both of these he treats as containing elements necessary for a social system, and he shows how different proportions of these elements are necessary in different societies, depending upon the functional problem with which the society is confronted. See Vilfredo Pareto, *The Mind and Society*, ed. Arthur Livingston; trans. Andrew Bongiorno and Arthur Livingston (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1935), Vol. IV, secs. 2227 ff. See also Muzafer Sherif, *An Outline of Social Psychology* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1948), pp. 339–63.

Whatever makes a specialized status into a generalized status tends to increase racial discrimination. Thus when the external situation of a society requires a high degree of technical skill and discipline, and when these technical requirements happen to be concentrated in one race rather than diffused among several races, racial barriers are raised.[10] Likewise, if a system of remuneration includes payment in kind, if ownership of production and consumers goods is not highly diversified, and if employer, owner, and powerholder coincide, then specialized status becomes a generalized status, and racial barriers are strengthened. To the extent that these institutional patterns are required by technological, economic, and political factors in the situation, they are functional and therefore comparatively rigid, with a similar effect upon the rigidity of the racial barriers. Racial discrimination can be decreased if remuneration is entirely in money, if there is a high degree of choice on both the labor and the consumer market, and if economic rights can be made largely independent of the performance of political duties.

As the external problem becomes solved, racial discrimination will increase rather than decrease, because groups which formerly enjoyed a functional monopoly of the higher income and prestige opportunities are now in danger of losing that monopoly. In this way racial discrimination becomes more of a structural pattern, concerned with integrating the society. The pattern will weaken only if there is a change in the external situation which will make the loyalty and morale of the lower prestige groups relatively more valuable.[11] When there is competition between societies for the loyalty of the lower prestige groups, racial barriers are likely to be weakened.[12] There will then be more of a functional expression of the values of formalism and discipline, such as greater emphasis upon occupation as a specialized rather than a generalized status.

Thus the pattern of race relations can change in adaptation to an external situation, without a change in the underlying values. This principle can apply in reverse. A society with little racial discrimination and with low valuation of formalism and discipline may increase its racial discrimination in adaptation to a changing external situation. This occurs when there is differential prestige between societies, and the one with the lower prestige is identified with the lower race caste of the other society. In order to obtain advantages, members of the low prestige society will try to identify themselves with the upper race caste of the society with high prestige; they will separate themselves from their fellow-countrymen who have lower caste racial characteristics.[13]

A pattern of race relations in a given society can most readily be changed if, in the scientific investigation, one shows how this pattern may fulfil the adaptive (functional), integrative (structural), and expressive (symbolic) needs of that society as a social system. With this analysis it may be possible to find effective substitutes for the existing pattern.

[10] Everett C. Hughes, "Queries concerning Industry and Society Growing Out of Study of Ethnic Relations in Industry," *American Sociological Review*, IV (April, 1940), 211–18.

[11] Cf. Alex Inkeles, "Social Stratification and Mobility in the Soviet Union: 1940–1950," *American Sociological Review*, XV (August, 1950), 479.

[12] Emory S. Bogardus, "A Race Relations Cycle," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXV (January, 1930), 612–17; Hughes, *op. cit.*, pp. 219–20; Rene Maunier, *The Sociology of Colonies*, ed. and trans. E. O. Lorimer (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1949), Vol. I, Part II; R. E. Park, "Our Racial Frontier on the Pacific," *Survey*, LVI (1926), 192–96; Bernice Anita Reed, "Accommodation between Negro and White Employees in a West Coast Aircraft Industry, 1942–1944," *Social Forces*, XXVI (October, 1947), 84: Royal Institute of International Affairs, *The Colonial Problem* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1937), pp. 270–71.

This adaptation may not be entirely rational but may depend in part on the presence of other basic values, e.g., equalitarianism and humanitarianism, which conflict with racialism.

[13] Cf. Nathan W. Ackerman and Marie Jahoda, *Anti-Semitism and Emotional Disorder* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1950), p. 75; Maxine W. Gordon, "Race Patterns and Race Prejudice in Puerto Rico," *American Sociological Review*, XIV (April, 1942), 294–301.

RACE PREJUDICE AND SOCIAL CHANGE

HERMAN H. LONG

ABSTRACT

Race prejudice approach is inadequate to define intergroup and race relations. Scientific formulations do not warrant the degree of precision ascribed to the operation of prejudice or the importance frequently given it as a predictive factor in social change. A two-category hypothesis of prejudice is suggested: (*a*) prejudice having its source in a personality type and (*b*) prejudice as a body of attitudes derived from adventitious sources. The latter are held especially important in the prognosis of constructive change, for they derive from social and cultural influences and are modifiable quantities. Implications for a strategy of race relations, centering upon public policy and institutional reform, are drawn.

In both the scientific and the popular literature of race relations reference is commonly made to the concept of "race prejudice." Whether in this form or in some alternate expression, the concept is used to describe and explain a wide range of phenomena which encompass forms of group conflict and social distance as well as antipathetic individual attitudes. In its purely descriptive uses there is little doubt that the term has been a valuable linguistic tool for expressing compactly a body of social conflicts and pathologies. However, in its explanatory applications, serious questions are raised for the social scientist, for there is implicit in this usage a causal determination for existing problems of race and intergroup relations. Reduced to its simplest form, this usage means that current social practices of discrimination and segregation against racially designated segments of the population stem from attitudes of race or group prejudice. A further extension of this conception, particularly as it concerns methods for modifying these practices, is that race prejudice becomes the central focus of attack. It is then argued that the modification of existing racial practices and policies must wait upon the reduction of prejudice on the part of the majority population.

The important implications of this conception are not only that it provides a way of conceiving the problem of intergroup relations but that it likewise prescribes the means of effecting social change in this area, namely, reducing and possibly eliminating prejudice. The point of view is personal, individualistic, and subjective, in contrast with one that stresses collective, institutional, impersonal, and ecological factors. It ascribes a central motive and motivation and, to a considerable degree, assumes that individuals and groups behave more or less consciously and deliberately under the impetus of this motive toward diverse segments of the population. It further assumes a close predictive relationship between prejudice and individual and group behavior in response to current issues and possible modifications in social practice.

The basic question raised concerns the adequacy of this approach for ameliorative social change in group relationships and practices. This is a fundamental issue for social scientists now interested in the elimination of race exploitation and discrimination. The present paper is an exploration of some of the implications of the "race prejudice" conception to programs of action and reform.

I

The fundamental question concerns the meaning and nature of race prejudice. As has been pointed out in recent reviews of the literature by Rose,[1] Goldstein,[2] and Vickery and Opler,[3] the term has been applied to

[1] Arnold and Carolyn Rose, *America Divided* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1948), chaps. i and x.

[2] Norma Friedman Goldstein, *The Roots of Prejudice against the Negro in the United States* (Boston: Boston University Press), chaps. i and xi.

[3] W. E. Vickery and M. E. Opler, "A Redefinition of Prejudice for Purposes of Social Science Research," *Human Relations*, Vol. I, No. 4 (1948).

such a wide variety of phenomena that it lacks clear definition for scientific purposes. These and other writers generally agree to the necessity for a clear and systematic treatment of the concept which will integrate our present knowledge and understanding. The present paper is largely of an exploratory nature and, of course, does not presume to undertake this task. As an initial proposition—though evidence of substantial group prejudice may be agreed upon as a given social fact—it may be said that the present state of our scientific formulations does not warrant the degree of precision ascribed to prejudice as a determinant of social change.

Part of our present uncertainty has derived from the fact that use of the term "prejudice" has been made from two disciplines and perspectives—the one sociological and the other psychological—and with different points of emphasis by different writers in these fields. On the whole, sociological usage has been largely descriptive, referring generally to types of racial conflict, ideologies, and sentiments, as well as group and institutional practices. Psychological usage, on the other hand, has been concerned with race prejudice within the general framework of the psychology of attitudes and particularly with reference to attitudes and personality structuring. Psychological and psychiatric treatment has more closely defined the meaning of prejudice—for in the final analysis it is a term characterizing the thought, feeling, and behavior of the individual—but in the emphasizing of individual and subjective aspects the conception of prejudice is overlooked as a group and social phenomenon.

Our present lack of systematization is strikingly revealed in the various designations for prejudice. Rose, for example, makes a strong case for the use of the term "hate" because of its clear and rather definite connotations. Goldstein, on the other hand, says that hostility—which in her usage is similar to Rose's term "hate"—should be distinguished from prejudice, though it may or may not arise from prejudice. Hartley's definition is in terms of a tolerance-intolerance continuum,[4] while Ginsburg objects to the use of such "soft" words as "tolerance" to designate what he considers to be in the order of a deep-seated personality complex.[5] Still further, other recent writers[6] have attempted to assess the relative weight of misjudgment as over against prejudgment and cognitive as against conative processes in prejudice.

In all probability, the writers have isolated different aspects of a complex attitude. The several points of view may be legitimately held; but they point, at different times, to different manifestations and characteristics of what is considered prejudice. Dollard, in applying the frustration-aggression hypothesis to prejudice, emphasized that race prejudice is apparently a "mixed phenomenon" involving a number of disparate concepts.[7] Kramer, likewise stressing the complex nature of prejudice, has designated three major levels of orientation—cognitive, emotional, and action-orientation—and indicated several specific dimensions of attitude within each of these.[8]

The treatment of prejudice as a complex rather than simple attitude formation, possessed only in more or less degree, represents a growing consensus in the field. Qualifications as to differing weights of cognitive and conative factors, of content and experience, of source of prejudice and the different racial, religious, and national groups to which it is attached, and of the different degrees of salience and action-orientation seem to limit considerably the importance of prejudice as a predictive factor in the expected behavior of large segments of the population.

[4] Eugene Hartley, *Problems in Prejudice* (New York: King's Crown Press, 1946).

[5] Sol Ginsburg, unpublished lecture at the Fisk University Race Relations Institute, Nashville, Tennessee, 1948.

[6] Vickery and Opler, *op. cit.*

[7] John Dollard, "Hostility and Fear in Social Life," in T. M. Newcomb and E. M. Hartley, *Readings in Social Psychology* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1947).

[8] Bernard M. Kramer, "Dimensions of Prejudice," *Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. XXVIII (1949).

An additional and related matter has been the discovery of the generality of prejudice or intolerance. This generality has been shown to exist in two ways: (1) in the sense that prejudice characterizes a personality formation of a much larger order of trait pattern and (2) in terms of its "generalizing" effects; namely, the readiness and ease of the extension of a group judgment to other group objects of unfamiliar and unrelated context. The work of Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, and Sanford,[9] Ackerman and Jahoda,[10] and Hartley has demonstrated the first consideration. Hartley has also shown, with respect to the latter, that personal contact or experience with a group is not prerequisite to a biased judgment. This is substantiated in large part by McKenzie's recent finding that groups least favorably and most favorably inclined toward contact with Negroes did not differ in variety of actual contacts with them.[11]

The tendency for group prejudices to be arrived at in the absence of fact and experience largely accounts for their irrationality and inconsistency. Rationalizations must necessarily be made on shifting points of reference determined either by factors in the immediate situation or by valuations implicit in cultural and traditional practices. They may also stem from and relate to central personality needs and motivations, in which case they would probably have greater internal consistency and form a more stable configuration though still maintain a character of dissociation.

A matter of further importance to the nature of group prejudice concerns its degree of salience for the individual and the extent to which verbal or written expressions of prejudice predict actual behavior of the same category. These are not necessarily the same considerations, but they appear to be fundamentally related. One is largely perceptual and the other behavioral, though both may be aspects of the same major factor. Hartley, who discusses ethnic salience as the tendency to be aware of the minority-group identification of an individual, has shown that this tendency is a distinct psychological entity characteristic of the responding individual. Persons of high ethnic salience, accordingly, would seem likely to act upon their prejudices; salience thus implies the possibility of predicting actual behavior. However, whether or not prejudice or discriminatory behavior does ensue would be strongly qualified by the situation.

Although Hartley found ethnic salience a factor in the response of the individual, he did not discover a significant relationship between it and the degree of tolerance or intolerance expressed by subjects in written responses. Even though here we are dealing with a factor which would tend to increase the predictability of behavior from prejudice, the range of uncertainty of behavior appears to be quite wide. In a recent study of subjects in a real situation Saenger and Gilbert[12] support Hartley's findings on ethnic salience and degree of tolerance; they found no significant relationship between prejudice and the awareness of customers of the Negro sales personnel employed by New York stores. Even further, they discovered that expressed prejudice had no relationship to the customers' buying or failing to buy.

A study by Bray[13] to predict behavior of white gentile subjects in experimental situations with Negroes and Jews from responses on attitude tests is corroborative. Not only did Bray fail to obtain evidence of positive

[9] E. Frenkel-Brunswik, D. J. Levinson, and N. Sanford, "The Anti-Democratic Personality," in Newcomb and Hartley, *op. cit.*

[10] N. Ackerman and M. Jahoda, "The Dynamic Basis of Anti-Semitic Attitudes," *Psychoanalytical Quarterly*, XVII (1948), 240–60.

[11] B. K. McKenzie, "The Importance of Contact in Determining Attitudes toward Negroes," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XLIII (1948), 417–41.

[12] G. Saenger and E. Gilbert, "Customer Reactions to the Integration of Negro Sales Personnel," a mimeographed publication of the American Jewish Congress, Research Committee on Intergroup Relations (New York, 1949).

[13] D. W. Bray, "The Prediction of Behavior from Two Attitude Scales," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XLV (1950), 66–89.

linear correlation between tested anti-Negro and anti-Semitic attitudes and behavior, but the results were contrary to his original suppositions. Other personality factors were found to play a determinative role in behavior. Bray concluded that the relationship between attitude and behavior, as well as attitude and personality factors, is not constant for different degrees of attitude.

II

We seem, in the light of this evidence, to be dealing with two general orders of phenomena. One of these would appear to be a personality type formation of much larger compass and configuration than the specific content and mechanisms of prejudice against certain groups. Experience with the group objects of prejudice and discrimination, as part of a causal history, is not of major importance here. The manifestations of both attitudinal and behavioral group antagonism which develop (in given cultural and situational context) are in this case products of more basic motivation. This structure is beyond specific experiences with groups and individuals, though it may give "direction"[14] to experiences and profoundly influence perceptual organization.

The second general order of phenomena may be referred to as "nonpersonality determinants" of attitude and behavior. They may be conceived of as a group of adventitious factors, in the sense that they relate to attitudes derived through external social and cultural sources and acquired through rote-learning process without ego motivation. Here is a wide range of ready-made materials in which group attitudes are either overtly expressed or implied. Of especial importance among them are group stereotypes, which are communicated through mass media (both formal and informal channels) and become a part of public opinion and information; cultural evaluations which sustain and rationalize a set of social status relationships (e.g., "white supremacy"); forms of racial etiquette and social taboo, exerting a strong sociomagical control over individual and group behavior; and group discriminatory segregatory policies and practices. The latter also include institutional and public policy determinants, as well as organizational movements; and these appear, as a group of factors, to be assuming increasing importance in fashioning intergroup relationships.[15]

The two groups of phenomena are not mutually exclusive. The first is more or less dependent upon adventitious factors for furnishing the content of specific attitudes and behavior and is then reinforced by them. The amount and kind of specific reinforcement would appear in considerable measure to account for the degree of fixation or intensity of prejudice attitude. The "nonpersonality determinants," however, constitute a separate and independent category. They would seem to involve the more loosely organized and less intense set of behaviors and attitudes. Moreover, they are inconsistent, variable quantities, continually shifting from one situational context to another. They are likewise sensitive to the larger social and political influences at national and international levels and must adjust to them. This involves a significant period of social lag which is not uncommonly fraught with uncertainty and tension in intergroup relationships.[16] The important thing about antipathetic group attitudes and behavior arising from adventitious sources is that they are modifiable quantities, subject to learning

[14] Cf. N. R. F. Maier's concept of "direction" ("An Aspect of Human Reasoning," *British Journal of Psychology*, XXIV [1933], 144–55).

[15] Joseph Lohman presented this aspect of prejudice in a paper before the Annual Institute of Race Relations at Fisk University in 1948 ("Institutional Aspects of Race Relations: Basic Community Processes Affecting Racial and Cultural Contacts"). See also Dietrich C. Reitzes, "Collective Factors in Race Relations" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, 1950).

[16] E.g., the lag between United States Supreme Court rulings on the admission of Negroes to southern universities, to interstate bus travel, and to dining-car facilities and actual compliance in policy and administrative practice. These, among other recent national developments, involve adjustments in practice and individual attitudes of acceptance which either have been made or are in process.

and experience and responding to shifts in social practice and climate.

III

In the hypothesis suggested there appear advantages for the consideration of possibilities for change in race relationships, particularly in so far as strategies and programs of research and action are concerned. In the first place, we are not left with the simple and limited formulation of prejudice as a factor influencing social change and predicting individual and group behavior. Thus, the possibilities for action do not depend upon psychiatric-educational programs. The mass therapy of individuals to produce a kind of consensus of "unprejudicedness" suggests not only a faulty definition of the problem but also an impossible proposal.

Second, it furnishes a clue to the problem of intensity of prejudice and the susceptibility of the attitude to modification that can be tested experimentally. The suggestion is that we are not dealing with a unitary quantity but rather with two somewhat different kinds of phenomena, of different causal and motivational history, and of different degrees of personality and ego involvement.[17]

Third, these two advantages point to the possibility of a new and more useful educational approach to race and intergroup relations. The task does not become one of creating or modifying deep-seated attitude formations but rather one of changing more or less superficial and loosely structured ones. The focus of interest shifts from the individual per se to social and cultural influences, communication and public opinion, public policy, and institutional practice. Except in the case of key individuals whose race attitudes are part of a more basic and inclusive personality and who may at the same time be vested with strong political and other public powers, attitudes may, it appears, undergo change.

This shift of emphasis from individual to group and institutional determinants in social change is important for more than education. In so far as deliberate efforts of reform are concerned, it makes significant the entire area of legislation, law and court action, policy and practice modification, and organizational movements. The crucial factor thus becomes the development and operation of strategies of reform, aimed at institutional, policy, and administrative objectives and geared to the pace of more general social change.

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[17] It is possible, where specific and pervasive cultural patterns are involved and continuously reinforced by social, magical, and familial controls and sanctions (e.g., the system of racial etiquette of the South), that prejudices of adventitious source may assume a rigidity and fixity similar to personality-derived ones. However, even in this case, the assumption is that attitudes of this source would be relatively loosely integrated into the total personality. Especially important is the increasingly large area where specific forms of etiquette and taboo do not operate—the area of new issues and relationships.

TECHNOLOGY, BIOLOGY, AND THE CHANGING FAMILY[1]

M. F. NIMKOFF

ABSTRACT

In the past, revolutionary changes in the family have been effected by basic inventions and discoveries in the means of production, notably by the domestication of plants and animals and the Industrial Revolution. The effect on the biological functions of the family has been indirect, the result of the changed economic functions of the family. In the near future the biological functions of the family may be affected directly by important discoveries in the rapidly developing field of the biology of sex and reproduction. This paper considers some of the anticipated lines of development and their probable implications for the family.

Twice in its long history the human family has been transformed by revolutionary inventions and discoveries. The first transformation, which occurred about ten thousand or more years ago, resulted from the discovery of methods of domesticating plants and animals. These and correlated inventions established the village with its fixed homesteads and so augmented the economic functions of the family as to give us the most highly integrated family organization we have ever had—the family of the household economy of the plow culture. This highly stable structure continued in the Western world until about two hundred years ago, when inventions pertaining to steam power, steel, precision instruments, and interchangeable parts accelerated the transition from handicraft to factory production, which has been signalized as the Industrial Revolution. In general terms, the effect of the latter has been to break down the organization that had been built up in the household economy. The transfer of economic production from the home to the factory has reduced the size of the family, increased the employment and status of women, lessened the authority of men, curtailed the educational, protective, and status-giving functions of the family, and increased the probabilities of divorce. All this is familiar to students of the family, who generally appreciate the dynamic role of inventions and discoveries in changing our social institutions.

The Industrial Revolution continues and may gain momentum as atomic energy is applied to production. Meantime, the atomic bomb greatly encourages decentralization of population. Our cities, established when transportation was largely by the relatively inflexible facilities of boat and train, crowded factories together into small areas, while poorly developed local transportation meant that workers had to live close to their places of work. The paved highway and the trailer truck, together with electric power and other facilities, have helped to decentralize industry, especially light industry; and the automobile and the commuters' train have made it possible more conveniently to live in one place and work in another. The influence of the atomic bomb is therefore to reinforce an already existing trend away from the cities, although not to the farms, based on man's preference for open spaces, fresh air and sunshine, and a little of the good earth beneath his feet. The airplane and especially the helicopter are, it would seem, inventions which will make it increasingly practicable to work in one place and have a home in another.

The loss of production by the home and by members of families as units has meant that the economic functions of the family have dropped into a subsidiary position, and the definitive functions of the family—sex, reproduction, the rearing of children, and affection and companionship between mates and between parents and children—have risen to a position of commanding importance. In absolute terms even these primary functions have suffered a loss as a result of the changing economic organization of society. There is some evidence to suggest that the

[1] Presidential address, Eastern Sociological Society, given at Boston, April 22, 1950.

average city dweller exercises the sexual function less than the average farmer, at least so far as coitus in marriage is concerned; and of course the drop in the birth rate means that the reproductive function has declined. Whether companionship and fellowship have similarly suffered it is difficult to say, since there are no reliable data or objective indexes to judge by. But even if there has been an absolute loss in these sexual and interpersonal functions, there has been a relative gain because of the greater loss in the economic and other correlated functions. In Colonial times in the United States a man choosing a wife, or his father choosing his wife for him, was likely to be concerned about how good a cook, seamstress, and housekeeper she was, whereas today the accent is mainly on how good a companion she will make.

The changes in our technology have, then, in addition to affecting directly the economic functions of the family, indirectly affected the biological functions of sex and reproduction.

What we have now to see (and it is a phenomenon to which, so far, little attention has been accorded by sociologists of the family) is that we may experience in the near future a revolution in the biological functions of the family comparable to the revolution which has occurred in the economic functions during the last two hundred years. This new impact on the family derives from discoveries in the rapidly developing field of the biology of sex and reproduction.

We have time for but a brief consideration of one or two lines of development. As a first example, consider the progress that has been made in determining the sex of the child before conception. This is not to be confused with the prediction of the child's sex before birth, which can now be made in certain cases on the basis of various tests, although with less than 100 per cent accuracy.[2]

For some time we have known that the child's sex is determined by the type of sperm cell contributed by the father. There are two types of sperm cell, the male-producing Y-sperm and the female-producing X-sperm, whereas in the ova there is only one type of sex cell, the X-type. Each parent contributes one sex chromosome to the child; if two X's combine, the child is female; an X and a Y produce a male. So it is the father, or at least his sex chromosomes, that determines the sex of his children, and the mother has nothing to do with it. Yet many a wife in ignorance of this fact has felt guilty because *she* did not present her husband with a son. King Farouk of Egypt divorced his queen, according to press accounts, because she bore him no son.

The X-chromosome is slightly larger than the Y-chromosome, and the female-producing sperm contains slightly more chromosomal material, making it slightly more dense. Harvey has calculated that the Y-sperm should have a density of 1.07132 and the X-sperm a density of 1.1705.[3] By means of a special centrifuge apparatus (the vacuum type turbine centrifuge) and the use of a proper medium for the density gradient (a 20 per cent dextrin in Ringer's solution), Harvey thinks it possible to separate these two kinds of cells. The refinement of technique required for success is comparable, Harvey points out, to that which separated Uranium 235 and 238. For this reason, says Harvey, "we may designate any process of sorting the two kinds of sperm for control of sex as essentially a separation of biological isotopes."

It should be emphasized that the separation of male-producing and female-producing sperm has not yet been accomplished, but one would be bold indeed who would argue that it will not be done in the future. If and when the two cells are separated, use of them for purposes of reproduction would involve artificial insemination. There is, however, at the present time no important objection to this procedure when the donor is the woman's husband.

[2] *Science News Letter*, June 14, 1947, p. 377.

[3] E. Newton Harvey, "Can the Sex of Mammalian Offspring Be Controlled?" *Journal of Heredity*, XXXVII, No. 3 (March, 1946), 71–73.

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Another approach to influencing the sex of the child has to do with the date of conception. In experiments with rats it was found that the later in the fertile period the animals were mated, the greater was the number of male offspring.[4] The percentage of male to female offspring increased from a normal of 100 to percentages ranging from 149 to 225. It was not possible to reverse the situation and vary the percentage to a female preponderance, presumably because the rats could not be induced to mate early when the female was in heat. Hamsters, it was found, could be so mated but their time-sex ratio was just the reverse of the rats. The experimenters believe that the human schedule will be like that of the rats, although the evidence is as yet very slight. Data on human two-egg twins are reported to show that there is a constant ratio of 126 to 127 like-sexed twins to 100 where one twin is a boy and the other a girl. If chance were the only factor involved, then the two-egg twins would be evenly divided as to sex. But if the time of conception influences sex, then it would be likely that both twins conceived early or late in the fertile period would be of the same sex, while twins conceived in the middle of the fertile period would, according to the theory, more often be of different sex. It should be noted, however, that no theory has been advanced which satisfactorily accounts for the relation of sex to the time of conception.

Even if scientific research should give us the knowledge of how to control the sex of the child, the question remains: Would we use the knowledge? And, if so, how? Do we have a preference for boys or girls? It may be observed at once that, even if there is no general preference for one sex over the other in a society, individual parents may still prefer one sex to the other, or a certain ordering of their families according to sex, in which case the ability to achieve this end may be deemed to contribute to the happiness of the couple. Margaret Mead in *Male and Female*[5] has stated that there are no social reasons why parents in the United States should prefer boys to girls or vice versa, but there is at least the reason that boys preserve the family name, in which there may be pride. Mead thinks most American parents would like to have a balanced family of boys and girls, but the preference is probably that the firstborn be a boy, which means that a son would be the more common choice of one-child families, if there were control.

This discussion assumes that the mores would be favorable to the new knowledge and that prospective parents would be permitted to utilize it. But we have no assurance that the control, if achieved, would be socially sanctioned, especially if it resulted in an appreciable imbalance in the sex ratio. There seems to be no great demand for control of the sex of the child at the present time. At least such a demand, if it exists, is not evident in any considerable application by scientists to the task of solving the technical problems involved. But if a differential in the size of the male population establishes the superiority of one nation over another in war, then it is conceivable that sex control may be encouraged in the future even as a high birth rate, without reference to the sex of the children, is now encouraged in nearly every Western nation by means of subsidies for babies. Dictatorial governments in particular may find sex control appealing and may derive an advantage from the reluctance of democratic states to adopt the practice and/or to favor male births.

We may consider briefly the implications of an unbalanced sex ratio as it relates to the marriage system. The evidence from primitive peoples indicates that an appreciable surplus of women in a society, resulting mainly from the high mortality of male hunters in late adolescence and early manhood, is a condition disposing to polygyny, whereas a surplus of men, usually resulting from female infanticide and/or religious cloistering, disposes toward polyandry. War in modern times in many Western nations has led to a large surplus of women of marriageable ages, but, barring another war, the im-

[4] *Science News Letter*, June 18, 1949, p. 387.

[5] (New York: William Morrow Co., 1949), p. 264.

balance in the sex ratio has been temporary, correcting itself in the next generation. If the sex of the child were controlled by science, and a continuing preference for males were to be expressed by a society, it would seem that the bases would exist for a trend toward polyandry. Considerable changes might be expected in the status of the sexes, their social roles, and their attitudes toward each other.

We may speculate further on what effect, if any, controlling the sex of the child would have on the relations of husbands and wives. If sex control is utilized, then procreation must occur by artificial insemination. During the past century or so, the trend has been to emphasize the psychological rather than the procreative function of coitus, as the reduction in the size of the family bears witness. Sex control would presumably further this trend; indeed, procreation and coitus might be rendered entirely separate functions. The fertile period would be emphasized more, and there would be more birth control. In the latter connection we may note in passing another probable biological development in the near future, namely, a long-term contraceptive. Knowledge of how to inhibit ovulation already exists, but such regulation disturbs the balance of the endocrine system.

A further significant discovery in the biology of sex has to do with the preservation of human germ plasm. Success has been reported in preserving human sperm 125 days in dry ice after vitrification in liquid nitrogen, with no appreciable decline in motility in this period beyond the decline of the first two hours.[6] As much as 60 per cent of the human sperm survived the treatment so far as motility is concerned. The limit was 125 days, because an assistant failed to resupply the dry ice after that time, and the sperm warmed up. The experiment was not resumed, but the experimenter believes that vitrified sperm will keep indefinitely at the temperature of dry ice. But whether they would be able to fertilize, he, of course, does not know.[7] He reports that he was unable to get an adequate yield of sperm other than human to survive at very low temperatures and was therefore unable to perform fertilization experiments.

The doctors object to using preserved semen in human subjects, since they do not know how it will work. Experience with animal insemination has been limited to using semen that has been kept only a relatively short time, a maximum of about 168 hours.[8] If it could be demonstrated that no harmful effects result from the use of vitrified human sperm, the opposition might disappear. The objection would persist if donor semen were used, but where the male is the woman's husband there probably would be no organized religious objection, to judge by the present position of the churches on artificial insemination. If there is no objection, many new possibilities are opened up. For instance, a woman who is married a short time before a war and who bears no children before being separated from her husband may still bear her husband's child even if the husband is killed in action, if his semen is preserved beforehand. Widowhood under the circumstances may become a somewhat different experience from what it now is. Semen banks are a possibility in such a situation.

Still another arresting development in the biology of reproduction has to do with the transplantation of fertilized ova, so that the young of one breed is mothered by another. Rabbits from small breeds have been incubated in the bodies of hardy giants. These experiments have great significance for animal breeders, for they indicate that pure-bred animals of prize stock can be produced in run-of-the-mill farm animals of the same species or in foster-mothers hardier than the

[6] Hudson Hoagland, "The Chemistry of Time," *Scientific Monthly*, LVI (1943), 56–61; Hudson Hoagland and Gregory Pincus, "Revival of Mammalian Sperms after Immersion in Liquid Nitrogen," *Journal of General Physiology*, XXV (January 20, 1942), 344.

[7] Letter from Hudson Hoagland to the writer, March 4, 1948.

[8] Min-Chueh Chang, "Normal Development of Fertilized Rabbit Ova Stored at Low Temperatures for Several Days," *Nature*, CLIX (May 3, 1947), 602.

natural mothers. Many thoroughbred animals are poor breeders. For instance, high-strung race horses frequently abort their young. The technique of transplanting ova might permit eggs from a female of the line of, say, Seabiscuit, to be fertilized with sperm from Man of War and incubated in the body of a giant Percheron mare, which would easily carry and foal the embryo. An injection of "gonadotrophic" hormones would first be given the Percheron to induce a pseudo-pregnancy and prepare her for her maternal task. Moreover, by injecting other "gonadotrophic" hormones into female animals, the number of eggs produced at ovulation has been increased three- or fourfold. If the animal is normally incapable of bearing the litter, the excess of eggs may be transferred to foster-mothers.[9]

These are, of course, experiments with animals other than man, and we do not know that they would work with human beings. Even if the transplantation were practicable for human beings, there would in all likelihood be objection to use of it. Probably not many women would be enthusiastic about having other women bear their babies for them. The demand for such foster-mothers would be small, probably limited to women who wish babies of their own but who for constitutional reasons cannot carry an embryo to term. Difficulty may also be expected on the part of the women who bear another's child. It is hard to see what the motives for such behavior might be or what satisfactions might be derived, but human motives are often subtle. There are women for whom the physical experience of childbearing is a health-giving experience and who are infirm when not bearing a child. Such women might welcome the experience of maternity if no financial problems were involved. If the practice were established, it would probably be necessary to keep the foster-mother uninformed as to the identity of the true parents of the child, lest there be embarassing emotional involvements. Secrecy as to the identity of the donor is the policy at present in artificial insemination with donor semen. The probabilities are very great, however, that transplantation of fertilized ova in human beings, if practicable, would be opposed, and the practice might be prohibited by society. It is mentioned here merely to indicate the revolutionary directions in which biological research may be carried, with implications for the human family.

If a worn-out ovary from an old dog is transplanted in a young dog, the ovary is rejuvenated,[10] which makes it possible for a pedigreed champion to have puppies years after she herself is dead. The experimenters plan to make another transplantation when the dog gets older. If that succeeds, it may be possible to preserve an ovary forever, a new type of immortality. The experimenters see no reason why ovaries cannot be transplanted from one human female to another, although this has not been done. There would not ordinarily seem to be any public objection to such an operation.

In discussing certain of the innovations in preceding paragraphs, reference has been made to the use of the sex hormones. This is another brilliant chapter in the book of recent advances in the biochemistry of reproduction, to which we can here refer only briefly. The literature deals mainly with the lower animals, with whom experimentation is permissible. In one experiment a prepubertal castrated chimpanzee was paired with an intact male. The administration of male sex hormones led to the social dominance by the castrated animal, whereas female sex therapy resulted in its subordination.[11] Following injection of a female rat with estrogen and progesterone, mating responses were induced despite the congenital absence of gonadal tissue.[12] Hormone thera-

[9] Robert W. Marks, "Babies from Substitute Mothers," *Science Illustrated*, II, No. 3 (March 1948), 17–19.

[10] "Sex Organs Rejuvenate," *Science News Letter*, LVI, No. 27 (December 31, 1949), 419.

[11] G. Clark and H. G. Birch, "Hormonal Modifications of Social Behavior. I. The Effect of Sex-Hormone Administration on the Social Status of a Male-Castrate Chimpanzee," *Psychosomatic Medicine*, VII (1945), 321–29.

[12] F. A. Beach, "Hormonal Induction of Mating Responses in a Rat with Congenital Absence of Gonadal Tissue," *Anatomical Record*, XCII (1945), 289–92.

py has also succeeded in reversing sex roles. Thus a single-comb Brown Leghorn hen displayed male mating behavior following successive implants of testosterone propionate pellets, in contrast with the earlier negative findings following single daily injections of the hormone.[13] Some experiments on human subjects have also been made. When 101 women under treatment for endocrine disorders were given androgen administered intramuscularly, subcutaneously, or orally, all but 13 reported some increase in libido.[14] In another experiment progesterone depressed excessive libido and androgen decidedly increased both libido and general well-being, with best results obtained by implantations of pellets of testosterone propionate.[15] On the basis of such experiments, it has been conjectured that the amount of androgens greatly affects the vigor of the sex drive and that the absolute or proportionate amount of estrogens affects its direction.[16] It is, of course, not implied that learning and experience are not also important factors affecting the sex drive but only that constitutional factors are important, especially the hormones of the glands of internal secretion.

The foregoing are only a few of the remarkable developments in the biology and chemistry of reproduction, sufficient perhaps to indicate to us what promise for the future this infant science holds. Time does not permit more than the briefest mention of important developments in other areas, notably the biochemistry of nutrition. For instance, aging in rats has been greatly postponed by heavy doses of vitamin A in the early years. If a comparable result were to be achieved in man, this one fact alone could have a significant effect on the relationship between the sexes and on the relations of parents and children.

Confronting these discoveries, sociologists must consider what social implications they may have. An important consideration is the mores: if they are hostile, the new knowledge will not be widely utilized. Hostile mores are also an obstacle to scientific discovery itself. But, as we have seen, many of the changes which would be effected by the new discoveries are possible within the limits of the existing sex mores. There seems to be no objection to new scientific procedures if they are employed exclusively within marriage. For instance, the Roman Catholic church sanctions artificial insemination if the husband is the donor and if insemination by the physician follows normal coitus. Some of the innovations mentioned above can be confined to the marital pair, and presumably on this account there would be no objection. Such would be the case as regards the control of the sex of the child. But this would involve artificial means in separating the two types of sperm, and to this might be objection from certain groups, though not all, just as there is objection at present to obtaining the husband's semen by methods other than normal marital coitus, for purposes of assisting in the insemination of the wife. So we conclude that certain of the procedures will meet with acceptance and that other procedures may meet with opposition.

We cannot be certain as to what the public practice will be with regard to many of the biological innovations, since they create new situations for which the old definitions are not adequate. Such is the case, for instance, with artificial insemination at the present time. Artificial insemination has been introduced into our culture by the doctors, and thousands of inseminations have been performed. There is as yet no body of law or clearly defined public opinion regarding the practice. Certain church bodies have taken a stand against it when the donor is not the woman's husband, and there are a few contradictory court decisions. In due course public policy may be formulated on the issue, but it may not be the same in all

[13] L. V. Domm and B. B. Blivaiss, "Induction of Male Copulatory Behavior in the Brown Leghorn Hen," *Proceedings of the Society of Experimental Biology*, LXVI (1947), 418–19.

[14] U. J. Salmon and S. H. Geist, "Effect of Androgens upon Libido in Women," *Journal of Clinical Endocrinology*, III (1943), 235–36.

[15] R. B. Greenblatt, F. Motara, and R. Torpin, "Sexual Libido in the Female," *American Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology*, XLIV (1942), 658–63.

[16] A. Myerson and R. Neustadt, "Bisexuality and Male Homosexuality," *Clinics*, I (1942–43), 932–57.

societies, just as public policy on abortion and birth control varies in different cultures at the present time. Moreover, even if at first there is opposition to the practice, the opposition may eventually moderate, for the mores change.

It may also be observed that the systematic opposition of the group to a practice does not necessarily mean that the practice will not exist. There are many thousands of abortions each year despite the taboo against them. Where a need exists, and the knowledge of how to fill it, it is difficult to suppress the practice in a complex, heterogeneous, rapidly changing society. What the doctors and their patients do in our complex society is not generally known: the statement that thousands of persons have been artificially inseminated is probably news to most citizens.

So we conclude that, even if there is opposition to new biological practices and knowledge, there may still be not a little diffusion of the innovations, with considerable effects on family practices. But it is too soon yet to say whether there will be opposition to many of the discoveries that are in process of being made in the field of biology and chemistry of reproduction. It may, furthermore, be noted that not all scientific discoveries are put to use. For one reason and another, the death rate of inventions and discoveries is high. But if the innovation has great human significance and there is a demand for it, there is considerable probability that it will be developed and diffused.

To sum up, the family in the past has been shaped by changes in the social system of which it is a part, and particularly by changes in technology and economic organization, which are among the most dynamic elements of the social system. These changes in technology have during the past century and a half been revolutionary and have forced radical readjustments in the correlated parts of culture, including the family. These technological changes have been exterior to man the animal and have required changes in adaptation without any radical change in the constitution of man. But now the revolution in science has extended to the sciences of man, and the probabilities are great that discoveries in human biology will revolutionize the constitutional bases of human behavior. There are great discoveries also in the psychological realm of which this paper has taken no account; family behavior may be greatly affected in the years ahead by new knowledge regarding the learning process and the way personality is shaped by group and culture. Sociologists seem to be more mindful of the possibilities in the psychological realm, and they have given some attention to the correlations of technology and the rest of the social order. But there does not seem as yet to be much awareness of the social influences that the biological discoveries may exert. For this reason this paper has been undertaken to draw special attention to this situation.

After Herbert Spencer and his false analogies between biological organisms and human societies, the study of the biological foundations of society was discredited. Later, the false emphases of instinct psychology further helped to minimize the importance of study of man the animal. We recognize no deterministic influence of biological factors in the behavior of man but emphasize instead the creative role of the learning process. Up to recent times, however, we have been dealing with man as a relatively stable animal. Now a new dynamism is being introduced by the notable biological discoveries, and biological man may be subject to greater change. This invites a fresh orientation to biological man. While sociologists are not interested in biology per se, sociologists will need to acquaint themselves with the biological nature of man and the new developments in biology if they are to deal intelligently with the probable social effect of the new developments.

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THE EXPERT IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

KERMIT EBY

ABSTRACT

The student who wishes to transmit his ideals into concrete action within the labor movement must, above all, be known and accepted as one able to handle the requirements of the position he wishes to hold. Some of the requisite knowledge may be gained by academic preparation, but the primary requirements can be mastered only through experience. Thus it is imperative that he make himself available to those whom he would serve and steep himself in the atmosphere in which he can learn for himself.

If one wants to influence the direction and destiny of the labor movement, the best way to do so is to become a member in the ranks.[1] Contrary to what one would expect from their size, there are not many jobs in the labor movement for trained lawyers, economists, statisticians, etc.; nor are research and educational programs rapidly expanded. The reasons for this condition are many.

First of all, contrary to what they advise for the federal government, labor leaders prefer surpluses to deficits, and new or expanded programs upset the financial status quo. In this area labor leaders are conservative and not easily moved to spend money on the new and untried. Furthermore, the costs of day-to-day operation, plus the constant pressure to maintain and expand the organization, take most of the current income. Many national and international unions, particularly in the CIO, are spending to the limit of their capacity, while the locals are building up the reserves. (Here is another argument for working at the grass-roots level.)

Second, the labor movement is a profoundly political movement; a movement of men who are on top and men who want to get to the top; a movement of constantly conflicting ambitions. Consequently, the new employee in the labor movement is not simply a new man; he is an addition to a political leader's or department head's prestige and influence. Because of this, it takes much longer to create the political moment when it is possible to hire a new person than it does to find and hire the right person. This is a fact which the novice seldom understands. All he sees is a job which needs doing and a man capable of doing it.

Because of this necessity to achieve a political balance and to achieve the necessary understandings, one seldom walks into a union office looking for a job and walks out with one. This is not meant to be an argument for not walking in. On the contrary, this is the first step in making one's self available; and in this saga "Available Jones," the man who will try his hand at anything, anytime, is our hero.

The best way to get a job is to get acquainted with the individuals in the union who are in a position to hire you and then cultivate that acquaintance, but not so aggressively that you become a nuisance. The ideal means to accomplish this is through volunteering your services to the union office and the person you wish to work for, as an organizer, in political action, or even for some of the routine clerical work on which most union offices never quite catch up. By such service you can accomplish several ends at once. You will become familiar with the staff without earning the reputation of a pest. You will gain some knowledge of the internal character of the union and some experience in its methods of work, its personalities, and its intraoffice politics. Most important, you will be creating the opportunity to prove yourself in advance as a person who is willing to work and able to

[1] See my "Why They Leave the Unions," *Christian Century*, August, 1949, and "Can We Teach Citizenship?" *Phi Delta Kappan*, November, 1949.

execute a job successfully. Thus, when there is an opening, possibly weeks or even months later, your prospective boss will think of you, and probably hire you, because he knows you well and knows you are the best person for the job.

Perhaps I can best illustrate this point from my own experience. In 1933–34, as a teacher in the Ann Arbor Public Schools, I became interested in the Teachers Union (AF of L), helped organize our local chapter, and became active in its politics on both the local and the state level. Although I did not realize it then, this was the preparation for my job as executive secretary of the Chicago Teachers Union. I doubt, however, that I would have obtained that job even with this experience had I not met Mary Herrick, an active unionist, through helping her with a Teachers Union program on the University of Chicago campus. She sponsored my candidacy, and, thanks to her influence and political power, I got the job. I was available both by experience and by contact.

In 1935–36, I spent all my spare time helping the Auto Workers; organizing, speaking to middle-class groups, interpreting the union's views, and representing them in the state legislature. Again I was preparing myself and meeting the men and women who later were to become my bosses and co-workers. At about the same time, Raymond Walsh, a teacher at Harvard, was studying the CIO and writing its early history. Ray also was a member of the Teachers Union, and, when he was under fire at Harvard for his outlook and friendliness to labor, I, as a fellow–Teacher Unionist, served as a member of his defense counsel. Consequently, we became professionally and personally acquainted. In 1940 Ray was hired by the national CIO. Some six months later, he hired me. Again the combination of experience and participation brought success.

Today the structure of the labor movement is different from what it was when I did my first work for it. Then it was a fluid organization, a movement; now it is an institution with an intrenched bureaucracy at all levels. Then, in other words, it was easy for volunteers to find a place within the movement; now it is not. Because of this change, men and women who wish to become a part of labor's staff should give some attention to the field in which they wish to work.

If one is interested in power, prestige, and a salary several times greater than fellow staff men in comparable positions within the hierarchy, then he should by all means study law. Lawyers hold exalted positions in the labor movement. They are the high priests of power, initiated in the mysteries of interpreting the law and contracts. Their chief responsibility is to tell the boss what he can and cannot do. Consequently, they acquire the privilege of speaking for him. If they learn in the process where the corpses of compromise are buried, they cannot be fired because they know too much. I was always impressed by the fact that all staff men except Mr. Pressman, the legal counsel for CIO, were called to Mr. Murray's office when the latter wanted to see them, but when Mr. Murray wanted to see Mr. Pressman, he walked to his office.

Research economists are most important next to lawyers on the union staff. They deal with all the mysteries of living costs, indexes of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and profits before and after taxes. They, too, are developing a cult and perhaps in a few hundred years will be as exalted as lawyers. Now, however, they only prepare the arguments for the contracts; the lawyers negotiate. That the lawyer still takes precedence was illustrated only at the last CIO convention where the researchers who had prepared the arguments for noncontributory pensions grumbled because not one of them was asked to accompany Arthur Goldberg, Pressman's successor, when he negotiated this issue in lieu of Mr. Murray, who was presiding at the convention.

The press and public relations offers an exciting field for those hard-working extraverts who believe in what they are selling and like to work somewhere between crisis and catastrophe. As this becomes more and

more an age of public relations, press, radio, and mailing lists, more and more union battles are fought in public. Thus, unions, like corporations, need their spokesmen. It might well be emphasized here that, although specific individuals may specialize directly in these fields, the importance of a command of the spoken and written word cannot be underestimated for anyone who wishes to make his influence felt in labor's ranks. The labor leader is almost always an able public speaker. In fact, he is often a man who has risen to the top because he knows how to capture and hold an audience. The neophyte must learn to speak on his feet without notes in a fashion which is persuasive and in the vernacular of the workers. There is only one real way to learn how to speak in such a fashion and that is to speak wherever and whenever opportunity offers. Public speaking can be learned, but sometimes it seems as much an art as a discipline.

The importance of learning to write and to write for different occasions and purposes is justification for a course which provides practice in speech-writing, preparation of radio scripts, and even eulogies and obituaries. It is always easier to find trained economists than good writers. Even within my classes at the University, I was discouraged when I looked for writers capable of clear and forceful expression. Their papers were usually accretions and assimilations of information, not dynamic documents. Aspirants to jobs in the labor movement should learn to think, speak, and write logically and with conviction.

If one is inclined to question the effectiveness of the mass media, education sometimes offers a healthier field. Here, however, one is faced with the fact that many union leaders really do not believe in education, for, after all, ideas are dangerous and educated men may become ambitious and desirous of ascending in the union bureaucracy. Furthermore, it has never been established that the educator makes a significant contribution toward enlarging the length of the check-off list.

Finally, in the list of experts in the labor movement, there is the legislative expert or trained lobbyist. His chief job is to win friends and influence legislation. In the process he meets all the great of the earth and discovers, as Mark Twain did, that "they put on their pants one leg at a time, just like everybody else!" Such a discovery takes on major significance for labor men who move into close contact with the great and near-great of the earth yet need to remain uncorrupted by the glamour of office and power.

Although special skills are in demand in the complex labor organization of today, no amount of factual information or technical competence is significant unless the expert knows how to use it to advance the policy of the organization. Thus an intrinsic part of the aspiring expert's training must be the absorption of our society, of its political and social process, rather than simply a highly specialized program of industrial relations, labor economics, or strict labor law. Lawyers need to know more about life and less about contracts, and economists more about society and less about immutable economic law: "learning" is much more easily acquired than is the wisdom to know how to apply it—an observation as old as King Soloman. The labor movement wants men who are sensitive and alert to the life about them, not the research Ph.D.'s, who, lacking this quality, are unhappy when their job broadens from that of counting milk bottles left on workers' doorsteps to the over-all struggle for milk.

There is little original research in the labor movement; and until it gets much larger and better staffed, there will continue to be little. Thus, the labor movement, like many other organizations, is dependent upon government agencies for its basic statistical information. It is therefore most important to know where information can be obtained, for this is much more frequently the expert's task than is the actual doing of the research. In order to become proficient in his job, he must become above all an "operator." The man who can be called an

operator is the man who has contacts in the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Census, Commerce, Agriculture—everywhere where the busy introverts known as researchers are assembling facts, useful and otherwise—who understand labor enough to pass on the useful and file the irrelevant.

The drive for a more equitable share of the national income for the worker is a fixed star in the union horizon, a generally accepted point of departure. It gives the expert a clear mandate within which to exercise his economic selectivity and an assurance that any facts which do not contribute to the ends described are hardly relevant. In other words, the expert in such circumstances is not an objective scientist interested in truth for its own sake; the labor movement is not a place for pure objectivity. Instead it is a place where it is assumed that the ends it furthers contribute to its members' welfare. It is a world where the expert must know where the facts are and how to use them to advance his organization's ends, and a world in which he must believe that "pure objective research" is not for such as he. The adjusted individual in the labor movement is he who understands what policy is and how to work within its framework. Once he has learned, he is both restricted and freed; restricted in attempts to deviate from it, and freed to use his imagination to advance it.

Early in employment every individual has to learn to accommodate himself to the policy of the organization and decide if he prefers to play an active or a passive role within it. (The passive live longer!) The passive accept the policy laid down by convention and executive board. Usually they wait until some superior asks them for an opinion or a memorandum. Above all, they eschew working through friendly political officers to advance their interpretations of policy for fear their superiors will suspect them of disloyalty. The activist, on the other hand, has his own ideas about what the organization should be doing and how it should be done. He does not wait; he acts. When the boss comes to town, a memorandum is placed on his desk and an interview requested. During the interview reasonable efforts at argument and persuasion are used to influence him to act or not to act. Sometimes memorandums or resolutions are even planted through friendly officers.

In the early days of CIO and the Teachers Union the activists, the men with a mission, dominated the staff. But now Walsh, Pressman, and Webber are gone, leaving the field to those more easily accommodated to the trends. Which gang is more moral I would not venture to say, for it sometimes takes more courage to stay than it does to leave.

The novice needs friendly advice from someone who will honestly orient him in understanding the conflicts of power and persons that exist in every organization. In my latter years in the CIO, when I hired new members for my staff, I spent hours with them, depicting the world they had entered. Then, if they were expected to perform tasks which had an impact on policy, I would give them a month or six weeks simply to read resolutions, minutes, and other relevant materials and also to get acquainted with their fellow-workers during lunch and committee meetings and convention.

Policy is influenced in little ways as well as great; through ghost-written speeches, through memos for broadcast, through the the innumerable articles and statements staff men are constantly called on to prepare for the leaders to read and deliver. This is particularly true when one's superior officer is the kind of man who reads and insists on understanding the statement he signs and the speeches he gives. Furthermore, in his efforts to assimilate the ideas and facts given him by the staff man, he truly makes them his own. The great ideas and plans of a movement such as the CIO do not spring up full blown.

In the CIO and to a lesser degree in the Teachers Union one's opportunity to do many jobs for the boss was determined by the boss's secretary. So was the order in

which he received the memos from the staff men's offices and the ease with which one could see him. Personal secretaries are the eyes and ears of their bosses; when the bosses are out of town, the secretaries are busy collecting gossip for their edification on their return.

About a year after I was employed by the CIO, Ray Walsh, my supervisor in the Department of Education and Research, went to work for Sidney Hillman in CIO-PAC. This left me in charge of the department. Consequently, I found myself writing the statements and doing the assignments for Mr. Murray that Ray would naturally do were he there. As time passed, Mr. Murray's secretary depended on me more and more and doubtless mentioned to Mr. Murray who was doing the jobs. Later, when Ray left the CIO permanently, Mr. Murray was advised by Miss L—— to make me department chairman. I was "Available Jones" approved by the eyes and ears of the boss. Bringing in other candidates would have only confused the routine. I was given the post of chairman without having requested it from Mr. Murray.

In the Teachers Union the situation was somewhat different. There were actually two executive heads, the president and the executive secretary. In the struggle between them to control the union, the secretarial staff was of course neutral, but their neutrality did not prevent their turning the tide of history by a word here and a bit of information there. The moral is obvious. The wise expert in labor, voluntary, or political organizations is fortunate indeed if the secretaries, personal and otherwise, are favorable to him. He must always remember that they are not merely machines; they are human beings who respond to human beings who do not think all brains are in the higher echelons.

There are in every organization two organizations, the constitutional and the informal. American Presidents have had and do have cabinets, and, if the historians are right, more than one President has been influenced by his companions at poker. The same situations exist in the labor movement and, if anything, more so. Most of the leaders of labor came up through the ranks. They lived their lives in conflict, and in their struggles the loyalty and the courage of their companions were of extreme significance. Furthermore, these relationships were established in the labor leader's younger years before he became a national figure. Those who have lived and fought and sometimes starved together are bound by ties which few newcomers can break through. It is important for the young expert who goes into the labor movement to understand these affinities and realize how important they are in the extra-legal relationship. He must even be able to understand that he will never quite be a part of this inner fellowship. This is a hard lesson to learn, and one which I never completely learned. It is difficult for me to accept that I am in a sense an outsider in a group which commands my loyalties as much as the labor movement did and does, and for which I, too, had taken risks and made sacrifices. But my background was different. I was a wealthy farmer's son; they were workers. I was never really economically insecure; they had gone hungry. I went to school; they did not. I grew up in a Puritan, temperate tradition; they did not. For me there was another world outside the labor movement; for them, labor was the only world. I have described this phenomenon because others from the ranks of the college-trained middle class have often confessed similar feelings of being left out, and doubtless the present generation of neophytes will have similar experiences and soul-searchings. While there is no real solution to being born in another world and developing through another set of experiences, it may be helpful to face the fact that many an expert has been a part of the movement in a legal, constitutional sense at the same time that some of these interesting other doors are closed to him.

Although it is not possible to become a part of the inner circle, the expert, particularly the beginner, must resist with all

his strength the temptation to run away from the situation in which he feels frustrated. There are many ways of running away. The primary one might be described as interest in the side shows of the movement. For example, in both the AF of L and the CIO the chief cause for existence was the organization of the unorganized and the increased welfare of the organized. Theoretically all efforts and activity focused upon these aims. Staff men were expected to understand this, and a director of research and education doubly so. Specifically, the primary responsibility of the director of research and education was that of a resource man in the economic and legislative areas which contributed to the preparation of wage, tax, and other economic data. After the primary job was done, education might be given attention. But the expert, with his academic training, may prefer education in all its aspects to the grinding work of research and be often tempted to do that which he likes best. There are also the constant temptations to be diverted by the hundred and one auxiliary interests, all worthy, such as UNESCO, labor and religion, lectures, etc.; and consequently, to be absent when the vice-president and the executive board meet. Yet it is precisely in times such as these that the opportunity occurs to become a real part of the labor movement.

Thus, the newcomer in the labor field should be careful not to be sidetracked by every diverting opportunity which crosses his path. He must stick to the main channel and do his best to become a part of the operational units. After all, if he is gone too much, there may be no desk for him when he returns, or, more seriously, the boss will probably have turned to someone else to do the job which was logically his, and the contacts he coveted for the ends he wished to accomplish will be gone forever. This does not mean, of course, that the expert need abrogate his own self, mind, and body to the organization. Nor does it mean that compromise becomes a virtue above all others. It does mean that the expert must become a man capable of bending but not breaking; a man capable of wading as well as diving; and, above all, a man capable of understanding all the complex gears which must mesh before the machine can go forward. Becoming an organization man is no easy task, particularly for the intellectual, and there are few vicarious ways of learning the art. But it is an art which must be learned in a society whose destiny is more and more determined by organizations. Those who would serve must also be an integral part of the process in which serving and learning take place.

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PATTERNS OF POOR ADJUSTMENT IN OLD AGE

JOHN FRANK SCHMIDT

ABSTRACT

Persons whose economic position is poor and who have had little or no economic security in the past; persons who have health problems and physical complaints; those who live alone and who lack personal relationships with a spouse, friends, relatives, or close friends; those who do not participate in social or organizational activities; and those with low morale are likely to be poorly adjusted in old age. Confidence in these findings was afforded by performing identical research procedures in two cities. No differences in the degree of adjustment were found between three socioeconomic strata.

Personal adjustment in later maturity has until recently received little attention from sociologists. Evidence on the quality and quantity of social relationships among older members of communities is scarce, although the anecdotal literature on longevity and the literature on clinical and social work practice are large.[1]

[1] An exploratory study is reported by J. K. Folsom and C. M. Morgan, "The Social Adjustment of 381 Recipients of Old Age Assistances," *American Sociological Review*, II (1937), 223–29. Miss Morgan's study, based on personal interviews with 170 men and 211 women aged seventy or over, found five factors associated with "good adjustment in old age." They were: "Good health and freedom from physical liabilities. . . . Pleasant social and emotional relations with friends and members of one's family. Social life and contacts are apparently more important to women than to men. The possession of hobbies and outside interests. . . . The quiet, privacy and independence of action provided by living in their own homes. . . . Some form of work, or useful, work-like activity, as distinguished from the more recreational activity of a hobby." Judson T. Landis, in "Social Psychological Factors of Aging," *Social Forces*, XX (1942), 468–71, reports on 450 people aged sixty-five to ninety-eight selected in a random sample. The factors found associated with adjustment were: economic independence; a high degree of education; a marriage contracted not too early or too late in life; a small family; a low death rate of children; marriage with residence with spouse; infrequent changes of residences; a long period of time in a regular occupation (constancy of employment); few job changes; possession of life insurance; good health now and in the past; first chronic ailment developing late in life; employment now; gardening as a hobby; having some hobby; visits with friends; church attendance; preference for living with children (true of women only); and an absence of worry about health and finances. Women were better adjusted than men. In addition, the "feeling of having enough to do each day" was related to adjustment.

Three University of Chicago unpublished doctoral dissertations using the Cavan-Burgess-Havighurst-Goldhamer schedule, "Your Activities and Attitudes," have been completed recently. (1) Joseph H. Britton's "A Study of the Adjustment of Retired School Teachers" deals with 330 retired women teachers and 114 retired men teachers residing in the Chicago metropolitan area. The factors found to be associated with adjustment in both men and women were: self-rating of present health; nervous troubles; economic position; feelings of permanent security; church membership; frequency of reading prayer book; belief in afterlife; social mobility; evaluation of happiness in life; and total activities score (degree of social participation). Factors associated with adjustment in men teachers only were: age; employment status; and frequency of listening to radio church services. Factors associated with adjustment in women teachers only were: number of leisure-time activities; number of physical problems; minor physical difficulties; happiness rating of marriage; number of hobbies; number of clubs belonged to; number of offices held in clubs; frequency of attendance at meetings; and church attendance (Tables 20 and 21).

(2) Mrs. Jean Oppenheimer Britton's "A Study of the Adjustment of Retired YMCA Secretaries" is based on 161 retired YMCA Secretaries who returned schedules. The factors found associated with adjustment were: age; self-rating of present health; number of serious physical problems; number of friends among children; time spent reading; employment status; economic position; frequency of church attendance; frequency of reading Bible; and total activities score (Table 17).

(3) Ethel Shanas' "The Personal Adjustment of Recipients of Old Age Assistance: With Special Consideration of the Methodology of Questionnaire Studies of Older People" is based on 388 cases living in the Woodlawn area of Chicago. The methodological problems in the fields of study design and sample bias are related to her substantive findings. The following item replies were found "favorable to good adjustment": native-white; married; high degree of

AREA OF STUDY

This is a study of personal adjustment of persons fifty years of age and over. The study was specifically designed to ascertain whether personal adjustment in later maturity differed from one socioeconomic level to another. Cases from two cities, Kansas City, Missouri, and Akron, Ohio, were used in this study. The Cavan-Burgess-Havighurst-Goldhamer questionnaire "Your Activities and Attitudes"[2] in its unrevised (1946) form was filled out by some nine hundred individuals, who were approached by students at the University of Kansas City, Kansas City, Missouri, and the University of Akron, Akron, Ohio. The questionnaires were collected in Kansas City in the 1947 academic year and in Akron in the following year.

No study of poor adjustment in older persons using this questionnaire has been made which deals with socioeconomic, class, or strata differences within a sample population taken from the same city. Moreover, no study has been replicated by performing identical research procedures in two cities of approximately the same size.

We shall report the relationship of a socioeconomic stratification of persons living in three ecological areas in each city—high, middle, and low—and adjustment scores. Our criterion of personal adjustment has been an attitude score.[3]

METHOD OF STRATIFICATION USED

Respondents used in this study were classified according to their place of residence. An index of stratification was constructed which used available census-tract data for the two cities. The following twelve items of census-tract data were employed in constructing this index for Kansas City: (1) percentage of native white; (2) percentage of whites in population; (3) median years of school completed by persons aged

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family intimacy (high score of 11 or 12 points); living arrangements with spouse; "choice" in living arrangements; more than twenty-five friends; more than ten intimate friends; health at least fair; less than four physical problems; health score high (5 or 6 points); six or more leisure-time activities; an hour or more daily reading; membership in one or more organizations; attendance of at least once a month at meetings; a great deal of social participation (as measured by an activity score of at least 20 points); church attendance of at least once a week; regular reading of the Bible; listening to radio church service at least once a week; financial situation "enough to get along on" or "comfortable"; a feeling of permanent economic security; a self-conception of being middle-aged; a favorable comparison with siblings and cousins as to economic position in life; no expressions of the feeling of having been discriminated against in life; no marked decline in health in the last ten years; no marked decline in the number of friends who visit in the last ten years; no decline of social status in the last ten years; an evaluation of marriage as happy; no unhappy periods of life admitted; have at least one plan for the immediate future; and are sure in their belief in an afterlife (pp. 186 ff.).

[2] Ruth S. Cavan, Ernest W. Burgess, Robert J. Havighurst, and Herbert Goldhamer, *Personal Adjustment in Old Age* (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1949), chap. x.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 135. The correlation of participation in activities with total attitude score was high (.78). This correlation may be taken as a measure of validity for the attitude score which attempts to measure the degree of personal adjustment. For the data presented in the present study, the correlation was .50±.039; for women, .254±.045; for persons between fifty and fifty-nine years of age, .41±.043; for persons sixty or more years of age, .418±.042; for Kansas City cases, .465±.040; for Akron cases, .39±.044; and for all cases, .43±.03. The lower validity correlations of the present study are perhaps due, in part, to the greater heterogeneity of the cases included in the present study.

Comparisons of the mean attitude scores for persons fifty to fifty-nine years of age, and persons sixty and over, revealed that the older persons had a significantly lower mean attitude score (critical ratio of 4.0). All other comparisons, between men and women, between Akron cases and Kansas City cases, and between three socioeconomic levels, yielded no significant differences in mean attitude score.

Mean attitude scores were: for all persons fifty to fifty-nine years of age, 39.7; for all persons sixty or more years of age, 37.4; for all men, 38.7; for all women, 38.3; for all Kansas City persons, 38.4; for all Akron persons, 38.6; for all persons living in Area A (high socioeconomic ecological area), 39.3; for all persons living in Area B (middle), 38.6; for all persons living in Area C (low), 37.65; for all cases from both cities, 38.5.

The difference of the A strata mean from the C strata mean yielded a critical ratio of only 2.27.

twenty-five and over; (4) contract or estimated rent for all dwelling units; (5) percentage of gainfully employed who were professionally occupied; (6) percentage of managers, proprietors, etc.; (7) percentage of dwellings occupied by owner; (8) percentage of dwellings not needing major repairs; (9) persons per room;[4] (10) median rental of tenant-occupied home;[5] (11) owner-occupied median value of home; and (12) persons per square mile.[6]

Each Kansas City tract attribute was divided by the range value of the series for each of the attributes.[7] These index numbers were summed for each tract. Cutting points for the index scale were affixed at 1,075 points (beginning of the A, or high, socioeconomic stratum); 974 points (beginning of the B, or middle, stratum); all scores below 974 were of tracts in the C, lowest, socioeconomic stratum. The range of the scale was 775 points—from 725 to 1,500.

The size of the total population in these areas was roughly the same for each of the two cities. This was not designed or anticipated, since cutting points for the three areas in each city were largely determined by the frequency distributions of the tract scores.[8]

A similar index was computed for Akron census-tract data. Cutting points for the index scale were affixed at 1,259 (beginning of the A stratum) and 1,131 (beginning of the B stratum). The range of the scale for Akron based on nine attributes was 730 points—from 878 to 1,608 points.[9]

Persons residing in these areas were considered by us to be members of strata. The threefold stratification was in terms of the material goods and privileges. Indirect evidence that the persons living in these areas who filled out questionnaires were members of a given socioeconomic class came from an analysis of the relationship of the index to twenty-four variables present in the questionnaire. In all cases the twenty-four variables were related to the index of stratification as far as the direction of association was concerned.[10] For each of eighteen variables

[4] Population per occupied dwelling unit, for Akron data.

[5] Average contract estimated rental, all dwellings, for Akron data.

[6] The latter two factors are missing for Akron census-tract data.

[7] For the variables, number of persons per room and number of persons per square mile, the scores were transposed in each case, so that the highest score became the lowest. This was effected by subtracting the value of the highest score from each individual score, so that the highest score becomes zero.

[8] See John Frank Schmidt, "Patterns of Poor Adjustment in Persons of Later Maturity" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1950), pp. 22 ff. Questionnaires were originally assigned to these three socioeconomic ecological areas on the basis of a similarly constructed index of stratification which used city means and medians as a base rather than ranges. Indexes based on ranges are weighted indexes which reduce gross distortions due to unusual individual tract values. In terms of the broad class intervals used for the three strata, the results are almost identical whether city averages or tract ranges are used as a rate base. There were only three tracts (Nos. 5, 23, and 70) of the 92 Kansas City tracts whose position in terms of the A, B, and C categories was changed. There were no gross shiftings of positions from low to high or high to low.

[9] Since census-tract data for Barberton and Cuyahoga Falls, two large contiguous suburbs of Akron, were missing for the variables concerning homeownership, rental, and state of repair of the home, the index was constructed on only six variables and then multiplied by 12/9. In terms of local evaluations, Cuyahoga Falls is the desired promised land for socially mobile Akronites. Barberton, a highly industrialized town, did not have a population increase during the 1940–50 decade according to newspaper reports of census estimates; Cuyahoga Falls had increased about 50 per cent. Although three Barberton tracts fell, in terms of the six variable index scores, within the A group and two within the B group, in assigning cases we arbitrarily gave the B evaluation to the former, and the C evaluation to the latter.

There were only two tracts (A_3 and B_3) in Akron whose position in terms of the A, B, and C categories was changed when ranges were used as a base for the index rather than means or medians.

[10] These were: type of neighborhood lived in, with whom living, adequacy of present living arrangements, choice of living arrangements, homeownership, physical mobility, social mobility, husband's occupation, chief means of support, the earning of money now in same occupation as formerly,

chi-square values yielded p's of at least .05.

Individual questionnaire data were correlated with social data pertaining or common to the entire community. The judgments of the respondent concerning his status position were correlated with external objective data. No claim was made that the stratifications were real social classes. They were indubitably real stratifications. Not all the attributes in the concept of class could be put together to make a unidimensional unit of social class. We were limited to the making of stratifications rather than the proving that social classes exist in Akron and Kansas City. Each area of stratification undoubtedly included two or more classes (in Warner's sense). If we had been able to assign persons to specific social classes, differences in the correlates of adjustment greater than those reported in our study perhaps would have been found.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLES OF QUESTIONNAIRES

The questionnaires were distributed by sociology students to friends and relatives. The questionnaires were semi-anonymously returned by mail. An attempt to measure nonrespondent's bias failed, owing to certain uncontrollable circumstances in the two school situations through which the research was undertaken.

The study group (technically an accidental sample) was designed so that age, sex, strata, and city were controlled by a combination of quota and stratified sampling procedure. For Akron, there were 120 cases in Area A, of which 60 were men and 60 were women. For the men, 30 were fifty to fifty-nine years of age;[11] 10 were sixty to sixty-four years of age; 10 were sixty-five to sixty-nine; and 10 were seventy and over. The same age distribution was used for the 60 women in Area A in Akron.

The same age and sex distribution as above was used for the 120 cases in Area B and the 120 cases in Area C. This made a total of 360 cases for Akron, allocated into twelve samples.

The identical design was used for Kansas City, making a total of 720 cases, allocated into twenty-four samples. Twenty-seven cases were added to make a grand total of 747 with a slight marring of the symmetry of the design. These 27 cases were added because a breakdown of the twenty-four samples in terms of the attitude score (high score of 35 points and above versus low score of below 35 points) made the compared samples extremely small in some instances. One hundred and seventy-three cases were discarded from the study for a variety of reasons—chiefly because there was a surplus of cases in certain of the twenty-four samples. Cases were placed in the study group in the chronological order of receipt.

ASSESSMENT OF RESPONDENTS' BIAS

Only when the characteristics of the samples were compared with census data was it possible to effect some assessment of bias in the respondent. The sample of 747 cases was not seriously biased as far as education and nativity were concerned. There was a large deficiency of homeownership in the Akron respondents. The significance of this fact was not too clear.

For both cities the samples included an excess of married men and a deficiency of single men. In the samples of women there were too many widowed, divorced, and single persons. We speculate that these persons were conspicuous to college students choosing subjects for the questionnaire and that the unmarried men, on the other hand,

present position in life, comparison of position in life with siblings and cousins, reading of "high-class" magazines, religious affiliation, educational level, nativity, and club membership (women). The following factors did not yield significant p's: occupation (males), occupation (females), past position in life, feelings of permanent security, economic position of family in teens, occupation when not gainfully employed (women), and reading of religious magazines. It is of interest that father's occupation did yield a significant p. The Alba Edwards occupational classifications were used.

[11] Wherever possible, the number of cases fifty to fifty-four years of age was equal to the number fifty-five to fifty-nine years of age.

would escape notice of college students who live at home with their families; these unattached single men live in residential hotels, semi-respectable hotels, semi-flophouses, and flophouses.

Three methods of analysis were used in this study: (a) matched comparisons; (b) cluster patterns arising from the method of matched comparisons; and (c) measurement of the degree of association of the correlates of poor adjustment.

MATCHED COMPARISONS

This is based on the studies of Samuel A. Stouffer *et al.*,[12] who presented a method of matched comparisons in which the results of a large number of studies (generally based on small *N*'s of at least forty cases) were compared so that basic variables could be controlled. The Stouffer method consisted, briefly, of counting the number of sample results in which the direction of the association was apparently consistent and testing the hypothesis that the frequency of such sample results (as to the direction of the association) supported or refuted any of a series of subsidiary null hypotheses. Chance error was assessed and reported. The formula he used was the following: chi square is equal to the number of agreements with a null hypothesis minus the number of disagreements with it, minus 1, all squared and then divided by the total number of comparisons. Ties were split evenly between the two.

We used a similar method except that we compared two sets of matched samples at a time rather than one set at a time. The comparisons were made in a number of ways, so that the influence of basic control variables (age, sex, city, and socioeconomic strata) could be taken into account.

There were eighty-three variables[13] in this study for which we had data and for which we made analyses—in addition to the four basic control variables.

In the present study three variables were held constant in any one comparison of matched samples, and the influence of the fourth control variable on the pattern of factors related to poor adjustment was taken into account.

Matched comparisons were made for a basic control factor (while holding the remaining three sample control factors constant) using each of these eighty-three variables one at a time. A number of factors in matched sets of pairs were selected and tested for association (in direction of signs) with the criterion of poor adjustment, a low attitude score. Those factors which were related to poor adjustment with statistical significance formed the "Pattern of Poor Adjustment." Further hypotheses were used to reject individual groups of factors.

The twelve samples for which we have data for Akron are:

1. Akron men under sixty years of age living in Area A
2. Akron men under sixty years of age living in Area B
3. Akron men under sixty years of age living in Area C
4. Akron men sixty years of age and over living in Area A
5. Akron men sixty years of age and over living in Area B
6. Akron men sixty years of age and over living in Area C
7. Akron women under sixty years of age living in Area A
8. Akron women under sixty years of age living in Area B
9. Akron women under sixty years of age living in Area C
10. Akron women sixty years of age and over living in Area A
11. Akron women sixty years of age and over living in Area B
12. Akron women sixty years of age and over living in Area C

[12] Samuel A. Stouffer *et al.*, *The American Soldier*, Vol. I: *Studies in Social Psychology in World War II* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949), pp. 92 ff.

[13] Thirteen variables for which we had data were not used for the following reasons: the responses to the factor seemed unreliable (broken engagements); the factor had no immediately ascertainable theoretical connection with the criterion (longevity of parents); the findings of other research workers in this field indicated that a particular factor was useless (number of acquaintances, feelings of intimacy with parents).

We have a similar set of twelve samples for Kansas City. Each sample's N was about 31.

Each of the variables was placed in a fourfold contingency table for each of the twenty-four samples. The direction of the association with poor adjustment was determined by computing the chi-square value (although this value was not necessary; computing differences in proportions was sufficient for this analysis).

CLUSTER ANALYSIS

A second type of analysis was one in which the entire pattern of factors associated with poor adjustment was reduced to clusters of factors within the pattern.

MEASUREMENT OF THE DEGREE OF ASSOCIATION IN EIGHT GROUPS OF CASES CONTROLLED BY SEGREGATION

A third type of analysis was in terms of the degree of the relationship of poor adjustment to the variables under consideration as well as the direction of the relationship. Control by segregation will be reported on later in this article.

THE PATTERN OF POOR ADJUSTMENT

The findings can best be presented briefly in a summary pattern of factors which are related to poor adjustment when all matched comparisons have been made.[14]

There are twenty factors associated with poor adjustment in both men and women of all ages above fifty, in all three of the socioeconomic strata, and in both cities, Akron and Kansas City. These factors are:

1. Poor present position in life
2. Past position in life is same as or worse than the present
3. Feeling of lack of permanent security
4. Unmarried or not living with spouse
5. Less visits with friends now
6. No close friends that are seen often
7. Poor or merely fair present health
8. Health worse now than formerly
9. Serious health problem
10. Physical complaint
11. Not living in own household
12. No or infrequent church attendance
13. Less frequent church attendance now than in the past
14. No, or less than three, plans for the immediate future
15. Recognition of having a happiest period of life
16. Recognition of having a least happy period of life
17. Not an officer in any club ten years ago
18. Officer in no organizations at present
19. Low social morale (feelings of being discriminated against in life)
20. Low activity score (low degree of social participation)

Four factors which are associated with poor adjustment in persons fifty or more years of age in both cities but which are not associated for both men and women and for persons residing in all three residence areas are: (1) downward or stationary social mobility; (2) living less than twenty-five years in the present living arrangement; (3) nonvoting; and (4) no club memberships at present.[15]

There are three factors which are associated with poor adjustment in persons living in all three of the stratified ecological areas in either of the cities but are not associated for both men and women, or for all age groups. These are: (1) low degree of family intimacy; (2) no church membership; and (3) poor or fair health when in teens.[16]

The factor of low degree of happiness in marriage is associated with poor adjustment in persons of all ages above fifty in all socioeconomic strata in the two cities. However, this factor is not associated with poor adjustment in both men and women.

Attempts to establish a pattern of differences in poor adjustment between strata were unsuccessful.

[14] I.e., when all four basic sample control factors were held constant, three at a time.

[15] In other words, there are differences between poorly adjusted men and women in the three ecological areas as to these four factors. The precise nature of these differences (whether due to sex or status) was not ascertainable in the present analysis.

[16] For these factors there were differences between poorly adjusted men and women in both the older and the younger age groups.

Factors to which poor adjustment is associated in a subsidiary pattern in the "old" (persons sixty or more years of age) but not associated in the "young" (persons fifty to fifty-nine years of age) are: (1) less than "fifty" friends; (2) average or less than average number of same-sex friends when in teens; (3) infrequent radio listening; (4) no or less than three magazines read regularly; (5) a "thing hardest to bear" which was a misfortune happening to others rather than to one's self (death of a loved one, marriage of a son or daughter in contradistinction to losing one's job, business, or health); (6) high physical mobility as measured in terms of changes of residences; and (7) loss of full-time paying job in the normal occupation.

An additional subsidiary pattern of poor adjustment is found for men which does not hold for women. The factors in this pattern are: (1) married more than once; (2) less than "fifty" friends; (3) less than five close friends who can be trusted with confidences; (4) father's occupation was not professional or that of "proprietor, etc."; and (6) "troubles" in securing employment when young.

The second type of generalization is that of clusters of factors within the summary pattern of poor adjustment given above. Eight such clusters of factors are found to be related to poor adjustment. They are (with the possibilities that the findings are due to chance in parentheses):[17]

1. Factor dealing with degree of social participation, activities (1 in 100)
2. Factors dealing with friends (1 in 100)
3. Factors dealing with zest for living (1 in 100)
4. Factors dealing with associational membership (2 in 100)
5. Factors dealing with family intimacy (about 2 in 100)
6. Factors dealing with church attendance (about 2 in 100)
7. Factors dealing with health (1 in 1,000)
8. Factors dealing with socioeconomic strata membership (1 in 1,000)

[17] No attempt was made to compute true probabilities by the use of point binomials. Our judgment is that, in lieu of the limited number of statistical "trials," the probability accuracy would be spurious and in no case, as far as the clusters are concerned, augment the p values much beyond the .05 level of significance. The p value for the summary pattern of poor adjustment presented above was .001. Reporting decreases in the p values to .0001, for instance, gives an unwarranted impression of accuracy not in keeping with the relatively limited number of statistical "trials" (at most 300).

THE MEASUREMENT OF THE DEGREE OF ASSOCIATION OF THE CORRELATES OF POOR ADJUSTMENT

A third type of generalization deals with the degree of association of the correlates of poor adjustment. The samples had been picked in such a manner that the proportions of men and women were about the same; similarly for the proportions of persons fifty to fifty-nine years of age and persons sixty years of age and over; for the strata proportions; and the proportions of Kansas City cases to Akron cases. This means that in correlations of total attitude score (our criterion of adjustment) with any of the factors for which we had data, four variables are automatically controlled. Furthermore, when cases are segregated by categories within the system of four basic control variables, associations between adjustment score and the correlates of poor adjustment can be made, which take into account the effect of the basic control variables. These control variables—age, sex, socioeconomic stratum, and geographical locality (Kansas City and Akron)—were assumed to be related to poor adjustment.[18]

The method of matched comparisons and the method of measuring the degree of association in samples controlled by segregation are both techniques of analyzing variance. Both methods give opportunity to prove direction of association. If it had been possible to measure nonrespondents' bias, or to effect a representative sample of a well-defined totality of cases of persons in later maturity

[18] Such correlations are analogous to partial correlations with one fundamental difference. In the case of fourfold contingency coefficients (which are, in reality, product-moment coefficients of correlation) no multiple R is feasible. This is particularly so, since only a few of the variable correlates we used are true variables (quantitative rather than qualitative variables).

(a universe), the measurements of the degree of association would have been established as reliable. Therefore, coefficients of contingency (all based on chi-square values yielding p's of at least .05) are not reported in this article except summarily. The measurements of the degree of association are, furthermore, imprecise because at least one important variable, marital status, was not controlled.

The two methods differ as to the type of variance examined. In the method of matched comparisons similarity of variance from subsample to subsample (there are twenty-four subsamples) is examined and tested for "statistical significance." In the method by which control is effected by segregation of cases, the type of variance examined is not at the subsample level but at the level of dichotomies of the study group—men-women, "young"-"old," Kansas City–Akron, or at the trichotomous socioeconomic strata divisions of the study group. The latter method posits a less stringent demand for stability of the variance in the study group than the method of matched comparisons.

Fourfold contingency tables for the correlates of poor adjustment were prepared for eight controlled groups of cases. These eight groups were:

1. All 747 cases with the age, sex, city, and socioeconomic strata proportions approximately equal and stratified
2. Three hundred and sixty-nine persons, fifty to fifty-nine years of age with sex, city, and strata proportions approximately equal and stratified
3. Three hundred and seventy-eight persons, sixty or more years of age, with sex, city, and strata proportions approximately equal and stratified
4. Three hundred and eighty-three women with age, city, and strata proportions approximately equal and stratified
5. Three hundred and sixty-four men with age, city, and strata proportions approximately equal and stratified
6. Two hundred and fifty-six persons living in the A socioenomic area with age, city, and sex proportions approximately equal and stratified
7. Two hundred and forty-four persons living in the B socioeconomic area, with age, city, and sex proportions approximately equal and stratified
8. Two hundred and forty-seven persons living in the C socioeconomic area with age, city, and sex proportions approximately equal and stratified

Nine factors have statistically significant correlations for all eight groups. The categories associated with poor adjustment for these are: (1) health worse now than formerly; (2) one or more physical complaints; (3) unmarried or not living with a spouse; (4) poor present position in life; (5) the past position in life the same as or worse than the present; (6) feeling lack of permanent security; (7) low social morale (felt discriminated against in life); (8) no club membership or attend less than once a month; and (9) low activity (social participation) score.[19]

Fifteen factors significantly associated with poor adjustment in the "young," as well as the "old," in both men and women but not associated for one or two of the socioeconomic strata are: (1) not living in own household; (2) living less than twenty-five years under the present living arrangement; (3) poor or merely fair health; (4) a serious health problem; (5) recognition of having a "least happy period of life"; (6) recognition of having a "happiest period in life"; (7) less visits with friends now than formerly; (8) no or less than three plans for the immediate future; (9) officer in no clubs at present; (10) no or infrequent church attendance; (11) less than high-school education;[20] (12) low composite health score of less than six;[21] (13) unmarried or not living with a spouse;[21] (14) active in less organizations than ten years ago;[21] and (15) low social morale (the good-old-days-were-better factor).[21]

For all factors concerned with health, the degree of association is higher for the "old"

[19] All these correlates, except frequency of attendance at club meetings, are in the pattern of poor adjustment presented above.

[20] Not in the Pattern of Poor Adjustment.

[21] Not in the Pattern of Poor Adjustment.

(persons sixty or more years of age) than for the "young" (persons fifty to fifty-nine years of age) and higher for women than for men.

In men fifty to fifty-nine years of age as well as men sixty years of age and over, the factors associated with poor adjustment are: stationary or downward social mobility; poor economic position of family in childhood ("enough to get along on" or "can't make ends meet"); and no church membership.[22]

In women fifty to fifty-nine years of age as well as women sixty or more years of age, the factors associated with poor adjustment are: active in less organizations now than ten years ago and poor economic position of family when in teens.[23]

The most significant fact about the coefficients of contingency for the strata groups is the paucity of variables for which the correlates of poor adjustment are significant for all three strata. Except for the nine variables mentioned first in this section, only two are correlated with poor adjustment for all three strata. These are the factors of stationary or downward social mobility and feeling of belonging to the aged, elderly, or old age group. The deductive interpretation we make is that strata differences exist in the correlates of poor adjustment, although no strata differences in the pattern of poor adjustment are found.

The following categories were associated with poor adjustment in both men and women sixty or more years of age: age group felt to belong to is aged, old, or elderly; no club memberships at present; and non-voting.[24]

[22] Only the latter factor was present in the Pattern of Poor Adjustment; and it was rejected from the pattern of factors holding true for both men and women.

[23] These are not in the Pattern of Poor Adjustment.

[24] All these are in the Pattern of Poor Adjustment, except the factor, age group felt to belong to is aged, old, or elderly. This factor is hardly applicable to persons fifty to fifty-nine years of age, since the categories comprising it are "aged," "elderly," and "old." Therefore, it could not appear in the Pattern of Poor Adjustment.

The categories associated with poor adjustment in men alone sixty or more years of age are: does not believe in an afterlife or not sure of it; less frequent church attendance now than ten years ago; and not an officer in any clubs ten years ago.[25]

For women alone sixty or more years of age the factors associated with poor adjustment are: poor or fair health when in teens; regular reader of no or less than three magazines; high physical mobility; low degree of family intimacy; and same or greater church attendance now than ten years ago.[26]

There are eight factors which are correlated with poor adjustment in men, but insufficient data make it impossible to demonstrate that the factors are operative in poorly adjusted men who are either in the fifty to fifty-nine age group or the sixty and over age group. The categories associated with poor adjustment for these eight factors are (1) never married, or married more than once; (2) having free time all day or half the day; (3) loss of full-time paying job in the normal occupation; (4) chief means of support other than present earnings, savings, or investments; (5) no response as to whether employed now; (6) never or only occasionally listen to radio church services; (7) some reason given as to why they are unemployed; and (8) age of best-paying job was under forty years of age (in women, employment in a best-paying job over the age of forty is associated with poor adjustment).[27] The majority of these factors are those concerned with unemployment.

For the younger men and women in the study group—those persons fifty to fifty-nine years of age—only five factors were associated with poor adjustment. These are: (1) living arrangements which are not a matter of choice; (2) less than five leisure-time pursuits and hobbies; (3) never read prayer book (men only) (or no response to

[25] The latter two factors are in the Pattern of Poor Adjustment.

[26] The last of these is in the Pattern of Poor Adjustment.

[27] None of these factors is in the Pattern of Poor Adjustment.

this query); (4) no homeownership (women only); and (5) less than twenty-five years of age at time of first marriage (women only).[28]

For all the findings the fiducial limit is at least .05. All coefficients are low; none is above .37. Four per cent of them are in the thirties; 22 per cent are in the twenties; 70 per cent are in the tens; and 4 per cent are below .10.

Seventy-seven per cent of the variables are in some way associated with poor adjustment.

No meaningful clusters of factors were found which failed to correlate with poor adjustment in a particular socioeconomic stratum or in combinations of strata. While some of these failures may be due to the size of N (and, the size of the Chi-square^2 values), the deductive interpretation of the findings is that strata differences in the correlates of poor adjustment exist. This report has not been concerned with the actual measurement of the size of the differences in the categories associated with poor adjustment from one socioeconomic level to another. That there is a Pattern of Poor Adjustment present in the Akron and Kansas City men and women fifty or more years of age residing in three types of socioeconomic areas has been demonstrated. That differences in the correlates of poor adjustment exist in these groups has been demonstrated, although clusters of factors which are operative for each of the three strata are impossible to establish. The Pattern of Poor Adjustment has been corroborated in all essential respects by the measurement of the degree of association between poor adjustment and the hypothesized correlates. The study has substantiated the findings of others working in the field of personal adjustment in persons of later maturity as to the correlates of poor adjustment.[29] The study has gained additional corroboration of its findings by the replication of the procedures in Akron and Kansas City.

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[28] None of these factors is in the Pattern of Poor Adjustment.

[29] Cavan *et al.*, *op. cit.*, chap. i; cf. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, chap. i.

SIZE OF PAROLE COMMUNITY, AS RELATED TO PAROLE OUTCOME

ROBERT E. CLARK

ABSTRACT

A study of 9,444 prisoners paroled from the Menard and Joliet branches of the Illinois State Penitentiary indicates that those who were paroled to a community of the same size as the one from which they came had a lower parole violation rate than did those who were paroled to one of a different size. The explanation is based on the assumption that it is easier to adjust on parole in a familiar than it is in an unfamiliar environment.

This paper is on the problem of whether men paroled from prison are more likely to succeed on parole if they are returned to a community of the same size as the one where they lived when arrested. The data consist of 9,444 men who were paroled from the Menard and Joliet branches of the Illinois State Penitentiary from 1925 to 1937, inclusive. They do not include (1) those who died while on parole, except those who died in the commission of a felony, or (2) those who were on parole less than a year before they were discharged.

The community of arrest and parole community subcategories used were: (1) Chicago metropolitan area; (2) cities defined as places of over 25,000; (3) towns, that is, places of 2,500–25,000; and (4) rural places, that is, of less than 2,500 population and open country. No distinction is made between rural-farm and rural nonfarm. The above classification of communities is based upon the 1930 census.

A cross-classification of the subcategories of community and parole community with parole violation rates[1] for each, given in Table 1, showed that the violation rate is lowest for the group who were paroled to a community of the same size as the one from which they came. If there were no association between the community where arrest was made and parole community, the probability of getting this finding would be $(\frac{1}{4})^4$ or 004.

We will now consider as a postulate that this pattern is in part due to the fact that men who were poor parole risks more often went to some other community than the one from which they came, while at the same time men who were good parole risks more often went back to the community from which they came. How would this postulate affect our parole violation data? Those who were paroled to a community of the same size would be made up of two groups: (1) those who returned to the same community and (2) those who were paroled to a different community though one of the same size. In accordance with our postulate, this would include both the good and the bad parole risks. On the other hand, those paroled to a community of a different size would include a disproportionate number of bad parole risks, as these would be cases paroled to a different community.

Since our postulate with respect to parole practice (that of paroling a poor parole risk to a community other than that of arrest) would seriously affect our data, let us standardize[2] our data for a number of factors which

[1] These rates have been adjusted to include 284 cases, of which 209 are violators, for which community of arrest and/or parole community were unknown. The breakdown of these 284 cases shows that 184 were of unknown parole community, 68 of unknown community of arrest, and 32 of unknown community of arrest and parole community. The unknown cases for a given row or column were distributed proportional to the known cases in each cell in that given row or column. Where neither community of arrest nor parole community were known, the cases were distributed proportional to that part of the total of all known cases which fell in a given cell.

[2] This is accomplished in the following manner: Let w_1, w_2, w_3, etc., stand for the number of men paroled who fall into each subcategory of the factor for which we are standardizing. Let R_1, R_2, R_3, etc.,

the sociologists-actuaries in Illinois have found related to parole outcome when they collected the data upon which this paper is based. Factors selected for standardization were (1) offense; (2) age at time of parole; (3) home status; (4) type of offender (first, occasional, recidivist, etc.); (5) race nativity; (6) work record (regular, irregular, casual, etc.); (7) marital status; (8) number of associates; and (9) family interest, the latter being based upon the number of letters and visits received. After standardizing on the basis of each of the above-mentioned factors, it was still found that for men who came from Chicago, from cities, and from rural communities the lowest rates were still for the parole community which was of the same size as the community of arrest (see Tables 3–11).

For those who came from towns, only when we standardized the factors of offense, age, and home status did we find the lowest rate for the town parole community. However, the town parole community was second lowest when we standardized the other factors, and in every case the standardized rate was lower for men paroled to towns than for all men who came from towns. It may be concluded that the selective factor of parole practice postulated above has not been responsible for the pattern which we observed in Table 1.

So far we have been considering total violation rates. Let us now differentiate between major and minor parole violators, that is, those who violated their parole by committing a new offense and those who violated their parole by failing to follow parole regulations. A little reflection will bring out the fact that for a given community of arrest and/or parole community the minor and the major violation rates are inverse functions of each other. This is seen in the case where one is included in the base upon which the other is calculated and also in the fact that each depletes the most susceptible supply of the other. Therefore, rather than compare major and minor violation *rates*, let us see what percentage of the violators are minor violators for each of our cross-classifications. In Table 2 we see that the proportion of violators who are minor is lowest for those returned to the same size of community, except for rural community, and even there the proportion of minor violators is lower than the average for that column.

TABLE 1

VIOLATION RATES PER 1,000 BY COMMUNITY OF ARREST AND PAROLE COMMUNITY

Parole Community	Total		Community of Arrest							
			(1) Chicago		(2) Cities		(3) Towns		(4) Rural	
	No. Cases	Rate	No. Cases	Rate	No. Cases	Rate	No. Cases	Rate	No. Cases	Rate
1. Chicago	3,260	370	2,929	*361**	168	488	103	437	60	367
2. Cities	2,875	479	705	508	1,564	*468**	337	519	269	416
3. Towns	1,409	434	169	462	161	528	884	*425**	195	374
4. Rural	1,900	389	150	500	294	500	331	486	1,125	*317**
Total	9,444	417	3,953	396	2,187	478	1,655	457	1,649	342

* Note that this is the lowest rate for this column.

stand for the violation rates of the men in one of the cross-classifications of Table 1 who fall into each of the subcategories of the factor for which we are standardizing. Then the standardized rate is given by $R_s = \Sigma w_i R_i / \Sigma w_i$, where i varies from 1 to the number of subcategories of the factor for which we are standardizing.

If we turn our question around to ask, "Of those paroled to a given community, which community of arrest has the lowest proportion of minor violators?" we see that the proportion is lowest for those who came from the same size of community. Table 2, then, suggests that the lowest violation rate for men returning to a community of the same size as the one where they were arrested is in part due to fewer parolees in this group being declared technical violators.

The interpretation of the findings of this paper will be considered under two main headings: (1) same size versus different size of community and (2) same community versus different community.[3] In each case we are concerned with the relative difficulty of parole adjustment in two different situations.

SAME SIZE VERSUS DIFFERENT SIZE OF COMMUNITY

Part of our findings may be due to the fact that a person learns to adjust to a community of a given size, and, if that adjustment takes place prior to incarceration, it means one less adjustment to make while on parole. We may assume that on the average those arrested in a place of size "X" have made greater adjustment to a place of size "X" than have those who were arrested in a place of size "Y." In other words, we will assume that those who were arrested in the Chicago area have made some adjustment to the large number of impersonal social contacts which life in a large city entails, that they have learned the roles or expected ways of behaving in various situations with which they will be confronted in the Chicago area, and that they will feel more at home there. At the same time, men arrested in the Chicago area are probably less prepared to live in smaller communities than those who originated from those communities.

Similarly, it could be argued that the men arrested in rural areas would, on the average, be better adapted to that environment than to a city environment.

Not only may the way of life of a man be different when he changes from a community of one size to one of another size, but in the movement from city to farm or vice versa his status may change, and this may affect his adjustment. Those men from the city who are strangers to farm life may be considered "greenhorns" and be the butt of jokes by rural people. When the low social status of "greenhorns" is added to that of parolees, we can see some of the difficulties with which they are faced. In the city they could put up a front, pretend occasionally that they had prestige by playing a role—dressing up, spending freely, etc.—but in rural areas, where they would be known, they would only be laughed at for their pretensions. Nor would it be easy for them to travel to the city to enjoy their former status, for as parolees they are not permitted to drive cars or to leave the county. Under these circumstances it is not surprising if they depart for parts unknown and become technical violators. Or, if not, that they fall into association with those in the rural community who, having low prestige and low status themselves, will accept them as equals. With them they may engage in activities which result in their being declared parole violators.

TABLE 2

PERCENTAGE OF VIOLATORS WHO WERE MINOR VIOLATORS BY COMMUNITY OF ARREST AND PAROLE COMMUNITY

Parole Community	Community of Arrest			
	Chicago	Cities	Towns	Rural
Total....	54	58	59	59
Chicago....	*49**	66	82	65
Cities.....	65	*56**	62	62
Towns.....	61	65	*55**	*57**
Rural.....	69	62	61	58

*This percentage is lowest for this column.

[3] These interpretations, though drawn from the writer's experience over four years as a sociologist-actuary at the Illinois State penitentiaries at Pontiac and Joliet, are to be considered tentative hypotheses, subject to further study and elaboration.

In a similar way parolees arrested in farm communities may be considered "hicks" in the city, a condition making their parole adjustment there more difficult than it would have been on the farm.

SAME COMMUNITY VERSUS DIFFERENT COMMUNITY

Men who have been paroled to a community of a different size have also changed from one community to a different one. A smaller proportion of men who are paroled to a community of the same size also change from one community to another. How does changing communities affect parole adjustment? When a man is paroled to the same community, presumably he has a few friends. These friends, it is true, may include some who are on the wrong side of the law, but the parolee probably has law-abiding friends such as his parents, schoolmates, former work associates, etc., who are of real help in his making an adjustment in free society. In a strange community the absence of these helpful friends, plus the stigma of "ex-con," may mean that the only friends he will make are those who are undesirable.

CONCLUSION

The Illinois parole data indicate that, on the average, men paroled to a community of the same size as the one in which they were arrested have done better on parole than have men who were paroled to a community of a different size. In trying to interpret this finding, we have been led to formulate a number of hypotheses which can be verified only by further study.

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TABLE 3

PAROLE VIOLATION RATES PER 1,000 BY COMMUNITY OF ARREST AND PAROLE COMMUNITY STANDARDIZED BY AGE

PAROLE COMMUNITY	COMMUNITY			
	1	2	3	4
Total.....	387	471	453	338
1.....	*352*	485	425	395
2.....	491	*454*	504	412
3.....	455	513	*414*	377
4.....	492	486	474	*305*

TABLE 4

PAROLE VIOLATION RATES PER 1,000 BY COMMUNITY OF ARREST AND PAROLE COMMUNITY STANDARDIZED BY OFFENSE

PAROLE COMMUNITY	COMMUNITY			
	1	2	3	4
Total.....	409	456	444	333
1.....	*374*	497	425	361
2.....	511	*442*	512	390
3.....	457	519	*408*	384
4.....	529	473	465	*298*

TABLE 5

PAROLE VIOLATION RATES PER 1,000 BY COMMUNITY OF ARREST AND PAROLE COMMUNITY STANDARDIZED BY HOME STATES

PAROLE COMMUNITY	COMMUNITY			
	1	2	3	4
Total.....	391	470	452	339
1.....	*360*	468	421	382
2.....	483	*455*	503	404
3.....	456	507	*418*	368
4.....	443	487	482	*306*

TABLE 6

PAROLE VIOLATION RATES PER 1,000 BY COMMUNITY OF ARREST AND PAROLE COMMUNITY STANDARDIZED BY TYPE OF OFFENDER

PAROLE COMMUNITY	COMMUNITY			
	1	2	3	4
Total.....	386	463	457	359
1.....	*348*	458	*428*	335
2.....	500	*448*	494	402
3.....	426	512	434	389
4.....	464	481	488	*331*

TABLE 7

PAROLE VIOLATION RATES PER 1,000 BY COMMUNITY OF ARREST AND PAROLE COMMUNITY STANDARDIZED BY RACE NATIVITY

PAROLE COMMUNITY	COMMUNITY			
	1	2	3	4
Total.....	395	469	446	359
1.....	*366*	469	430	474
2.....	490	*454*	502	406
3.....	450	522	422	359
4.....	464	499	*411*	*321*

TABLE 8

PAROLE VIOLATION RATES PER 1,000 BY COMMUNITY OF ARREST AND PAROLE COMMUNITY STANDARDIZED BY WORK RECORD

PAROLE COMMUNITY	COMMUNITY			
	1	2	3	4
Total.....	396	455	444	358
1.....	*365*	471	*419*	351
2.....	491	*442*	485	395
3.....	433	499	422	489
4.....	466	455	447	*332*

TABLE 9

PAROLE VIOLATION RATES PER 1,000 BY COMMUNITY AND PAROLE COMMUNITY STANDARDIZED BY MARITAL STATUS

PAROLE COMMUNITY	COMMUNITY			
	1	2	3	4
Total.....	395	470	453	415
1.....	*361*	473	*420*	350
2.....	499	*456*	514	395
3.....	454	511	422	366
4.....	483	498	482	*308*

TABLE 10

PAROLE VIOLATION RATES PER 1,000 BY COMMUNITY AND PAROLE COMMUNITY STANDARDIZED BY FAMILY INTEREST

PAROLE COMMUNITY	COMMUNITY			
	1	2	3	4
Total.....	416	453	446	338
1.....	*375*	463	*424*	368
2.....	521	*446*	491	374
3.....	443	474	428	357
4.....	502	455	466	*316*

TABLE 11

PAROLE VIOLATION RATES PER 1,000 BY COMMUNITY AND PAROLE COMMUNITY STANDARDIZED BY NUMBER OF ASSOCIATES

PAROLE COMMUNITY	COMMUNITY			
	1	2	3	4
Total.....	388	470	452	337
1.....	*354*	476	*365*	374
2.....	494	*456*	510	401
3.....	451	512	422	365
4.....	476	488	476	*303*

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

ROLE CONFLICT AND PERSONALITY

March 13, 1951

To the Editor:

In their paper on "Role Conflict and Personality" (*American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1951, pp. 395–406), Samuel A. Stouffer and Jackson Toby have suggested what may develop into an effective means for exploring the extent to which one field of social theory corresponds to social reality. As a pioneer study of a subject top-heavy with theory but deficient in research, this paper is to be commended.

However, a basic weakness is the extreme simplification of the specific situations in which the subjects were asked to make judgments. Each of the four stories on pages 396 and 397 omits most of the essential qualifying criteria upon which actual judgments are based in real life: actual judgments and decisions to act emerge from a complex of situational factors which are never so simply evaluated as are the examples provided. By adding realistic qualifications to each of the situations and using these revisions as a basis for retesting the same subjects, it could be demonstrated that the responses reported have little relation to reality.

In the first story, for example, such a qualification might be whether the driver friend has consistently menaced the lives of pedestrians or whether this is his first known offense. A further consideration is whether the pedestrian was fatally injured or sustained only minor bruises. Was the pedestrian violating a law by jaywalking across a street where speeding violations were frequent, or did he lurch drunkenly and unexpectedly across an intersection through a red light? Again, the driver might have been rushing his friend (in this case the subject) to the hospital for an emergency appendectomy. If the subject were confronted by an actual situation instead of the questionnaire story, all these possible circumstances would bias his judgments, in either a "particularistic" or a "universalistic" direction.

The other stories also depict unrealistically simplified and incomplete situations; in each of the examples it would seem that the extent of considered obligation to a friend would vary directly with the intensity of friendly feeling, which differs markedly between one's most intimate friends and those who are only slightly closer than casual acquaintances. Stouffer and Toby have left this variable to the subject's imagination.

In the second story cited, whether or not the critic believes his play-producing friend has a "right" to expect a generous but dishonest review might depend upon the critic's altruistic sentiments. Thus the critic might be confronted with the dilemma of whether his friend should be discouraged away from play production into activity deemed more useful to the community, on the one hand, or, on the other hand, whether he should be encouraged, despite the failure of this one play, because it seems likely that his money and influence in continued play production will in the end have a beneficial effect on the community. If the second alternative were selected as a basis for action, an unavoidable contradiction in the interpretation of the response would arise, since a "universalistic" attitude would then evoke a "particularistic" response.

Perhaps a more realistic approach to evaluating judgments and action in situations involving role conflict could be made if each of these stories were presented to each of the subjects with a number of added situational factors to be considered independent-

ly. Differing responses might then provide a continuum of qualifying factors with respect to each general situation, ranging from those which invariably elicited a "particularistic" response, to those which invariably elicited a "universalistic" response. This might provide a more tenable basis for measuring and interpreting responses that hinge upon role conflict.

GEORGE W. KORBER
Stanford University

April 11, 1951

To the Editor:

We hope that Korber or others will try out his idea, well summarized in his last paragraph, in new empirical studies. Incidentally, in the paper he criticizes we actually used a simple version of his main idea when we varied the cheating situation in the case of high risk and low risk. It may be that several variations of the same situation would be as good a device for ordering respondents in a scale as the use of different situations. Also it may be that it is better not to introduce too much concrete and perhaps distracting detail. We will only know by empirical results. Let us hope that other readers of our paper will have still further suggestions capable of operational testing. Particularly, ideas are needed for studies which can be made in settings closer to actual life than pencil-and-paper tests.

SAMUEL A. STOUFFER
JACKSON TOBY
Harvard University

HIGHER DEGREES IN SOCIOLOGY CONFERRED IN 1950

According to reports received by the *Journal* from 80 departments of sociology in the United States and Canada offering graduate instruction, 113 doctoral degrees and 397 Master's degrees in sociology were conferred in the calendar year 1950.

DOCTOR'S DEGREES

Harter Aubrey Baer, A.B. California (Los Angeles), 1937; A.M. Southern California, 1941. "Adjustment of High School Seniors and the Marital Adjustment of Their Parents in a Southern California City." *Southern California.*

Alan Bates, B.A., M.A. Washington (Seattle), 1938, 1940. "Factors Associated with Adjustment to a Selected Housing Environment." *Washington (Seattle).*

Russell E. Bayliff, A.B. Ohio Wesleyan, 1929; M.A. Ohio, 1939. "Factors Associated with Marital Adjustment among Industrial Workers." *Ohio State.*

John C. Belcher, B.S. Oklahoma, 1943; M.S. Louisiana State, 1945. "The Impact of Urbanization upon Selected Aspects of Rural Life in the United States." *Wisconsin.*

Ivan Carl Belknap, B.A., M.A. Texas, 1940, 1944. "Age-Role Sequence Analysis in Sociology." *Texas.*

Morroe Berger, B.S.S. College of the City of New York, 1940. "Equality by Statute: Law and Group Discrimination in the United States." *Columbia.*

John Raney Bertrand, B.S., M.S. Technological College, 1940, 1941. "Relation of Selected Social and Psychological Factors to Academic Achievement of Students in the School of Agriculture, Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas." *Cornell.*

John Neal Bethune, A.B. Franklin and Marshall, 1935; B.D. Seminary of Reformed Church (Lancaster, Pa.), 1938. "Attitudes of the Members of the Evangelical and Reformed Church as Related to Certain Personal, Social, and Economic Factors." *Pittsburgh.*

Leo Bogart, A.B. Brooklyn College, 1941; M.A. Chicago, 1948. "The Comic Strips and Their Adult Readers: A Study of Male Workers in a New York City Neighborhood." *Chicago.*

Alvin Boskoff, B.S.C. College of the City of New York, 1945; M.A. Columbia, 1948. "Sociological Framework for a Theory of Planning." *North Carolina.*

Margaret L. Bright, A.B. California, 1941; M.A. Missouri, 1944. "Occupational Choice Behavior: An Exploratory Study." *Wisconsin.*

James Stephen Brown, A.B. Berea College, 1937; A.M. Harvard, 1941. "The Social Organization of an Isolated Kentucky Mountain Neighborhood." *Harvard.*

John N. Burrus, B.A. Mississippi, 1942; M.A. Louisiana State, 1944. "Differential Mortality in Mississippi." *Louisiana State.*

Donald W. Calhoun, A.B. Erskine College, 1937; M.A. Furman, 1938. "The Reception of Marxian Sociological Theory by American Academic Sociologists." *Chicago.*

Harriet Carr, M.S.S.W., Catholic, 1944. "A Study of Discriminatory Practices in Semi-public Institutions Relative to Jewish People in Washington, D.C. *Catholic.*

Joseph A. Cavanaugh, B.A. Eastern Washington College, 1936; M.A. Washington (Seattle), 1944. "Formulation, Testing, and Analysis of the Interactance Hypothesis." *Washington (Seattle).*

Amoss Lee Coleman, A.B. Emory, 1938; A.M. North Carolina, 1940. "The People's View of the Extension Service in Relation to Extension Objectives and Problems." *Cornell.*

Sr. Thomas Albert Corbett, M.A. Ohio State; 1935. "'People' or 'Masses': A Critical Study of Two Basic Concepts in Political Sociology." *Catholic.*

Donald R. Cressey, B.S. Iowa State College, 1943. "Criminal Violation of Financial Trust." *Indiana.*

Helmut Otto Dahlke, B.A., M.A. Illinois, 1935, 1947. "The Institutional Order and Social Structure of an Elementary School." *Wisconsin.*

Mariel M. Daniel, A.B. Antioch College, 1936; M.A. North Carolina, 1941. "Influence of Selected Occupational, Racial, and Resi-

dence Factors upon Intelligence: A Cultural-intellectual Study of North Carolina." *North Carolina.*

William A. DeHart, B.S. Brigham Young, 1937; M.A. Minnesota, 1941. "The Significance of Cultural Factors on the Determination of Differential Educational Behavior of Farm Families in Selected Rural Communities of Wisconsin." *Wisconsin.*

Edward Clifton Devereux, A.B., M.A. Harvard, 1934, 1939. "Gambling and the Social Structure: A Sociological Study of Lotteries and Horse Racing in Contemporary America." *Harvard.*

Harold Thomas Diehl, A.B., A.M. Missouri, 1933; 1935. "A Historiographic and Sociographic Approach to the Problem of Employee-Employer Relationships." *Southern California.*

Robert Miller Dinkel, A.B. Notre Dame, 1930; M.A. Minnesota, 1937. "Factors in Regional Fertility Changes, 1910–1940." *North Carolina.*

Floyd Dotson, B.A. Reed College, 1942. "The Associations of City Workers." *Yale.*

Luke E. Ebersole, A.B. Elizabethtown College, 1940; M.A. Pennsylvania, 1945. "Church Lobbying: With Special Reference to Federal Legislation." *Pennsylvania.*

Glaister A. Elmer, A.B., M.A. Pittsburgh; 1946, 1947. "An Experiment in Measurement of Identification with the Work Situation." *Ohio State.*

Abbott Lamoyne Ferriss, B.J. Mississippi, 1937; M.A. North Carolina, 1943. "North Carolina Trade Centers, 1910–1940." *North Carolina.*

George Cross Fetter, A.B. Hamilton College, 1943; M.A. Cornell, 1947. "The Relation of Selected Social and Attitudinal Factors to Formal Participation in Two Rural New York Communities." *Cornell.*

Elijah H. Fitchett, A.B., M.A. Howard, 1926, 1927. "The Free Negro in Charleston South Carolina." *Chicago.*

Father Albert Sidney Foley, A.B., M.A., S.T.L.M.A. (Soc.) St. Louis, 1935, 1936, 1944, 1948. "The Catholic Church and the Washington Negro." *North Carolina.*

Roy G. Francis, B.A. Linfield College, 1946; M.A. Oregon, 1948. "Prediction as a Sociological Operation." *Wisconsin.*

Francis Joseph Fridel, A.B. Dayton, 1917; St.D. Fridourg, 1926; M.A. Catholic, 1935. "Social Patterns in the Society of Mary (Marianists)." *Pittsburgh.*

Hiram J. Friedsam, A.B. Baylor, 1939; M.A. Texas, 1940. "Some Demographic Aspects of Old Age in the United States." *Texas.*

Ezra Wooley Geddes, B.S., M.S. Utah State Agricultural College, 1942, 1946. "An Exploratory Study of Mothers' Attitudes toward Control of Their Children and Parental Practices in Handling Problem Situations between the Parents and Their Children." *Cornell.*

Nathan Goldman, A.B., M.A. Clark, 1929, 1930. "The Differential Selection of Juvenile Offenders for Court Appearance." *Chicago.*

Milton Myer Gordon, A.B. Bowdoin College, 1939. "Social Class in Modern American Sociology. *Columbia.*

Sr. Mary Jeanine Gruesser, M.A. Catholic, 1942. "Categorical Evaluation of Jews among Catholic Parochial School Children." *Catholic.*

Michael Hakeem, B.S. in Soc. Adm., M.A. Ohio State, 1942, 1945. "Forecasting Parole Outcome by Parole Officers and Laymen." *Ohio State.*

William H. Harlan, A.B., M.A. Nebraska, 1938, 1940. "Isolation and Conduct in Later Life: Study of Four Hundred and Sixty-four Chicagoans of Ages Sixty to Ninety-five." *Chicago.*

Huntington Harris, B.S. School of Public Affairs, American (Washington, D.C.), 1939. "The Theory of Personal Names." *Columbia.*

William Ellis Hartman, A.B., A.M. Southern California, 1947, 1948. "The Relation between Job Adjustment and Marital Adjustment of a selected Group of Workers." *Southern California.*

David Henderson, A.B. Westminster College, 1938; M.A. Pittsburgh, 1941. "The Social Status and Social Mobility of a Selected Group of High School Graduates." *Pittsburgh.*

Andy F. Henry, A.B. Ohio State, 1940; M.A. Chicago, 1949. "The Nature of the Relation between Suicide and the Business Cycle." *Chicago.*

Hilda Hertz, A.B. Skidmore College, 1942; A.M. Duke, 1944. "Language and the Social Situation: A Study in Race Relations." *Duke.*

Jerome Heartwell Holland, B.S., M.S., Cornell, 1939, 1941. "A Study of Negroes Em-

ployed by the Sun Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company during World War II: Problems in the Post-war Period." *Pennsylvania.*

John B. Holland, A.B. Tulsa, 1943; M.A. Michigan State College, 1946. "Attitudes toward Minority Groups in Relation to Rural Social Structure." *Michigan State College.*

John W. Hoskins, A.B. Georgetown College, 1939; M.A. George Peabody College for Teachers, 1940. "Differential Achievement of the Socio-economic Classes among Male Undergraduates of Indiana University, 1948–49." *Indiana.*

Fred C. Ikle, M.A. Chicago, 1949. "The Impact of War upon the Spacing of Urban Population." *Chicago.*

Allvar H. Jacobson, B.S. in Ed., M.A. Miami, 1937, 1939. "A Study of Conflict in Attitudes toward the Roles of the Husband and the Wife in Marriage." *Ohio State.*

Elmer H. Johnson, B.A., M.A. Wisconsin, 1946, 1948. "Educational Attainment and Internal Migration, U.S., 1935–40." *Wisconsin.*

Ira Orlando Jones, Ph.B. Chicago, 1916; M.A. Omaha, 1938. "Sociological Factors Influencing Guidance-counseling in a Mid-west Metropolitan High School." *Nebraska.*

John J. Kane, A.B. St. Joseph's College, 1939; M.A. Temple, 1946. "The Irish Immigrant in Philadelphia, 1840–1900: A Study in Conflict and Accommodation." *Pennsylvania.*

Donald Kent, B.S. West Chester State College, 1940; M.A. Temple, 1945. "The Refugee Intellectual." *Pennsylvania.*

Haitung King, B.A. Cheeloo (Tsinan China), 1935; M.A. Wisconsin, 1948. "An Analysis of Selected Demographic Aspects of the Chinese-American Population." *Louisiana State.*

Marvin R. Koller, B.S. in Ed. Kent State, 1930; M.A. Ohio State, 1947. "A Statistical Study of Changes Occurring in Selected Aspects of Courtship among Three Married Female Generations, Central Ohio, 1949." *Ohio State.*

Toimi Kyllonen, A.B., M.A. Bucknell, 1935, 1936. "The Bad Credit Risk as a Phase of Personal Disorganization." *Minnesota.*

Herman R. Lantz, B.S. in Ed. Kent State, 1942; M.A. Ohio State, 1947. "Social Factors in Mental Disorders: A Study of 1,000 Psychiatrically Diagnosed Cases." *Ohio State.*

Shu-Ching Lee, A.B. Tsing Hau, 1935; M.A. Wisconsin, 1938. "Social Implications of Farm Tenancy in China." *Chicago.*

Gerhard E. Lenski, B.A., M.A. Yale, 1947, 1949. "The Relationship between Prestige and Wealth." *Yale.*

Frederick Lindstrom, A.B., A.M. Chicago, 1938, 1941. "The Military Mind and the Soldier Press." *Chicago.*

T. Wilson Longmore, B.S. Colorado A. and M. College, 1939; M.A. Louisiana State, 1942. "Possibilities of Agricultural Colonization in Peru with Reference to Persons of European Origin." *Michigan State College.*

Boyd E. Macrory, A.B. Ashbury College, 1931; M.A. Wisconsin, 1935. "A Sociological Analysis of the Role and Functions of the Tavern in the Community." *Wisconsin.*

John Benjamin Magee, A.B. Washington, 1938; M.A. Harvard, 1946. "Sri Ramakrishna and John Woolman: A Study in the Sociology of Sanctity." *Harvard.*

Simon Marcson, A.B. Chicago, 1936. "The Prediction of Intermarriage." *Chicago.*

Albert J. Mayer, A.B., M.A. Chicago, 1947, 1949. "Differentials in Length of Life, City of Chicago: 1880–1940." *Chicago.*

Shotaro Frank Miyamato, A.B., M.A. Washington, 1936, 1938. "The Career of Intergroup Tensions: A Study of the Collective Adjustments of Evacuees to Crises at the Tule Lake Relocation Center." *Chicago.*

Thomas P. Monahan, A.B., M.A. Indiana, 1937, 1938. "Pattern of Age at Marriage in the United States." *Pennsylvania.*

Theron E. Montgomery, A.B. Wofford College, 1947; A.M. Duke, 1948. "The Social Implications of the Personnel Policies of the Southern Textile Industry." *Duke.*

John Kenneth Morland, B.S. Birmingham Southern, 1938; B.D. Yale University Divinity School, 1943. "Milton: The Cultural Study of a Piedmont Cotton Mill Community." *North Carolina.*

John A. Morsell, B.S. College of the City of New York, 1934; M.A. Columbia, 1938. "Political Behavior of Negroes in New York City." *Columbia.*

Annabelle Bender Motz, A.B. Wisconsin, 1941; M.A. Chicago, 1943. "Conceptions of Marital Roles in Transition." *Chicago.*

Emily Mudd, L.A. School of Landscape Architecture, Cambridge, 1922; M.S.W. Pennsylvania, 1936. "Marriage Counseling in Practice: Study Based on 1,033 Consecutive

Cases, Marriage Council of Philadelphia, 1936–1944." *Pennsylvania.*

Raymond A. Mulligan, B.S. New York, 1937; M.A. Fordham School of Social Service, 1939. "A Socio-economic Analysis of the Male Student Body, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, Semester II, 1947." *Indiana.*

Jerome K. Myers, Jr., B.A. Franklin and Marshall, 1942; M.A. Yale, 1947. "The Differential Time Factor in Assimilation." *Yale.*

Robert Cobb Myers, B.S. Boston, 1940; M.A. Stanford, 1941. "Biographical Factors and Academic Achievement: An Experimental Investigation." *Stanford.*

Bardin H. Nelson, B.S., M.A. Louisiana State, 1942, 1943. "Some Social-Psychological Problems Involved in the Adjustment of Students to the University Community." *Louisiana State.*

Robert Ray Noble, A.B. Coe College, 1941; M.A. Nebraska, 1948. "Evaluating the Motivations of Criminal Behavior." *Nebraska.*

Clarence W. Norris, A.B., A.M. Michigan, 1912, 1930. "A Comparative Study of Selected White and Negro Youth of San Antonio, Texas, with Special Reference to Certain Basic Social Attitudes." *Southern California.*

Ju-Shu Pan, A.B. Tsing Hua, 1937; M.A. Chicago, 1947. "A Comparison of Factors in the Personal Adjustment of Old People in the Protestant Church Homes for the Aged and the Old People Living Outside of Institutions." *Chicago.*

Albert Pierce, A.B. Bates College, 1939; A.M. Harvard, 1948. "Fertility Differentials among Confessional Groups." *Harvard.*

Nathan A. Pitts, M.Fi. Catholic, 1944. "The Cooperative Movement in Negro Communities of North Carolina." *Catholic.*

Olive Westbrooke Quinn, A.B. Goucher College, 1936· M.A. Chicago, 1945. "Racial Attitude and the Conforming Personality." *Chicago.*

Dietrich Reitzes, M.A. Chicago, 1941. "Collective Factors in Race Relations." *Chicago.*

Leonard H. Robinson, B.S. Wilberforce College, 1935; M.A. Atlanta, 1937. "Negro Street Society: A Study of Racial Adjustment in Two Southern Urban Communities." *Ohio State.*

Natalie Rogoff, A.B. Barnard College, 1943; M.A. Chicago, 1947. "Recent Trends in Occupational Mobility." *Chicago.*

Joseph Rosenstein, A.B., M.A. Chicago, 1939, 1941. "Small-Town Party Politics." *Chicago.*

Aileen D. Ross, B.S. London, 1939; A.M. Chicago, 1941. "Ethnic Relations and Social Structure: A Study of the Invasion of French-speaking Canadians into an English Canadian District." *Chicago.*

Morton Rubin, A.B. Boston, 1946; M.A. North Carolina, 1946, 1947. "Plantation County." *North Carolina.*

Beate R. Salz, B.A. Ohio State, 1941; M.S.S. New School, 1943. "The Human Element in Industrialization: A Hypothetical Case Study of Ecuadorian Indians." *New School.*

Rev. Leonidas R. Sanoval, M.A. Catholic, 1943. "Vida economica-social del Indio libre de la Sierra Ecuatoriona." *Catholic.*

Tom Taketo Sasaki, A.B. California, 1939. "Technological Change in a Navaho Farming Community: A Study of Social and Psychological Processes." *Cornell.*

John F. Schmidt, A.B., M.A. Chicago, 1941, 1946. "Patterns of Poor Adjustments in Persons of Later Maturity." *Chicago.*

Frank Scholfield, B.S. Southwest Missouri State College, 1946; M.A. Colorado, 1948. "Christianity and the Ideology of Capitalism." *Colorado.*

Clarence C. Schrag, B.A. Washington State College, 1939; M.A. Washington (Seattle), 1945. "Crimeville: A Sociometric Study of a Prison Community." *Washington (Seattle).*

Monroe Sirken, B.A., M.A. California (Los Angeles), 1946, 1947. "Bias Due to Non-availability in Sampling Surveys." *Washington (Seattle).*

Alfred B. Stafford, B.S. Carnegie Institute of Technology, 1931; A.M. Pittsburgh, 1939. "Trends of Invention in Material Culture: A Statistical Study of the Class-wise Distribution of Inventive Effort in the United States as Determined by Patents Granted during the Period 1914–45." *Chicago.*

Shirley A. Star, A.B. Chicago, 1939. "Interracial Tension in Two Areas of Chicago: An Exploratory Approach to the Measurement of Interracial Tension." *Chicago.*

Chester M. Stephenson, B.S. in Ed., M.A. Miami, 1935, 1942. "A Study of Attitudes toward Negroes of White Prospective Schoolteachers." *Ohio State.*

Fred Louis Strodtbeck, A.B. Miami (Ohio), 1940; M.A. Indiana, 1942. "A Study of Hus-

band-Wife Interaction in Three Cultures." *Harvard.*

Attlee L. Stroup, B.S. in Ed. Kent State, 1942; M.A. Ohio State, 1946. "A Study of the Burgess-Cottrell System of Predicting Marital Success or Failure." *Ohio State.*

Francis Xavier Sutton, S.B. Temple, 1938; A.M. Princeton, 1940. "The Radical Marxist." *Harvard.*

Kaare Svalastoga, Cand. Philol. et magister artium, Oslo, 1940. "An Analysis of Public Opinion on International Issues in the State of Washington." *Washington (Seattle).*

Jackson Toby, A.B. Brooklyn College, 1946; M.A. Harvard, 1949. "Educational Maladjustment as a Predisposing Factor in Criminal Careers: A Comparative Study of Ethnic Groups." *Harvard.*

Parin H. Vakharia, B.A. St. Xavier's College (Bombay), 1943; M.S. New York School of Social Work, 1948. "Some Problems of Child Care in India: The Influence of Cultural and Social Conditions on Indian Children." *New School.*

Pablo B. Vazquez, B.A. Puerto Rico, 1940; M.S. Wisconsin, 1946. "Castaner: A Study of a Planned Rural Community in Puerto Rico." *Wisconsin.*

Gerhard H. Veringa, Undergraduate studies at University of Groningen; M.A. Fordham, 1947. "The Sociological School in Criminology: A Study in the Origin and Development of a Sociological Thought System." *Fordham.*

Ali Husain Wardi, B.B.A. Beirut, 1943; M.A. Texas, 1948. "A Sociological Analysis of Idn Khaldun's Theory: A Study in the Sociology of Knowledge." *Texas.*

James R. White, B.S. Missouri, 1942; M.A. Teachers College (Columbia), 1949. "Social Organization and Adult Education in Selected Type Communities." *Columbia.*

George S. Wise, B.S. Furman, 1928; M.A. Columbia, 1930. "*Caudillismo:* A Study in Latin American Dictatorship." *Columbia.*

Yi-Chuang Lu, A.B. Yenching, 1935; M.A. Chicago, 1942. "A Study of Dominant, Equalitarian, and Submissive Roles in Marriage." *Chicago.*

Chester W. Young, B.A. Louisiana State Normal College, 1938; M.A. Louisiana State, 1940; M.A. Harvard, 1948. "A Sociological Study of Rural Life in Haiti." (Degree awarded posthumously.) *Louisiana State.*

MASTER'S DEGREES

Philip Ackerman, B.S. Illinois, 1949. "The Social Role of Athletic Heroes Compared with Social Roles of Military Heroes." *Illinois.*

Everett Merle Adams, Jr., B.A. Doane College, 1945. No thesis. *Harvard.*

Aly F. Ahmed, A.B. Cairo, 1948. "The Rural Social Centers of Egypt." *Tennessee.*

Mary F. Alexander, A.B. Michigan State College, 1948. No thesis. *Michigan State College.*

Inga Wilhelmsen Allwood, Artium, Oslo, Norway, 1940. "Housing Studies in the City of Oslo: The Development of Psychological and Sociological Orientations in Housing Statistics, 1855–1948." *Columbia.*

Abdul J. Al-Tahir, License of the Higher Teachers' College, 1946. "The Arab Community in the Chicago Area: The Muslim Palestinian Community." *Chicago.*

Carl W. Andersen, A.B. North Carolina, 1938. "A Study of Tenant Mobility from a Low-Rent Housing Project in New Haven, Connecticut." *Columbia.*

David H. Anderson, B.A. Michigan State College, 1949. No thesis. *Michigan State College.*

Robert O. Andrews, B.A. Iowa, 1949. "A Study of the Relationship of Absence of a Parent to Courtship Status, Using a Matched Sample." *Purdue.*

Hisa Aoki, B.A. Utah, 1949. "Functional Analysis of 'Mono-racial' In-groups." *Utah.*

Marvin Arnold, B.S. Purdue, 1948. "A Study of Public Recreation in Tippecanoe County, Indiana." *Purdue.*

Thomas E. Arnott, A.B. Denver, 1948. "An Analysis of Colorado's Past and Present Probation Procedures as Considered from the Standpoint of Ideal Probation Patterns." *Denver.*

Nicholas Babychuk, A.B. Wayne, 1947. "Fooling—an Experiment in Cooperative, Department-Store Selling." *Wayne.*

Howard G. Bain, "A Sociological Analysis of the Chicago Skid-Row Lifeway" *Chicago.*

Kathryn Feagin Baines, B.A. Southern Methodist, 1947. "Social Survey of West Dallas." *Southern Methodist.*

Marie Baird, B.S. Loyola of the South, 1948. "The Negro-American Soldier in War and Peace." *Virginia.*

Harry Ball, A.B. Washington (St. Louis), 1949. "Case History of a Labor Union." *Washington (St. Louis).*

Isobel Bancroft, "The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec." *Laval.*

George W. Barclay, B.A. Pennsylvania State College, 1945. No thesis. *Princeton.*

James W. Bardsdale, B.S. (Ed.) Virginia, 1948. "A Comparative Study of Contemporary White and Negro Standards in Health, Education, and Welfare, Charlottesville, Virginia." *Virginia.*

William E. Barnett, B.A. Richmond, 1949. "A Study of the Relationship of Income and Socio-economic Status: A Study of Income and Socio-economic Status as Related to the Possession of Wheeled Motor Equipment and the Amount of Travel for Charlotte County, Virginia." *Virginia.*

Edith V. Barra, B.A. Columbia, 1947. "Compulsory Work for Jewish Women in Germany: A Sociological Analysis of a Group of Female Jewish Factory Workers under Nazi Persecution in Berlin, Germany, from 1939 to 1943." *Columbia.*

Paul Sidney Barrabee, B.A. Harvard, 1933. No thesis. *Harvard.*

Frederick L. Bates, A.B. George Washington, 1949. "The Characteristics of the Population of Prisons and Reformatories in 1940 with Special Reference to Racial Distribution." *George Washington.*

Bernard C. Baumbach, B.A. Capital, 1947. "The Church as a Vehicle of Community Values in a Changing Rural Economy." *Texas.*

Mary Gusta Beall, A.B. Cincinnati, 1947. "Some Aspects of Nonwhite Migration in the Southeast." *North Carolina.*

Walter M. Beattie, A.B. Rutgers, 1948. "The Merchant Seamen." *Chicago.*

Peter Ludwig Berger, B.A. Wagner College, 1949. "Religion in the Puerto Rican Community of New York City." *New School.*

Leonard D. Bergman, "A Social-psychological Investigation of the Belief in Astrology (Report)." *Chicago.*

Marie Macario Bestul, B.A. Pennsylvania State College, 1947. "The Marginal Man in Society." *New School.*

Elizabeth Betz, A.B. Wisconsin, 1938. "Juvenile Parole Practices in the United States and Hawaii." *New York.*

Frances Marian Bishop, A.B. Drury College, 1949. "A Descriptive Study of Student Reactions in Two Sections of Cases in Human Relations." *Kansas.*

Robert Blauner, A.B. Chicago, 1948. "Personal Names: A Social-psychological Analysis." *Chicago.*

B. R. Blishen, B.A. McGill, 1949. "Study of Factors Influencing Philanthropy." *McGill.*

Robert O. Blood, Jr., B.A. Dartmouth College, 1942; B.D. Yale, 1945. "Negroes and the Retail Job Ceiling: An Empirical Study of Managerial Experience and Attitudes in the Twin Cities." *Minnesota.*

Samuel William Bloom, B.A. Pennsylvania, 1943. "The Image of Jewry in World History: Weber, Toynbee, and Spengler." *New School.*

Margaret Blough, B.S. Tenderwood, 1934. "The Trends in Collective Bargaining as Defined by Union Officials: A Sociological Study." *Chicago.*

Richard M. Blow, B.A. Harvard, 1948. "The Institutionalist Tradition in the History of Modern Family Sociology." *Fordham.*

George L. Booker, B. A. Lincoln, 1948. No thesis. *Pennsylvania.*

June Elizabeth Borders, A.B. Fisk, 1948. "The Sociology of the South: A Bibliography and Critique of Doctoral Dissertations and Master's Theses Written on Aspects of the South, 1938–48." *Fisk.*

Irwin Bosgang, B.S.S. College of the City of New York, 1948. "A Critical Review of Selected Conceptions of the Relationship between the Organism, Self, and Environment." *Michigan.*

Clark H. Bouwman, B.A. Kalamazoo College, 1941. "Ecumenical Protestantism and Labor Relations." *New School.*

Leonard Z. Breen, B.S. Illinois Institute of Technology, 1949. "Separation of Place of Work from Place of Residence in the City of Chicago." *Chicago.*

Robert Wallace Brissenden, A.B. Washington, 1948. "Relationship between Social Situation and Medical Problems of Men Found in the 'Skid Row' Area." *Stanford.*

Rozanne Brooks, B.A. Pennsylvania State College, 1944. "An Occupational Study of the Negro Domestic in Columbia, Mo." *Missouri.*

Morgan C. Brown, A.B. Paine College, 1937. "Development and Composition of the Fellowship Church, Columbus, Ohio." *Ohio State.*

Charles Joseph Browning, A.B. Bethany College, 1944. "A Comparative Study of Family Adjustment and Home Conditions in a

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Edward Bruner, B.A. Ohio State, 1948. "A Level of Aspiration Study among the Ramah Navaho." *Ohio State.*

Hannah Elaine Bryant, A.B. Virginia State College, 1939. No thesis. *Temple.*

Robert W. Buechley, B.A. Washington, 1942. "Mortality Differentials among Immigrants." *Washington (Seattle).*

Gerald Bump, B.A. Purdue, 1949. "A Limited Testing of a Major Hypothesis in Industrial Sociology by a Case Study of a Dry Cleaning Establishment." *Purdue.*

Charles Burn, A.B. Butler, 1947. "A Comparative Study of the Variable Bases of the Census Enumeration of Church Membership in the United States." *New York.*

Robert N. Burnham, B.A. Bowdoin College, 1947. "The War and Small Business: An Interpretation of the Hearings before the Special Committee To Study and Survey Problems of American Small Business Enterprises, U.S. Senate, Dec. 15, 1941—Aug. 22, 1945." *Columbia.*

Samuel W. Byuarm, B.A. Langston, 1949. "The Resettlement of Displaced Persons in Iowa." *Iowa.*

Glen Alfred Campbell, B.S. Manchester College, 1948. No thesis. *Cornell.*

Edward Russell Carter, A.B. Earlham College, 1932. "The Adjustment of the Dakota Indians in Rapid City, South Dakota." *Kansas.*

Vera Lois Chambers, A.B. Ohio Wesleyan, 1948. "The Sociological and Social Psychological Functions of the Urban Protestant Church." *Oberlin College.*

Hannah S. Charles, B.A., B.Ed. University of Madras, 1930, 1931. "The Indian Village School as the Center of the Community." *Ohio State.*

Lucy Chin, A.B. Illinois, 1949. "Population Dynamics in Jamaica, B.W.I." *New York.*

Alfred C. Clarke, A.B. Marietta College, 1948. "An Examination of the Validity of Residential Propinquity as a Factor in Marriage Selection." *Ohio State.*

Roy Allen Clifford, B.F.A. Texas, 1948. "The Development of the Treatment of Race in American Sociology." *Texas.*

Mary A. Cody, A.B. Lane College, 1934. "A Sociological Study of the Negro Converts in a Catholic Parish in Washington, D.C." *Catholic.*

Bernice R. Cohen, A.B. Pennsylvania, 1948. No thesis. *Pennsylvania.*

Benoit Corrivault, B.S.S. Laval, 1949. "La Représentation des éléments canadiens dans le ministère fédéral dupuis la confédération." *Laval.*

Richard J. Coughlin, B.S. State Teachers College, Buffalo, 1941. No thesis. *Yale.*

Clifford N. Crooks, B.A. New York State College for Teachers, 1949. No thesis. *Pennsylvania.*

Tibor Walter Cserepes, A.B. San Francisco State College, 1948. "Psychopathic Behavior Differences, Social Status, and Motivation." *Stanford.*

Gordon Cummings, B.S. Cornell, 1948. "The Differential Adoption of Recommended Farm Practices among Dairymen in a New York Community." *Cornell.*

Robert P. Cunningham, B.A. Iowa, 1949. "Some Aspects of the Definition of the Adolescent Situation, with Particular Reference to the Role of Parent." *Iowa.*

William Lee Cupp, B.A. Iowa, 1949. "The Youth Hostel Movement in Western Europe after World War II: A Study in Institutions and Collective Behavior." *Iowa.*

Charles G. Curtis, A.B. Indiana, 1949. "The Relation between Principle and Practice in the Behavior of an Interracial Church Congregation." *Chicago.*

Kenneth E. Cuthbertson, B.S. Massachusetts State College, 1942. No thesis. *Pennsylvania.*

Harris Dalbec, A.B. Chapman College, 1947. "Public Opinion Regarding Sit-down strikes with Special Emphasis upon the Public Press." *New York.*

Dang The Binh, Licence en droit, Indo-China, 1947. No thesis. *Yale.*

Charles T. Daniel, B.A. North Carolina, 1947. "Proposals for Democratic Planning in the United States: An Essay in the Theory of National Planning." *Columbia.*

Rose Etta Darden, B.A. Prairie View A. & M. College, 1946. "The Occupational Status of Prairie View Sociology Major and Minor Graduates 1929–49." *Prairie View A. & M. College.*

Ruth Elizabeth Davidow, B.A. Vassar College, 1946. "A Re-evaluation of the Concept of Assimilation." *Columbia.*

Lewis James Davies, B.A. Texas, 1947. "A Sociological Study of the Cartoon." *Texas.*

Hattie Taylor Davis, B.A. Southern Methodist, 1949. "Dallas, Texas, Census Tract Street Directory." *Southern Methodist.*

Robert C. Davis, B.A. Wisconsin, 1949. "Conservative-radical Attitudes and Neurotic Tendencies." *Wisconsin.*

Bruno J. G. Dechamps, Undergraduate studies at Universities of Bonn and Heidelberg. "The Fundamentals of Alfred Weber's Sociology of Culture." *Fordham.*

Mary Lorraine DeLapp, A.B. MacMurray College, 1948. "Relationship between Ecological Separation and Political Participation in Flint, Michigan." *Michigan.*

Sidney B. Denman, B.A. Mississippi College, 1947. "The Career Line of a Southern Baptist Minister." *Tulane.*

Lois Elizabeth Dingilian, A.B. Chapman College, 1934. "Relation of Selected Social Factors to Certain Phases of School Adjustment." *Southern California.*

Dempster Dirks, A.B. Chapman College, 1936. "Comparative Study of the Nature and Degree of Comprehension of Socially Approved Attitudinal Values among Adolescent Boys in Probation Camps." *Southern California.*

William M. Dobriner, A.B. Hofstra, 1948. "The Role of Genius in Social Change." *Columbia.*

Norma Frances Donigan, B.A. Texas, 1943. "An Occupational Study of Dallas Migratory Mexicans." *Southern Methodist.*

John Donnelly, B.A. Buffalo, 1948. "An Examination of the Key Concepts in Bertrand Russell's Social and Political Philosophy." *Buffalo.*

Sanford M. Dornbusch, A.B. Syracuse, 1948. "The Monthly Crude Birth Rate, 1940–1946." *Chicago.*

Frederich J. Dougherty, A.B. La Salle College, 1948. "Differentials in American Catholic Opinion on the Admission of Displaced Persons to the United States." *Catholic.*

Thomas A. Downing, B.S. in Soc. Adm. Ohio State, 1949. "Participants' Evaluation of the Marriage Education Program of the Planned Parenthood Center, Columbus, Ohio." *Ohio State.*

Rex T. Duter, B.A. Michigan, 1949. "A Statistical Analysis of Cliques in an Institution for First Offenders." *Michigan.*

Ben Vincent Dwoskin, A.B. Chapman College, 1949. "Social Factors Associated with the Affiliation or Non-affiliation in the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation of Selected College Students." *Southern California.*

John Leonard Ecker, A.B. Pennsylvania State College, 1947. No thesis. *Harvard.*

Richard E. Edgar, A.B. Kansas, 1948. "A Sociological Study of Negro Churches in Lawrence, Kansas." *Kansas.*

Dean George Epley, B.S. in Ed. Kent State, 1947. "Some Relationships between Class Position and Vocational Adjustments of Young Adult Males." *Kent State.*

Allan Erde, B.A. University College, New York, 1948. "A Survey of Parole Violators and Violations: A Study of Parole Violators under the New York State Division of Parole." *Columbia.*

T. Q. Evans, A.B. Manchester College, 1945. "Attitudes of Urban 'Brethren' toward Selected Folkways and Mores." *Cincinnati.*

Frederick C. Everson, B.S. George Williams College, 1948. "A Study in Prediction of Criminal Careers from the Race Histories of Eighty-three Non-delinquents in 1929 and an Analysis of Predelinquent Social Histories." *Chicago.*

Eli N. Fass, B.A. Alfred, 1949. No thesis. *Pennsylvania.*

Margaret Ann Fenderson, A.B. Washington College, 1943. "Claims for Unemployment Compensation Benefits under the 'Suitability' Clause: An Analysis of North Carolina Cases, 1939–1948." *North Carolina.*

Alfred L. Ferron, A.B. Morgan College, 1949. "A Study of the Nature and Scope of Community Planning Activities in Iowa City." *Iowa.*

William C. Fiedler II, A.B. Rutgers, 1948. No thesis. *California (Berkeley).*

Paul Henry Fischer, A.B. California (Los Angeles), 1948. "Some Contributions of the Literature of General Semantics and Psychiatry to Sociological Theory." *Southern California.*

Sherman Kirkham Fitzgerald, B.S. Brigham Young, 1948. "A Comparative Study of Some Related Factors of 325 Seniors in High School in Utah and Sanpete Counties, 1949." *Brigham Young.*

Sylvia M. Fleis, A.B. Queens College, 1948. "A Survey of Northwestern University Settlement: An Historical Study of the Community Served by Northwestern University Settlement." *Northwestern.*

John Kenneth Folger, A.B. Emory, 1943. "Racial Attitudes and Social Backgrounds of College Freshmen." *North Carolina.*

Benjamin A. Fondi, A.B. Ohio, 1948. "The Effect of Institutional Formation on Students' Attitudes towards Minority Groups." *Catholic.*

Reisha Forstat, B.A. Roosevelt College, 1948. "Problems of Foreign Students at Purdue University." *Purdue.*

Henry Clay Franklin, Jr., A.B. Southern California, 1948. "A Critical Analysis of Theories and Tests of Attitudes." *Southern California.*

Howard Freeman, A.B. New York, 1948. "The Study of the Preferences and Attitudes of New York University Students toward the Purchase of Certain Personal Goods from a Male or Female Salesclerk." *New York.*

Eliot L. Freidson, Ph.B. Chicago, 1927. "Myth and the Child: An Aspect of Socialization." *Chicago.*

Charles Fritz, A.B. Drury College, 1947. "A Study of World War II International Marriages." *Chicago.*

Gideon W. Fryer, A.B. Tennessee, 1947. "Introduction of Intergroup Education into Southern Situations." *Tennessee.*

Harold R. Fuller, "Mount Greenwood: Social Organization in a Suburban Community." *Chicago.*

Rev. Norman Galloway, B.A. Villanova College, 1946. "An Investigation of the Attitudes of the Seniors of the Arts and Sciences Schools of the Catholic University Relative to Marriage." *Catholic.*

Rev. John Gavin, A.B. Villanova College, 1945. "Materinity Guilds: Origin, Purpose, Growth, Function, and Ascertainable Results of Same." *Catholic.*

Ludwig Geismar, B.A. Minnesota, 1947. "The Construction and Use of a Scale To Measure Ethnic Identification." *Minnesota.*

Gerhard Frederick Gettel, B.S. Michigan State College, 1942. No thesis. *Cornell.*

Willis Bruce Gillis, B.A. Dubuque, 1947. No thesis. *Iowa.*

Henry Francis Gilmore, B.S. Florida A. & M. College, 1943. "The Social Role of the Adult Educator." *Illinois.*

Herbert L. Gleason, B.S. Utah, 1949. "The Salt Lake City Police Department—1851–1949: A Social History." *Utah.*

Miriam Glucksohn, M.A. Hebrew University (Jerusalem), 1942. "The Problem of the Arab Middle East Society." *Columbia.*

Winfred Lamar Godwin, A.B. Birmingham Southern, 1948. "Differentials in Out-migration: Alabama Data, 1935–1940." *North Carolina.*

Donald H. Goff, A.B. Pennsylvania, 1941. No thesis. *Pennsylvania.*

Raymond L. Gold, "The Chicago Flat Janitor." *Chicago.*

Melvin Arthur Goldberg, B.S. College of the City of New York, 1942. "Politics and Television." *Columbia.*

Raymond H. Goodacre, B.A. Yale, 1949. No thesis. *Yale.*

Margie Gordon, A.B. John B. Stetson, 1946. "A Study of 202 Divorce Cases in Polk County, Fla." *Florida.*

Edward Green, B.A. Pennsylvania, 1949. No thesis. *Pennsylvania.*

Jerome Green, A.B. Ohio State, 1948. "An Attempt To Develop Two Indirect Techniques of Attitude Measurement; (1) An 'Information' Test (2) A 'Public Opinion Estimate' Test." *Michigan.*

William Greene, B.A. Buffalo, 1948. "An Examination of Certain Aspects of Leadership in the Jewish Community." *Buffalo.*

Scott Allen Greer, A.B. Baylor (Texas), 1946. No thesis. *California (Los Angeles).*

Charles Meade Grigg, B.S. College of William and Mary, 1948. "Approximate Rating of Deviation in the South in Selected Areas." *North Carolina.*

Vivian H. Grindstaff, A.B. Brigham Young, 1949. "A Study of the Marriage Patterns of 405 Members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints Residing in Springville, Utah, 1949." *Brigham Young.*

Leroy Gruner, A.B. Louisville, 1949. "The Problems of Aged People in Private Nursing Homes, Benevolent and Church Institutions, Louisville, 1950." *Louisville.*

John L. Haer, A.B. Cincinnati, 1949. "The Englewood Survey of Adjustment in Old Age: Selected Characteristics and Attitudes of the Older People of Englewood." *Chicago.*

Olga J. Haley, A.B. Chicago, 1944. "A Study of the Relationship between Occupational Prestige and Residence Rental in Columbus, Ohio." *Ohio State.*

Dudley Sennett Hall, B.A. Mississippi, 1948. "Displaced Persons in Louisiana and Mississippi." *Louisiana State.*

Fathalla Ahmed Saad Halloul, B.S. Farouk (Egypt), 1946. "A Review of the American Farm Organizations, Their Programs, and Interpretations to the Egyptian Situation." *Cornell.*

Joseph Gilbert Hardee, B.S. Clemson College, 1948. No thesis. *Kentucky.*

Leland D. Harder, A.B. Bethel College, 1948. "Plockhoy and His Writings: The Study of a Social Reformer." *Michigan State College.*

Chester W. Hartwig, B.A. Wisconsin, 1940. "Mormon Polygamy; A Study of Change in a Group's Value-System." *Wisconsin.*

Quinn A. Hatch, B.S. Brigham Young, 1948. "A Study of Certain Behavior Patterns of Former Relief Clients during the Years 1945–50, Comparing This Record with Their Recorded Behavior during the Relief Period, 1932–43." *Brigham Young.*

Murray Hausknecht, B.S. College of the City of New York, 1948. "The Independent Radical: A Sociological Study of Deviate Political Behavior." *Columbia.*

Robert S. Hean, A.B. Pennsylvania, 1949. No thesis. *Pennsylvania.*

Frank E. Heilman, B.S. De Paul, 1929; M.A. Indiana, 1935. "Adult Male Parole Violators in Nebraska: A Comparative Study." *Wisconsin.*

Albert M. J. Henrion, S.J., Studies at the Sorbonne, 1929, "Missions and Culture Change (with Special Emphasis on the Problem in China)." *Fordham.*

Thomas Wang Hoh, A.B. California (Berkeley), 1943. No thesis. *California (Berkeley).*

Phyllis Hojem, B.A. Guilford College (N.C.), 1942. "A Study of Propaganda and of the Analyses of the Institute for Prop. Analysis, Inc." *Colorado.*

Dan Hollon, A.B. American (Washington, D.C.), 1949. "A Method for Making Short-Run Projections of the Number of Births Occurring Each Month in the United States." *Columbia.*

Louanna Robertson Holloway, B.A. Randolph Macon Woman's College (Lynchburg, Va.), 1941. "An Investigation of the Civil Service Issue in the T.V.A." *Columbia.*

Ralph S. Holloway, B.A. Toledo, 1943. "Some Class Determinants of Judgment of Behavior." *Iowa.*

Janet Hoover, A.B. Ohio State, 1937. "The Group Concept in the Writings of Grace Coyle." *Kent State.*

James Horwitz, A.B. Roosevelt College, 1949. "The Sociology of Robert Ezra Park." *Southern California.*

F. X. Houde, B.S.S. Laval, 1949. "The Political Situation in the British West Indies." *Laval.*

Shu Shan Huang, A.B. National Central, 1945. "Present Revolution in China: A Sociological Analysis." *Illinois.*

Sr. Paulette Huber, A.B. St. Louis, 1942. "Teachings of Pius XII on Marriage and the Family." *Catholic.*

John W. Hudson, B.Sc. in Ed. Ohio State, 1949. "A Study of a Group of College Students Enrolled in General Studies 520 (Factors in Successful Marriage) To Determine the Area(s) in which Maximum Learning Took Place." *Ohio State.*

Thomas Chapman Hunt, A.B. Harvard, 1937. "Antioch College: A Sociological Analysis." *Columbia.*

Donald Irish, B.A. Colorado, 1941; M.S. George Williams (Ill.), 1944. "Reaction of Residents of Boulder, Colo. to the Introduction of Japanese into the Community." *Colorado.*

Kenneth H. Ives, B.A. Earlham College, 1938. "An Introduction to the Application of Accounting Methods to Social Science Data—the Preparation of Case Balance Sheets." *New School.*

Gladys Mae Jackson, A.B. Nebraska, 1949. "Indianismo: Social Revolution in Mexico." *Nebraska.*

Egbert G. Jaco, B.A. Texas, 1949. "Social Factors in Memory." *Texas.*

Norman G. Jacobs, B. S. cum laude, College of the City of New York, 1943. No thesis. *Harvard.*

Robert L. James, A.B. Wayne, 1948. "The Retail Store Work Group—Its Organization and Problems." *Wayne.*

Robert B. Jaynes, B.A. Miami (Ohio), 1947. No thesis. *Yale.*

Richard C. Johnson, A.B. Michigan, 1949. "A Statistical Analysis of Cliques in an Institution for First Offenders." *Michigan.*

Roland C. Johnson, A.B. Minnesota, 1949. "A Study of Factors Related to the Delinquency of Fifty Denver Boys." *Denver.*

Frank Jones, B.A. McGill, 1949. "Ethnic Relations in Industry." *McGill.*

J. H. Jones, Jr., B.S. Louisiana State, 1948. "The People of Frilot Cove: A Study of a Racial Hybrid Community in Rural South Central Louisiana." *Louisiana State.*

Daniel Joseph, "Career and Social Protest: An Analysis of a Chicago Art Group (Report)." *Chicago.*

George H. Kanouse, B.A. Denison (Granville, Ohio), 1947. "A Critical Analysis of Some

Hypotheses of Crime Causation since Darwin's Theory of Evolution." *Columbia.*

Rev. Walter Karrer, A.B. Redemptorist Seminary, 1947. "The Episcopal Mandate in Catholic Action." *Catholic.*

Bernard Karsh, "The Grievance Process in Union-Management Relations: Buick Melrose Park and UAW-CIO Local 6." *Chicago.*

Edward A. Kaska, Holy Cross College, 1948. "A Follow-up Study of Former Boys' Town Boys." *Catholic.*

Elihu Katz, A.B. Columbia College, 1948. "The Happiness Game: A Content Analysis of Radio Fan Mail." *Columbia.*

Rosita El Kaury, A.B. Marywood College, 1948. "The Social Contributions of the Spanish Saint Mieaela Desmaisieres." *Catholic.*

William F. Kenkel, B.S. Maryland, 1949. "A Sociological Study of the Married Student Veteran at the University of Maryland." *Maryland.*

John J. Kermisch, B.S. Wisconsin, 1949. "Technological Unemployment and Social Readjustment in the Community." *Wisconsin.*

Joan M. Kervick, B.A. College of New Rochelle, 1948. "A Sociological Analysis of a New England Community: Windsor Locks, Conn." *Fordham.*

Lewis Graham Kidder, A.B. Akron, 1943. "The Adjustment Process as Found in the Experiences of 20 Formerly Delinquent Boys, during and Following Probation." *Southern California.*

Harvey Freddie King, A.B. Prairie View A. & M. College, 1948. "The Social Patterns of Behavior Revealed in Selected Race Riots and in the Resultant Social Adjustments." *Southern California.*

Bernard C. Kirby, B.A. Denison, 1929. "The Relative Influence of Selective Migration and Environmental Modification in the Distribution of Selected Classes of Psychotics in Seattle." *Washington (Seattle).*

Henry David Kirk, B.S., College of the City of New York, 1948. "The Loyalties of Men in Crisis—an Exploratory Study of Some Dimension of Allegiance." *Cornell.*

Lewis M. Knebel, B.A. Columbia, 1921. "The Use of Religion as Therapy in the Treatment of Maladjustment." *Columbia.*

Ralph Leonard Kolodny, A.B. Brown, 1948. "The Role of Youth Movements in Zionism." *Columbia.*

William A. Kornhauser, A.B. Chicago, 1948. "Labor Unions and Race Relations: A Study in Union Tactics." *Chicago.*

Abraham Krantz, B.S.S. College of the City of New York, 1941. "An Analysis of the Crisis in the Administration of Public Assistance in the New York City Department of Welfare, May to December, 1947." *Columbia.*

Luise Krause, A.B. South Dakota, 1948. "The Englewood Survey of Adjustment in Old Age: Methods and Design in the Studies of Older People." *Chicago.*

Louis Kriesberg, Ph.B. Chicago, 1947. "The Relationship between the Business Situation and the Conceptions of Security and Success among Chicago Retail Furriers." *Chicago.*

Gaylon L. Kuchel, B.A. Iowa, 1949. "A Representative Survey of County Jails in Iowa." *Iowa.*

Ruth W. Kupjack, B.A. Texas, 1941. "A Sociological Study of Women in War Services." *Texas.*

Barbara H. Lagerstedt, B.A. Minnesota, 1948. "An Investigation of Personality Attitudinal Changes in Three Span Groups." *Minnesota.*

William H. Lahey, A.B. Southern California, 1948. "A Comparison of Personal and Social Factors Identified with Selected Members of Alcoholics Anonymous." *Southern California.*

Nathan Lander, B.B.A. College of the City of New York, 1943. "Factors Relating to Jewish Survival in America." *Columbia.*

Frank Warren Lanning, B.A. Southern Methodist, 1948. "CIO Leaders in Dallas." *Southern Methodist.*

Vernon W. Larson, B.A. Brigham Young, 1949. "Sociological Implications of Excessive Drinking and Alcoholism in the State of Utah." *Brigham Young.*

Paul Lasakow, A.B. Illinois, 1948. "A Theoretical Approach to the Study of Social Groups: Testing Underlying Assumptions." *Illinois.*

James Lau, A.B. Michigan State Normal, 1948. "Occupational Mobility in Detroit, 1930–35." *Michigan.*

Howard E. Lauderbaugh, B.A. Iowa, 1948. No thesis. *Iowa.*

Louis B. Laughlin, B.S. Western Ontario, 1938. "The Disposition at the Level of Police Investigation of 1008 Sex Complaints Received by the Women's Division of the Detroit Police Department for the Year 1949." *Wayne.*

Robert Ben Lawler, B.A. Emory, 1949. "A Study of the Associations between Social and Personal Traits and Probation Outcome of Juvenile Delinquents in Fulton County (Georgia)." *Emory.*

Richard Le Blond, Jr., A.B. Cincinnati, 1949. "Some Factors Influencing Attitudes toward a Proposed Ohio Fair Employment Practices Law in Two Cincinnati Industrial Plants." *Cincinnati.*

Everett S. Lee A.B. Pennsylvania, 1949. No thesis. *Pennsylvania.*

Régis Lessard, B.S.S. Laval, 1949. "La Ferme familiale de St-Alexandre de Kamouraska." *Laval.*

Robert J. Levin, B.S.S. College of the City of New York, 1942. "The Public Opinion Poll: Use and Misuse." *Columbia.*

Seymour Levin, B.S. DeKalb Teachers College, 1944. "The CIO Union Counseling in the Chicago Area: A Study of Cases Referred by CIO and Non-CIO Sources to the Community Referral Service from September 1945 through August, 1947." *Chicago.*

Seymour Levin, B.S.S. College of the City of New York. "A Sociological Study of Worker Productivity with Emphasis on the New York Garment Industry." *Columbia.*

Harry L. Linn, A.B. Indiana State Teachers College, 1942. "A Study of Assimilation among the Swedes at Attica, Indiana." *Indiana.*

Saul I. Littman, B.S. Toronto, 1949. "Social Work: A Study in the Process of Professionalization." *Wisconsin.*

Gertrude Loe, B.A., M.A. Catholic (Peiping), 1943, 1946. "Religion and Communism in Changing China." *Fordham.*

Wilfred D. Logan, B.J. Missouri, 1948. "Archaeological Investigation of the Pre-ceramic Horizon in Graham Cave, Site 23:Mt-2, Montgomery County, Missouri." *Missouri.*

Clara H. Lowe, A.B. Geneva College, 1944. "The Use of Selected Sources of Poultry Market News—a Study in Communication." *Michigan State College.*

Francis E. Lowe, B.A. Minnesota, 1948. "The Development of an Experience Table for the Prediction of Electoral Behavior." *Wisconsin.*

Julian C. Lowe, B.S. Brigham Young, 1949. "Sociological Implications of Excessive Drinking and Alcoholism in the State of Utah." (A continued study.) *Brigham Young.*

Judith Downs Lownes, "Political Agreement in Marriage (Report)." *Chicago.*

Sheldon G. Lowry, B.A. Brigham Young, 1946. "Attitudes of Michigan Residents toward Government-sponsored Prepayment Plans for Health Care." *Michigan State College.*

Rex Lucas, B.A. McGill, 1948. "Occupational Mobility." *McGill.*

Anne Lynn, A.B. Trinity College, 1947. "Negro-White Marriages in New York." *Catholic.*

John Joseph McCarthy, B.S. Boston, 1948. "Adjustments of Boys to the Program at Boys Town." *Catholic.*

Joseph Leon McCleary, B.S. Utah, 1949. "Attitude Characteristics as Found in Three Upper-Class College Reference Groups." *Utah.*

Harold D. McDowell, A.B. Marietta, 1947. "Osteopathy: A Study of a Semi-orthodox Healing Agency and the Recruitment of its Clientele." *Chicago.*

Charles Donald McGlamery, B.A. Oklahoma A. & M. College, 1942. "Social Correlatives of Desire for Children." *Oklahoma A. & M. College.*

Huntly McKay, B.A. McGill, 1949. "Examination of Rural Medicine." *McGill.*

Sr. M. Martinita Mackey, B.A. Mundelein College, 1940. "The Formal Structure of the National Council of the Catholic Women's Patterns to Formal Organization in a Federal Group." *Catholic.*

William Joseph Mackey, B.S. Illinois, 1949. "The Social Role of the Union Leader in the United States." *Illinois.*

Robert F. Maher, B.S. Wisconsin, 1948. "An Analysis of Material from the Carcajon Site," *Wisconsin.*

Manuel N. Manfield, B.S.S.S. College of the City of New York, 1938. "The Role of Context in Public Opinion Poll Questions," *New School.*

Eric Marder, B.E.E. College of the City of New York, 1946. "The Language Process and Its Relation to Social Control." *Brown.*

Albert E. Marten, B.S.S. College of the City of New York, 1947; L.L.B. New York Law School, 1949. "Social and Political Significance of Third Parties on the American Scene." *Columbia.*

Eula Mae Martin, A.B. Fisk, 1946. "An Investigation of the Industrial Relations Department of the Detroit Urban League." *Michigan.*

Joseph Martin, B.S.S. Laval, 1949. "Zones d'énumération de la cité de Québec." *Laval.*

Takuya Maruyama, B.A. Utah, 1948. "Factor Involved in the Determination of the Changing Size of Selected Japanese Families in Salt Lake City through Three Generations." *Utah.*

Ward Sherman Mason, A.B. Duke, 1948. No thesis. *Harvard.*

Margaret Oliver Mayo, A.B. Denver, 1934. "Some Problems of Married Women in Denver as Revealed in a Study of the Letters Received by the Janet Holmes Column of the *Denver Post* during 1948." *Denver.*

Consuelo C. Meloy, A.B. Smith College, 1948. "Public Attitudes toward Public Housing." *Columbia.*

Herbert Menzel, A.B. Wisconsin, 1947. "The Social Psychology of Occupations." *Indiana.*

Robert Micali, B.S. in Ed., Temple, 1949. No thesis. *Temple.*

William J. Millard, A.B. Columbia College, 1938. "Freshman Panel Survey." *Columbia.*

D. Paul Miller, B.A. Goshen College, 1946. "Amish Acculturation." *Nebraska.*

Mary Louise Miller, A.B. Stanford, 1949. "A Critical Analysis of the Sociometric Test." *Nebraska.*

Robert Shader Miller, A.B. Florida, 1939. "The Ideological Conflict over Fair Employment Practices." *North Carolina.*

Evangeline Mistaras, Ph.B. Chicago, 1946. "A Study of First- and Second-Generation Greek Out-marriages in Chicago." *Chicago.*

Jennings Warner Mitchell, A.B. Alabama, 1949. "An Analysis of Factors Associated with Four Major Categories of Federal Offenders." *Alabama.*

Bella Mondor, A.B. Wayne, 1944. "Case Study of a Jury Panel." *Wayne.*

Leonard W. Moss, B.S. Wayne, 1947. "A Preliminary Survey of Selected Programs of Marriage Education in Public School Curricula in the United States." *Wayne.*

Darrell Mudd, A.B. Washington (St. Louis), 1949. "A Study of Shoplifting in the Large Department Store." *Washington (St. Louis).*

Byron Edwin Munson, B.S. Illinois, 1949. "A Comparative Study in Community Integration." *Illinois.*

Charles P. Murphy. A.B. California, 1948. "A Functional Analysis of Social Correlates of Authoritarian Behavior Structure." *Wisconsin.*

Mort Nancybelle, A.B. Lewis and Clark College, 1948. "A Critical Analysis of Selected Sociological Writings in the Field of Race Relations." *Southern California.*

Archibald Napier, Jr., A.B. Wayne, 1947. "Bias in the News." *Cornell.*

Eugene David Nasatir, A.B. California (Los Angeles), 1949. No thesis. *California (Los Angeles).*

Dennison Nash, A.B. St. Lawrence, 1948. "The Construction of the Repertoire of a Symphony Orchestra: A Study in Social Interaction." *Washington (St. Louis).*

Gladys E. Nauss, B.S. Wayne, 1943. "Detroit Federation of Women's Clubs: A Study in Institutional Change." *Wayne.*

Samuel L. Neal, B.A. East Texas State College 1935. "An Analysis of the Farm Test Unit Demonstration Program in Rusk County, Texas." *Texas A. & M. College.*

William F. Nee, B.A. Lynchburg College, 1923. "A Study of the Sources of Information Regarding the Offenses of the Army Personnel in the United States." *Maryland.*

Božena Němcová, A.B. Charles University (Prague, Czechoslovakia), 1946. "People of Czech Descent in Republic County, Kansas." *Kansas.*

Albert H. Q. Ng, A.B. San Francisco State College, 1949. "The Chinese Kuomintang: Its Ideology, Leadership, and Power Structure." *California (Berkeley).*

Margaret M. Norquay, B.A. Toronto, 1943. "Community Recreational Council as an Agency of Social Change." *Toronto.*

Thomas L. Norris, B.A. Mexico City College, 1949. "Acculturation in a German Catholic Community." *Michigan State College.*

Richard Leonard Nugent, A.B. Southern California, 1948. "Construction of a Job Adjustment Scale and a Comparison of the Job Adjustment Scores of a Selected Group of Workers with Their Ratings on the Los Angeles County Civil Service Commission Employees Efficiency Report." *Southern California.*

Dwayne L. Oglesby, A.B. Kansas, 1947. "Professionalization Trends in the Field of Law Enforcement." *Kansas.*

Philip Onstott, A.B. California (Berkeley), 1949. "The Tribes of Western Africa: Senegal to Angola." *California (Berkeley).*

James N. Pack, A.B. Tennessee, 1949. "The Ku Klux Klan as a Social Movement." *Tennessee.*

Cenan Fatmir Pamir, A.B. American College for Girls, Istanbul, Turkey. "A Study of Attitudes Pertaining to International and Economic Questions among College Students." *Columbia.*

Bart Carter Pate, H.A. Texas, 1948. "Fertility Decline and Occupational Trends." *Vanderbilt.*

Albert Lynn Payne, B.S. Erigham Young, 1939. "Some Social Indications of the Recreational Activities of Tenth-Grade Students of the Provo, Sharon, Delta and Hinckley Seminaries." *Brigham Young.*

J. H. Payne, B.A. Samuel Huston, 1936. "The Effects of Social and Economic Influences on Negro High School Attendance in Navasota, 1945–1950." *Prairie View A. & M. College.*

Alexander Peskin, B.S. Columbia College, 1944. "The Problem of Leadership, Bureaucracy, and Democracy in the Russian Social-Democratic Party at the Beginning of the XXth Century." *Columbia.*

Carrell Yvone Peterson, A.B. Fisk, 1949. "An Exploratory Study of the Relationship between Attitudes toward the 'American Creed' and Attitudes toward Negro and Jewish Groups." *Cornell.*

Einar Peterson, A.B. Cornell College, 1948. "Contents of a Women's Page in a Newspaper." *Washington (St. Louis).*

William McKinley Phillips, Jr., A.B. Fisk, 1948. "The Mail Questionnaire: An Experimental Study of a Social Science Research Technique." *Fisk.*

David Joshua Pittman, A.B. North Carolina, 1949. "An Analysis of the Social Functions of Housing in Primitive Societies." *North Carolina.*

Jesse Richard Pitts, A.B. Harvard, 1941. No thesis. *Harvard.*

Shirley Briggs Poffenberger, A.B. Colorado, 1944. "Attitudes and Experiences of Pregnancy of Students' Wives at Michigan State College." *Michigan State College.*

Thomas M. Poffenberger, A.B. Michigan State College, 1948. "Marital Adjustment of 212 Student Couples to the Pregnancy Experience." *Michigan State College.*

Edythe Polster, B.A. Ohio State, 1930. "The Factors Which Influence the Choice of Advertising as a Career by Successful Advertising Executives." *New School.*

Phyllis Ruth Poses, B.A. Adelphi College, 1946. "The Dynamic Structure of Modern Friendship Patterns." *New School.*

Charles H. Proctor, B.A. Michigan State College, 1949. "The Evaluation of Certain Mathematical Models Used in Studies of Interpersonal Relationships." *Michigan State College.*

Lella Dottie Rahl, A.B. Southern California, 1943. "Welfare Activities of the United Rescue Mission of Los Angeles." *Southern California.*

Jack B. Ralph, "The Junk Business and the Junk Peddler (Report)." *Chicago.*

Charles E. Ramsey, B.S. Indiana, 1947. "Rural-urban Difference in Measured Intelligence." *Wisconsin.*

Josephine Ranger, B.A. Mount Holyoke College, 1942. "The Social Planning of the Fabian Society." *Columbia.*

Sr. M. James Rau, Ph.B. Quinois College, 1942. "The Attitude of Eric Gill toward Capitalist Industrialism." *Catholic.*

Mary J. Rayner, A.B. George Washington, 1947. "Woman's Role of Motherhood in Society." *Catholic.*

Zaheer M. Razvi, B.A. Osmania, 1944. "The Making of Pakistan." *Columbia.*

Kenneth H. Recknagel, B.S. Wisconsin, 1948. "A Negro Religious Sect: A Study of Status Striving." *Wisconsin.*

John T. Reiling, A.B. California, 1943. "The Opposing Traditions of the 'Common Man' and the 'Gentleman' in Producing Officer-enlisted Conflict in the United States Army in World War II." *Indiana.*

Forrest R. Reinhardt, B.S. Idaho, 1947. "A Test of Hypotheses Specifically Related to the Cross-sectional Distribution of Population Densities of Cities." *Minnesota.*

Rev. Albert Reymann, Ordained priest, 1947. "A Study of Some Social Characteristics of the Holy Name Societies in Two Negro Parishes in the District of Columbia." *Catholic.*

Edwin Hoffman Rhyne, A.B. Clemson College, 1948. "Political Leadership and Social Structure: A Study of a Rural County." *North Carolina.*

Marvin P. Riley, B.S. Northwestern, 1942. "Characteristics of the Marital Ideal of Students and White Collar Workers." *Missouri.*

Irwin D. Rinder, A.B. Idaho, 1947. "An Examination of the 'Rank Order of Discrimination' Hypothesis." *Chicago.*

William Edmund Rion, B.A. Florida, 1945. "Student Organizations and Their Activities at the University of Florida." *Florida.*

Bertram H. Roberts (Dr.), M.D. Toronto, 1944. "A Logical Analysis of the Personality Models Presented by Freud and the Neo-Freudians." *Columbia.*

Elizabeth Jean Roberts, A.B. St. Lawrence, 1948. "The Marginal Woman: Application of the Marginal Concept to the Status and Social Role of Modern Woman in the United States." *North Carolina.*

G. Allen Robinson, Jr., A.B. Princeton, 1948. "The Organizational Structure of a University Group as Reflected in the Pattern of Communications." *Columbia.*.

Guy Rocher, B.S.S. Laval, 1949. "La Sociologie de la religion de Herbert Spencer." *Laval.*

Sylvia Rohde, A.B. Hunter College, 1946. "Attitudes of 941 College Students Concerning Women Working and the Sharing of Home Responsibilities and Duties." *New York.*

James J. Rooney, B.S. Pennsylvania, 1948. No thesis. *Pennsylvania.*

Arthur G. Rose, B.A. Colorado, 1949. "An Analysis of Proposed Missouri Valley Development, with Emphasis on Forces and Factors Opposing a Missouri Valley Authority." *Columbia.*

Bernard C. Rosen, A.B. Temple, 1948. "The Attitude of Jewish Adolescents toward Some of the Beliefs and Practices of Their Religion." *Columbia.*

Morris Rosenberg, A.B. Brooklyn College, 1946. "Sources of Tension among White-Collar Workers." *Columbia.*

Glenn R. Ross, B.S. Texas A. & M. College, 1949. "Changes in Interests between 1947 to 1950 of 338 Texas A. & M. College Students as Measured by the Kuder Preference Record." *Texas A. & M. College.*

James Pheane Ross, B.S. Mississippi State College, 1948. "A Study of the Office Structure and the Characteristics of Officers of Formal Organizations in Four Kentucky Counties." *Kentucky.*

Elliott M. Rudwick, B.S. Temple, 1949. No thesis. *Pennsylvania.*

Lee Salk, B.A. Michigan, 1949. "Ingroup-Outgroup Choice Direction as a Function of Ingroup Acceptance." *Michigan.*

Leonard Savitz, B.S. in Ed., Temple, 1949. No thesis. *Temple.*

Ruth E. B. Sawyer, B.A. Dickinson College, 1935. "The Development of State Public Welfare Programs in the Southeast." *Florida.*

Leonard Schatzman, A.B. Indiana, 1943. "Social Class and Attitudes towards the Functions of Higher Education." *Indiana.*

Harvey B. Schechter, A.B. Santa Barbara College, 1947. No thesis. *California (Los Angeles).*

David O. Schecter, B.A. Manchester College, 1939; B.D. Bethany Biblical Seminary, 1944. "A Comparative Study of Supramodal and Submodal Town and Country Churches." *Wisconsin.*

Joseph F. Scheurer, C.PP.S., B.A. St. Joseph's College, 1947. "Some Aspects of the Analogical Concept: The Use of the Physical Science Analogy in Sociology." *Fordham.*

Herman G. Schroeder, A.B. Maryland, 1949. "Auto Theft and the Dyer Act." *Indiana.*

Harvey Schwartz, A.B. Chicago, 1948. "Effecting Comparability of Ages of Employed in Industries and Occupations of Chicago 1910 with 1940." *Chicago.*

Ursula Marsh Scott, A.B. Swarthmore College, 1945. No thesis. *Radcliffe College.*

David Scruton, A.B. Oklahoma, 1948. "The Concepts of Sir James G. Frazer." *Washington (St. Louis).*

Amlen Seymour, A.B. Missouri, 1949. "A Means-End Scheme Typology of Nonrational Actions." *Ohio State.*

Mattie Lee Seymour, B.A. Texas, 1935. "Euro-American Influence in Alaska." *Texas.*

Rosemary Shamborsky, B.A. Marywood College, 1948. "The Role of a Catholic Women's College in Preparing Women for Occupational Careers." *Catholic.*

Mildred C. Shaw, A.B. Northwestern, 1948. "An Investigation of the Reliability of a Content Analysis Technique." *Northwestern.*

Paul A. Shea, A.B. Tufts College, 1947. "An Opinion Study of Some Experts Dealing with the Problem of Frigidity." *Catholic.*

Edith M. Sherman, A.B. Colorado, 1939. "A Study of Family and Institutional Care of the Aged in the City of Denver." *Denver.*

Paula Siegel, B.B.A. College of the City of New York, 1947. "A Latent Structure Test of Preference for Radio and Magazine Stories: An Example of Conjugate Trace Lines." *Columbia.*

James W. Singleton, A.B. Oberlin, 1949. "The Englewood Survey of Adjustment in Old Age: Happiness, Work, and Retirement of Older Persons of Englewood Related to Adjustment in Old Age." *Chicago.*

Arnold Anthony Sio, A.B. Beloit College, 1944. "Introduction to a Study of Slavery." *Illinois.*

Leonard M. Sizer, B.A. Ottawa, 1938; B.D. Andover, Newton, 1940. "The Social Ecology of a Reorganized School Community." *Wisconsin.*

Leigh Skipper, B.S. Wilberforce, 1947. "An Analysis of the Educational and Recreational Program of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union." *New York.*

Lee W. Slazinski, Ph.B. Detroit, 1947. "A Study of the Educative Aspects of Six Large Families." *Catholic.*

Zoya Sandomirsky Slive, "The Relation between Family Social Position and Friendship among First- and Third-Grade Children." *Chicago.*

Joel Smith, B.A. Queens College, 1945. "The Characteristics of Magazine Audiences: A Survey of the Literature." *Columbia.*

Ralph Virgil Smith, A.B. Michigan State Normal, 1946. "An Empirical Study of Three Indices of Social Class." *Michigan.*

Ray Donald Smith, B.A. Utah, 1949. "Volunteer Scout Leadership in the Salt Lake Council." *Utah.*

Stanley Hugh Smith, A.B. Fisk, 1949. "The Influence of Race and Culture Contacts on the Social Class Structure of Trinidad: A Theoretical Approach." *Fisk.*

Wilfred R. Smith, A.B. Wayne, 1947. "The Englewood Survey of Adjustment in Old Age: Hypotheses on the Adjustment of Older Persons of Englewood Related to Work, Retirement, and Health." *Chicago.*

Marguerite Runk Spears, A.B. Kent State, 1939. "Some Characteristics of Officers of Selected Negro Organizations in a Negro Community." *Kent State.*

Ronald G. Spector, B.A. Richmond, 1948. No thesis. *Pennsylvania.*

Charles B. Spencer, Jr., A.B. Columbia College, 1948. "Regulation and the Press." *Columbia.*

James S. Spero, B.A. Yale, 1947. "Citizenship Training for Democracy as Carried on in 4-H Club Work in Dane County, Wisconsin." *Wisconsin.*

William Spinrad, B.S.S. College of the City of New York, 1941. "1948 Election: Problem and Challenge." *Columbia.*

Rev. Austin J. Staley, B.A. St. Vincent College, 1938. "The Social Thought of the Sixth Century as Evidenced by the Rule of St. Benedict." *Catholic.*

Sumner Steinberg, A.B. Northeastern, 1949. "The Development of a Program To Aid the Blind in New York State." *New York.*

Elizabeth S. Steiner, B.A. Central Michigan, 1942. "The Social Action Program of the Dearborn Federation of Teachers: An Analysis of a Program To Change Certain Public Attitudes." *Wayne.*

Lydia A. Stitt, B.A. Wilson College, 1945. No. thesis. *Pennsylvania.*

Sheldon Stryker, B.A. Minnesota, 1948. "The Socio-structural Preconditions of Anti-Semitism." *Minnesota.*

Robert P. Stuckert, A.B. Oberlin College, 1949. "The Relationship of Intelligence and Verbal Tolerance of Junior High School Pupils toward the Negro." *Kent State.*

Frana Summa, A.B. Catholic, 1949. "Class Difference in Home Training of Negro Children in Washington, D.C." *Catholic.*

Olaf H. Swenson, B.A. Gustavus Adolphus College, 1943. "A Comparison of Rural and Urban High School Boys by Select Personality Characteristics." *Minnesota.*

David Talmas, B.A. Brooklyn College, 1949. "The Levittown Housing Project: Its Major Characteristics and the Problem of Potential Turnover." *Columbia.*

Robert L. Taylor, B.S. Kent State, 1948. "A Comparative Study of Selected Social Activity Patterns of Pupils of a Certain Junior High School." *Southern California.*

Daniel Calbert Thompson, A.B. Clark College, 1941. No thesis. *Harvard.*

Frances V. Neal Thompson. A.B. Salem College, 1943. "The Place of Dramatics in an Organized Community Recreation Program." *North Carolina.*

Roland F. Thunell, B.S. Brigham Young, 1946. "A Study of Migration among Graduation of Duchesne High School, Duchesne, Utah, Classes of 1939 to 1948, Inclusive, Including an Analysis of Some Social and Economic Factors That Affect Their Migration." *Brigham Young.*

Jaime Toro-Calder, B.S. Puerto Rico, 1948. "Personal Crime in Puerto Rico: A Study of the Cultural Elements in Personal Crime." *Wisconsin.*

Adélard Tremblay, B.S.S. Laval, 1949. "La Ferme familiale du comté de Kamouraska." *Laval.*

John E. Tsouderos, B.A. Minnesota, 1948. "A Study of the Correspondence between Logistic Function and the Growth of the Health Service System, with Respect to the Possibilities of Prediction." *Minnesota.*

E. H. Tucker, B.S., M.A. Mississippi State College, 1950. "Mechanization of Agriculture and Population Changes in the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta, 1880–1950." *Mississippi State College.*

John Addison Tumblin, A.B. Wake Forest College, 1948. "A Study of Race Attitudes in Brazil." *Duke.*

John Tychyn, A.B. New York, 1947. "Acculturation of the Japanese, with Special Attention to Their War Relocation Experience." *New York.*

Earl C. Valentine, "The Occupational Expectations of the Normal-School Student Groups." *Chicago.*

Ruth Ercell Vaughn, A.B. Prairie View State College, 1948. "Attitudes of One Hundred Negroe Mothers of Nashville, Tennessee, toward Birth Control." *Fisk.*

Glenn Morley Vernon, B.S. Brigham Young, 1947. "A Study of Certain Religious Beliefs and Practices of a Selected Group of Students from the Pleasant Grove, American Fork, and Lehi, Utah, L.D.S. Seminaries." *Brigham Young.*

Mirriam Wagenschein. A.B. Texas, 1947. "Reality Shock: A Study of Beginning Elementary School Teachers." *Chicago.*

William Walker, A.B. West Virginia State College, 1949. "Occupational Mobility and Occupational Aspirations of Negro Miners in Raleigh, West Virginia." *New York.*

Henry Brown Wallace, A.B. Alabama, 1949. "Factors in the Selection of a Mate in Organized Social Groups in the University of Alabama." *Alabama.*

Chandler Washburne, A.B. Michigan State College, 1948. "The Origin, Essence, and Development of Sir Henry Sumner Maine's Theory of the Original Village Community." *Michigan State College.*

Irving Leonard Webber, B.A. Florida, 1949. "The Role of the University Faculty in the Social Structure of Gainesville." *Florida.*

Mildred Weil, A.B. Newark, 1945. "An Analysis of the Informal Structure of a Preschool Group with Emphasis on the Acceptance and Rejection Pattern." *New York.*

Neil J. Weller, Ph.B. Chicago, 1945. "The Leadership of the PTA Movement in Chicago: The Study of the Relationship between a Social Type and Its Voluntary Association Participation (Report)." *Chicago.*

Benedict J. Wengler, B.A. St. Francis College, 1949. "Social Change and Instability in the Electrical Construction Industry: The Relation of Union and Management to This Problem. *Columbia.*

Charles Westoff, A.B. Syracuse, 1949. "A Sociological Analysis of Differential Fertility." *Syracuse.*

Robert S. Weynand, B.S. Texas A. & M. College, 1949. "A Study of the Relationship between Interest Preferences and Academic Success for 622 Texas A. & M. College Students." *Texas A. & M. College.*

H. Whittington, B.A. St. Joseph, 1946, "The Documentary Film as a Method of Social Education." *Catholic.*

Edith Winifred Lewis Wilkinson. A.B. Georgia State College for Women, 1948. "Patterns of Negro Segregation in Durham." *Duke.*

Thomas Oberson Wilkinson, A.B. North Carolina, 1945. "The Social Functions of Primitive Art." *Duke.*

Eleanor F. Wilson, B. A.Texas State College for Women, 1948. "A Study of Certain Factors Affecting Adolescent Adjustment." *Texas.*

Sidney Ann Wilson, A.B. Meredith College 1943. "A Study in Methodology: Franklin H. Giddings, Charles H. Cooley, William I. Thomas." *North Carolina.*

Marvin E. Wolfgang, A.B. Dickinson College, 1948. No thesis. *Pennsylvania.*

Langley H. Wood, B.S. College of William and Mary, 1949. "Seven American Newspapers and Soviet Russia, 1945: An Analysis of Values and Functions." *Columbia.*

William Woodhull Wood, Jr., B.S. Davidson College, 1943. "Eastern Cherokee Veteran of World War II." *North Carolina.*

Richard Hugh Woodward, A.B. Iowa State College, 1949. "An Examination of the Internal Consistency of the California Test of Personality, Series 1, Form A." *Miami (Ohio).*

David E. Woodwrorth, B. A.Toronto, 1940. "A Study of the Effect on Attitudes of Variations in Methods of Group Discussion, Following Presentation of a Film." *Michigan.*

Charles R. Wright, A.B. Columbia College,

1949. "Mass Frustration Instigated by National Advertising." *Columbia.*

Mary Feemster Yake, B.S. Purdue, 1948. "Diagnosing the Effectiveness of Rural Community Organization." *Purdue.*

Ali Yazdeguerdy, License from University of Teheran, 1944. "Albivuni on the Configuration of Indian Culture." *Ohio State.*

Constantine A. Yeracaris, Law School diploma, Athens, 1944. "A Study of the Voluntary Associations of the Greek Immigrants of Chicago from 1890 to 1948 with Special Emphasis on World War II and Postwar Period." *Chicago.*

Bruce Francis Young, B.A. California, 1947. "An Approach to Social-Class Ideology through Analysis of Attitudes and Opinions." *Columbia.*

James H. Young, A.B. Lincoln, 1948. No thesis. *Pennsylvania.*

James N. Young, B.S. Clemson College, 1948. No thesis. *Kentucky.*

Lucius E. Young, A.B. Howard, 1948. "The American Occupation of Haiti: Some Socio-cultural Effects." *Howard.*

Charles F. Youngberg, A.B. Vanderbilt, 1948. "A Study in Accommodation." *Columbia.*

Paul Pu-Chun Yu, L.L.B. National Southwest Associated University, 1942. "Chinese Rural Families, with Some Comparisons to American Rural Families." *Columbia.*

Gordon Zahn, A.B. St. Thomas College, 1949. "Social Origins of Catholic Conscientious Objectors in World War II." *Catholic.*

Henry Zentner, A.B. British Columbia, 1949. "A Test for Validity of Durkheim's Conception of Social Solidarity." *Stanford.*

Rev. Ronald Zgodzinski, A.B. St. Francis College, 1938. "The Social Role of the Priest as Exemplified by the Curé of Ars." *Catholic.*

George Henry Ziegler, A.B. Macalester College, 1940. "A Study of the Attitudes of the Father and Mother in 100 Selected Families toward the Giving of Courses on Marriage and Family Life in Secondary Schools." *Southern California.*

DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS IN SOCIOLOGY

The following list of doctoral dissertations in preparation in universities and colleges in the United States is compiled from returns sent by thirty-one departments of sociology. The number of candidates now working for doctoral degrees is 224. This list includes dissertations in social work, divinity, and other related fields whenever the local department of sociology undertakes to direct them.

Helen Caroline Abell, B.H.Sc. (Spec.) Toronto, 1941; M.S. Cornell, 1947. "Differential Adoption of Homemaking Practices in Four Rural Communities." *Cornell.*

Everett Merle Adams, Jr., B.A. Doane College, 1945; M.A. Harvard, 1950. "American Sociological Analysis of Social Stratification as an Institutional Pattern." *Harvard.*

Franz Adler, Dr.Jr. Vienna, 1933; M.A. American (Washington, D.C.), 1942. "Sociology of Knowledge Applied to Outstanding Exponents of Social Thought and Sociology." *Wisconsin.*

Leta Adler, B.A. California (Los Angeles), 1942; M.A. Washington State College, 1946. "A Quantitative Research in Social Behavior." *Wisconsin.*

Helen Amerman, A.B. Michigan State College, 1937; M.A. Stanford, 1944. "The Occupation of the Race Relations Worker." *Chicago.*

Henry L. Andrews, A.B., M.A. Duke, 1931, 1933. "Descriptive and Analytical Study of the Process of Population Redistribution for Alabama, with Particular Reference to the Period 1930 to 1950." *Northwestern.*

Julian Aronson, B.S. College of the City of New York, 1928; M.A. Cornell, 1929. "Sociological Aspects of Modern Secondary Education in the United States." *New School.*

Paul Sidney Barrabee, B.A., M.A. Harvard, 1933, 1950. "A Study of a Mental Hospital: The Effect of Its Social Structure on Its Functions." *Harvard.*

Howard Becker, Ph.B., M.A. Chicago, 1946, 1949. "Some Types of Careers in the Chicago Public School System." *Chicago.*

Goddard Binkley, B.S. Northwestern, 1946. "Conversation and Sociability." *New School.*

Therel R. Black, B.A. Brigham Young, 1939; M.A. Louisiana State, 1941. "The Relation between Certain Socio-cultural Characteristics of Parents and Variations in Restrictive Child Rearing Practices." *Wisconsin.*

Robert Oscar Blood, Jr., B.D. Yale, 1945. "Family Living Patterns and Housing Livability." *North Carolina.*

Samuel Bloom, B.A. Pennsylvania, 1943; M.A. New School, 1950. "An Experiment To Determine How Motion Picture Preferences Are Formed." *Wisconsin.*

Jean K. Boek, B.S. Cornell, 1946; M.A. Michigan State College, 1948. "The Relationship between Social Factors and Nutritional Practices." *Michigan State College.*

Walter E. Boek, B.S. Cornell, 1946; M.A. Michigan State College, 1948. "Evaluation of the Farmers' Home Administration Program in Hillsdale County, Michigan. *Michigan State College.*

Selam Borchard, M.A. Catholic, 1937. "The American Child and the Law: A Study of Changing Social Concepts as Reflected in Law." *Catholic.*

Edgar F. Borgatta, A.B., A.M. New York, 1947, 1949. "An Analysis of Three Levels of Response." *New York.*

Leo Borochowicz, Berlin, 1922; M.A. New School, 1948. "Problems of Industrial Democracy in Postwar France, Germany, and Great Britain." *New School.*

Donal Bouma, A.B. Calvin College, 1940; M.A. Michigan, 1943. "An Analysis of the Power Position of the Real Estate Board in Grand Rapids." *Michigan State College.*

David E. Bright, B.A. Denison, 1943; M.A. Chicago, 1948. "The Impact of Prison during Time Span of Incarceration." *Ohio State.*

Orville G. Brim, Jr., B.A., M.A. Yale, 1947, 1949. "An Experimental Study of the Adoption and Rejection of Child Health Practices by Parents." *Yale.*

Maxwell R. Brooks, B.S.Ed. Wilberforce College, 1932; M.A. Ohio State, 1937. "The Contemporary Negro Press." *Ohio State.*

George Brower, B.S. Western Michigan College of Education, 1946; M.A. Michigan, 1947. "An Analysis of Health Behavior." *Cornell.*

Emory J. Brown, B.S. Pennsylvania State College, 1948. "Why People Are Active or Inactive in Formal Organization in Three Rural Communities in Pennsylvania." *Michigan State College.*

Florence Beatty Brown, A.M., M.S. Illinois, 1936, 1939. "The Negro as Dealt With in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 1917–1947." *Illinois.*

James C. Brown, B.A. Minnesota, 1946. "Cooperative Group Formation: A Problem of Social Engineering." *Minnesota.*

Roy Buck, B.S., M.S. Pennsylvania State College, 1942, 1947. "Identification Differentials in a Minnesota Trade and Service Area." *Minnesota.*

Robert P. Bullock, A.B., M.A. Colorado State Teachers College, 1931, 1932. "Social Correlates of Job Satisfaction." *Ohio State.*

Leila Annette Calhoun, B.A. Georgia State College for Women, 1945; M.A. Kentucky, 1947. "Elmira's Upper-upper Class." *Cornell.*

Robert B. Campbell, B.A. Indiana State Teachers College, 1944; B.S. Southern Illinois, 1944. "Influence of Neighborhood Residence on the Forms of Social Interaction." *Wisconsin.*

Eugene W. Carlen, A.B. Dayton, 1929; M.A. Pittsburgh, 1945. "Pope Pius XII and Social Change." *Pittsburgh.*

Courtney Cleland, B.A. Carleton College, 1942. "A Sociological Critique of the 'Cooperative Movement' in Minnesota." *Minnesota.*

Martin L. Cohnstaedt, B.S. Rutgers, 1941; M.A. North Carolina, 1943. "Social Movements in Rural America." *Wisconsin.*

Klara Cook, Dr.Theol. Zurich, 1946. "Labor Movement and Land Reform in Italy." *Wisconsin.*

Boyce H. Creamer, A.B. Furman, 1939; Th.B. God's Bible College, 1941; M.A. Tennessee, 1947. "The Ecological Position and Structure of Durham, N.C." *Duke.*

Irving Crespi, B.S.S.S. College of the City of New York, 1945; M.A. Iowa, 1946. "A Functional Analysis of Social Card Playing as a Leisure Time Activity." *New School.*

Morris J. Daniels, A.B. Southern Methodist, 1941; M.A. Texas, 1942. "The Relation of the Means-End Schema and the Structural-functional Approach." *Texas.*

James S. Davie, B.A., M.A. Yale, 1948, 1949. "The Role of the School in the Creation and Maintenance of the Class System." *Yale.*

LeRoy Day, B.A. Minnesota, 1939; B.D. Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, 1942; M.A. Wisconsin, 1944. "Trends toward Differentiation in Town-Country Relationships." *Wisconsin.*

Moshe Decter, B.A. New School, 1948. The Vatican, the State, and the Church: France, 1870–1892: A Sociological Study of Church-State Relations." *New School.*

Sidney B. Denman, A.B. Mississippi College, 1947. "The Social Structure of a Southern Baptist Ministerial Career." *Duke.*

Ralph W. Detrick, B.S. Indiana State, 1943; M.A. Wisconsin, 1949. "Some Aspects of Motivation in Voting Behavior." *Wisconsin.*

Simon Dinitz, B.A. Vanderbilt, 1947; M.S. Wisconsin, 1949. "The Role of a Secondary Institution in Relation to Alcoholism: Study of the Tavern." *Wisconsin.*

George I. J. Dixon, A.B., M.A. Montana, March, 1947, December, 1947; "Theories of Human Migration." *Nebraska.*

John T. Doby, B.A. Union College, 1946; M.A. Wisconsin, 1949. "The Influence of Prejudice in Perception." *Wisconsin.*

Francis M. Donahue, D.D. St. Francis Seminary, 1938; M.A. Michigan State College, 1948. "The Role of Platonism in Greek Orthodox Slavophilism." *Michigan State College.*

Willis J. Dunn, B.A. Asbury College, 1935; M.A. Michigan State College, 1937. "A Study of Secularization in Rural Protestant Areas of Isabella County, Michigan." *Michigan State College.*

Rev. Hugh E. Dunne, M.A. St. Louis, 1943. "Toward a Program for Pre-marital Instruction Weighted by the Expressed Needs of Catholic Couples Married 2–5 Years." *Catholic.*

Bert L. Ellenbogen, B.A., M.A. Wisconsin, 1948, 1951. "The Acculturation of a Group of Family Heads of Mexican Descent in Wisconsin." *Wisconsin.*

Evelyn E. Ellis, B.S. Middle Tennessee State Teachers College, 1943. "A Study of the Social-Psychological Adjustment of Career Women." *Ohio State.*

Hugo O. Englemann, B.A. Wisconsin, 1941. "A Theoretical Framework for Social Psychology and Sociology, Limited to Selected Aspects." *Wisconsin.*

Bernard Farber, A.B. Central YMCA, 1943; A.M. Chicago, 1949. "The Burgess and Wallin Rating Scale as a Prediction Instrument." *Chicago.*

Erwin W. Fellows, A.B., M.A. Rochester, 1941, 1942. "A Dimensional Analysis of Communication." *Ohio State.*

Herbert Fisher, A.B. Harvard, 1948; M.A. Chicago, 1949. "Composition of the Public in Opinion-making Process." *Chicago.*

Sherman K. Fitzgerald, B.S., M.S. Brigham Young, 1948, 1949. "Social Participation of Farm Families and Individual Members in Specific Activities, Ontario Co., N.Y., 1949." *Cornell.*

John Kenneth Folger, A.B. Emory, 1943; M.A. North Carolina, 1950. "Socio-economic Correlates of Migration in the Tennessee Valley." *North Carolina.*

Clinton L. Folse, B.S., M.A. Louisiana State, 1932, 1935. "Differential Fertility in Illinois." *Louisiana State.*

Irving Adolf Fowler, A.B., M.A. Wayne, 1947, 1949. "A Study of the Reactions of Labor Unions to a Crisis in a Local Industrial Situation." *Cornell.*

Noel Francisco, A.B., M.A., B.D. Drake, 1945, 1948. "Post-war Educational Programs of Selected Churches and Denominations for Influencing Public Opinion on International Organization." *Duke.*

Hyman H. Frankel, B.S., M.S. Illinois, 1947, 1948. "The Sociological Theory of Florian Znaniecki." *Illinois.*

Miriam Friedman, B.A. New Jersey College for Women, 1947; M.A. Kentucky, 1949. "The Use of Psychological Techniques." *Wisconsin.*

Eugene Friedmann, A.M. Chicago, 1949. "Personality Potential in Old Age." *Chicago.*

Eliot Friedson, Ph.B., M.A. Chicago, 1947, 1950. "Spectatorship and Fantasy: Factors in the Role of Mass Media in Children's Fantasy." *Chicago.*

Philip Frohlich, B.A., M.A. Wisconsin, 1938, 1939. "Social Change in Athens, Ohio, with Special Reference to Sport." *Wisconsin.*

Gilbert Geis, B.A. Colgate, 1947; M.A. Brigham Young, 1949. "A Study of Norwegian Opinions in Regard to Various Aspects of American Culture." *Wisconsin.*

Glendell Gilman, B.S. Central State Teachers College (Wis.), 1941; M.S. Georgia School of Technology, 1947. "Popular Music in Atlanta: A Case Study of Mass Behavior." *Chicago.*

Mala Gitlin, M.S.S. New School, 1945. "Progress and History in the Scottish School of Sociology." *New School.*

Rudo S. Globus, Brown, Columbia, Rutgers. "The Decadentism of Georg Simmel: Prolegomena to a Re-examination of Simmel." *New School.*

Winfred Lamar Godwin, A.B. Birmingham-Southern College, 1948; M.A. North Carolina, 1950. "The Sociology of Small Groups: A Critique of Theory and Research." *North Carolina.*

David Gold, B.A., M.A. Iowa, 1947, 1948. "The Influence of Religious Affiliation on Political Behavior." *Chicago.*

Rhoda Goldstein, A.B. Brooklyn College, 1946; M.A. New School, 1948. "The Changing Organization of the Nursing Profession: With Attention to Implications for the Integration of Minority Groups into Social Systems." *Chicago.*

Nathaniel Goodman, B.A. Buffalo, 1942; M.S.S. Buffalo (School of Social Work), 1942. "The Adjustment of the European Chassidic Rabbi to America after World War II." *New School.*

John R. Gordon, A.B., M.A. Baylor, 1929, 1932. "The Public Education Movement in the United States." *Texas.*

Raymond Francis Gould, A.B. Princeton, 1930; Diploma, New York School of Social Work, 1940. "Structural-functional Relationships in Families in the National Aid to Dependent Children Program." *North Carolina.*

L. Saxon Graham, B.A. Amherst College, 1943; M.A. Yale, 1949. "Social Stratification as Related to the Process of Selection." *Yale.*

James Wyche Green, B.S. Virginia Polytechnic Institute. "The Farmhouse Building Process in North Carolina." *North Carolina.*

Meyer Greenburg, B.A. Yeshiva, 1934; M.H.L. Jewish Institute of Religion, 1944. "A Study of the Religious Observance of the 230 Jewish Upper Freshmen at the University of Maryland." *Maryland.*

John A. Griffin, A.B., M.A. Emory, 1935, 1938. "The Study of Adult Education in Georgia." *Wisconsin.*

Charles Meade Grigg, B.S. College of William and Mary, 1948; M.A. North Carolina, 1950. "Population Distribution in the Southeast: 1930–1950." *North Carolina.*

Malak Guirguis, B.S. Cairo, Egypt, 1946; M.S. Wisconsin, 1948. "Electric-shock Therapy, a Social-psychiatric Study of Success and Failure of Electro-shock Therapy of the Functional Psychosis." *Wisconsin.*

Marian Bessent Hamilton, A.B. Georgia State College for Women, 1946; M.A. Duke, 1948. "Patterns of Negro Distribution in Durham." *Duke.*

Alexander Paul Hare, A.B. Swarthmore College, 1947; M.A. Pennsylvania, 1949. "A Study of Consensus Resulting from the Application of Participatory and Supervisory Leadership." *Chicago.*

Chester W. Hartwig, B.A., M.A. Wisconsin, 1941, 1950. "Value-Premises and Their Consequences in the Social Sciences." *Wisconsin.*

Herbert L. Haskett, A.B. Drury College, 1938; M.A. Michigan, 1939. "The Processes of Communication in Teaching Social Sciences." *Michigan State College.*

F. Eugene Heilman, A.B. DePauw University, 1929; M.A. (Ed.) Indiana, M.A. (Soc.) Wisconsin, 1935, 1950. "The Theory of Social Disorganization: A Historical and Analytical Study." *Nebraska.*

Gisela J. Hinkle, B.A. American (Washington, D.C.), 1946; M.A. Indiana, 1948. "Development of Psychoanalytic Interest in American Sociology." *Wisconsin.*

Roscoe Hinkle, B.A. Elizabethtown College, 1943; M.A. Minnesota, 1948. "The Development of Interest in Social Stratification in American Sociology." *Wisconsin.*

Walter Hirsch, A.B. Queens College, 1941. "The Relation of Economic Status and Mobility to Program Planning and Participation in the TVA." *Northwestern.*

Linwood Hodgdon, B.A. American International College, 1941; M.A. Michigan State College, 1947. "Medical Needs of the People in Michigan: A Study of Methodology and Ecology." *Michigan State College.*

Robert L. Hoggson, S.J., A.B. St. Louis, 1936; M.A. Fordham, 1939. "Alcoholics Anonymous: A Study in Group Solidarity." *Fordham.*

Ralph S. Holloway, B.A. Toledo, 1943; M.A. Iowa, 1950. "Sociological Theory and Analysis of the Self." *Iowa.*

William E. Hopkins, B.S. Virginia, 1935; M.S. Virginia Polytechnic Institute, 1939. "A Demographic Analysis of Houston, Texas." *Louisiana State.*

Floyd Gibson Hunter, A.B., M.A. Chicago, 1938, 1941. "Community Power Structure: A Study of a Regional City." *North Carolina.*

Ralph Ireland, A.B., M.A. Toronto, 1940, 1947. "The Aging Industrial Worker, Retirement and Pensions." *Chicago.*

Margaret Jean Islay, B.A. Syracuse, 1942; M.L. Pittsburgh, 1947. "Use of Statistical Procedures in Sociology." *Pittsburgh.*

Egbert G. Jaco, A.B., M.A. Texas, 1949, 1950. "Ecological Conflict in a Chicago Suburb." *Northwestern.*

Luther T. Jansen, B.A., M.A. Washington (Seattle), 1941, 1942. "A Scale for the Measurement of Familism." *Washington (Seattle).*

Arthur L. Johnson, B.S. Gustavus Adolphus College, 1941. "A Quantitative Study of Criteria of Marital Success in Selected Population Groups." *Minnesota.*

Walter A. Juergensen, A.B. Concordia Teachers College, 1942; M.A. Omaha, 1949. "Changes in the Institutions of Marriage and the Family in Germany during the Reformation." *Nebraska.*

Joseph Alan Kahl, A.B., A.M. Chicago, 1947. "The Roots of Ambition." *Harvard.*

Benjamin Kaplan, B.A., M.A. Tulane, 1928, 1929. "Some Selected Jewish Communities in Louisiana: A Historical and Sociological Analysis of Their Origin, Growth, and Change." *Louisiana State*

Max Kaplan, M.Mus. Colorado, 1941; A.M. Illinois, 1947. "The Musician in Society." *Illinois.*

Benjamin F. Keeley, A.B. Kearney State Teachers College, 1947; M.A. Nebraska, 1950. "Social Significance of Various Members of the Human Body in the Light of Economic Determinants." *Nebraska.*

Raymond A. Kemper, B.A. Washburn College, 1942; M.A. Teachers College (Columbia), 1947. "Secret Ballots, Open Ballots, and Personal Interviews in Opinion Polling." *Columbia.*

Father Peter James Kenney, B.A. St. Joseph's Seminary, 1943; M.A. Catholic, 1946. "A Sociological Study of the Negro Churches of New Orleans." *North Carolina.*

Richard K. Kerckhoff, A.B. Kent State, 1942; M.A. Ohio State, 1949. "Negro News in the Columbus Ohio, Daily Newspapers." *Ohio State.*

Harold N. Kerr, A.B. West Liberty State Teachers College, 1931; Litt.M. Pittsburgh, 1937. "The Effect of Imprisonment on the Prisoner's Family Relations." *Ohio State.*

Irvine Kerrison, B.A. Albion College, 1938;

M.A. Wayne, 1941. "Role of Colleges and Universities in Workers' Ed." *Columbia.*

Nathan Keyfitz, B.S. McGill, 1934. "Variation in French Canadian Family Size." *Chicago.*

Yukiko Kimura, M.A. Oberlin and Hawaii, 1937, 1947. "A Study of Collective Adjustment of the First Generation Japanese since World War II." *Chicago.*

Bernard C. Kirby, B.A. Denison, 1929; M.A. Washington (Seattle), 1950. "A Further Study of the Relative Importance of Selective Migration and Environmental Modification in the Distribution of Psychotics in Seattle." *Washington (Seattle).*

Melvin Lester Kohn, B.A. Cornell, 1948. No thesis. *Cornell.*

Bro. Paul Komerdze, M.A. Catholic, 1941. "Child Services and Tyranny in Two Washington Census Tracts." *Catholic.*

William A. Kornhauser, A.B., M.A. Chicago, 1948, 1950. "Some Factors in the Cohesion and Disintegration of Unpopular Movements." *Chicago.*

John H. Lane, Jr., A.B., M.A. Oklahoma, 1948, 1949. "Job Mobility." *Nebraska.*

William P. Lentz, B.S. Oshkosh State Teachers College, 1938; Ph.M. Wisconsin, 1939. "Forgery: A Study in Crimogenesis." *Wisconsin.*

Gerald R. Leslie, B.A., M.A. Ohio State, 1948, 1949. "Attitudes toward the United Nations." *Ohio State.*

Albert E. Levak, B.S., M.Litt. Pittsburgh, 1947, 1949. "The Social Correlates of the Continuity of Farm Ownership." *Michigan State College.*

Hilary M. Leyendecker, B.S. M.S. Columbia, 1933, 1943. "An Introduction to Public Social Service." *Columbia.*

Fu-Ju Liu, B.A. National Southwest University (Kunming, China), 1939; M.A. Columbia, 1947. "Assimilation of First and Second Generation of Chinese in the United States." *Michigan State College.*

Jack London, A.B. Central YMCA, 1939. "A Case Study of a Local Trade Union." *Chicago.*

Donald S. Longworth, B.S., M.A. Bowling Green State, 1943, 1947. "Background Factors in Marital Adjustment." *Ohio State.*

Helena Z. Lopata, A.B., M.A. Illinois, 1946, 1947. "The Polish Americans of Chicago, 1951." *Chicago.*

Elmer Luchterhand, B.A., M.A. Wisconsin, 1948, 1949. "The Nazi Concentration Camps: A Study of Cooperation between Prisoners." *Wisconsin.*

Sr. Miriam Lynch, M.S.S.Adm. Western Reserve. "The Contribution of Albert de Mun." *Catholic.*

John H. Mabry, B.A., M.A. Iowa, 1948, 1949. "Some Sociological Variables in the Acceptance or Rejection of Proposed Agricultural Technological Change in West Africa." *Iowa.*

Bevode McCall, B.S., M.A. Florida, 1943, 1947. "A Sociological Study of a Georgia Town." *Chicago.*

Lloyd McCorkie, A.B. Juanita College, 1940. "The Treatment of the Persistent Offender in Penal Policy in the United States." *New York.*

Edmund G. McCurtain, A.B., A.M. Oklahoma, 1935, 1936. "Enemy Personnel in the U.S., 1942–1946: A Study of Social Conflict and Accommodation." *Washington (St. Louis).*

Charles D. McGlamery, B.S., M.S. Oklahoma A. & M. College, 1942, 1950. "Industrial Sociology." *Washington (Seattle).*

Raymond Wright Mack, A.B. Baldwin-Wallace College, 1949. "Patterns of Urban Expansion in the Southeast: An Analysis of Urban and Suburban Migration." *North Carolina.*

James B. McKee, B.A., M.A. Wayne, 1943, 1948. "Labor's Structure of Power in an Industrial Community." *Wisconsin.*

Charles McKendrick, B.S. Manhattan College, 1934. "The Role of a Diagnostic Clinic in Change of a Correctional Institution." *New York.*

David W. McKinney, B.A., A.M. & N. College, 1941; M.A. Wayne, 1946. "A Study of Impairment of Concept Formation in Institutionalized Schizophrenia and Its Influence on the Function of the Self in Social Behavior." *Wisconsin.*

John C. McKinney, A.B., M.A. Colorado State College, 1946, 1947. "Systematic Sociological Theory in the United States: An Exposition, Analysis, and Synthesis of the Methodological and Substantive Theory of Mead, Merton, Lundberg, Parsons." *Michigan State College.*

Lowell E. Maechtle, B.A. North Central College, 1936; M.A. Wisconsin, 1944. "The Socio-psychological Problems of Adjustment of Conscientious Objectors in Civilian Public Service Camps in World War II." *Wisconsin.*

Vernon D. Malan, A.B., M.A. Montana State, 1947, 1948. "The Socio-cultural Influences of Irrigation on Selected Communities in the Semi-arid West." *Oregon.*

Floyd Martinson, B.A. Concordia College, 1942; M.A. Minnesota, 1948. "Personality Differences between Rural Migrants and Non-migrants." *Minnesota.*

Nahum Z. Medalia, A.B., A.M. Harvard, 1940, 1949. "Elton Mayo's Industrial Sociology." *Harvard.*

Herbert Menzel, B.A. Wisconsin, 1947; M.A. Indiana, 1950. "Influence of Occupation on Attitudes." *Wisconsin.*

Isadore Meystel, A.B. Roosevelt College, 1947; M.A. Chicago, 1949. "Differential Fertility in the U.S.: 1940–1910." *Chicago.*

D. Paul Miller, A.B. Goshen College, 1946; M.A. Nebraska, 1950. "American Restrictive Immigration Legislation and Social Policy." *Nebraska.*

Paul A. Miller, B.S.Agr. West Virginia, 1939; M.A. Michigan State College, 1946. "Community Organization for Health Care in the United States." *Michigan State College.*

Theodore M. Mills, A.B. Guilford College (N.C.), 1941; A.M. Haverford College, 1942. "Role Differentiation and Integration in Small Groups: Systematic Analysis of Propositions in Small Group Interaction." *Harvard.*

David O. Moberg, B.A. Seattle Pacific College, 1947; M.A. Washington, 1949. "Religion and Personal Adjustment in Old Age." *Minnesota.*

David G. Moore, A.B., M.A. Illinois, 1939, 1940. "Attitudes of Employees toward Various Aspects of the Work Environment." *Chicago.*

John Joel Moss, B.S., M.S. Brigham Young, 1948, 1949. "Family Development and the Utilization of Time." *North Carolina.*

Robert H. Mugge, A.B., M.A. Florida, 1943, 1946. "Population Projections for the Chicago Area." *Chicago.*

Robert Cobb Myers, B.S. Boston, 1940; M.A. Stanford, 1941. "Biographical Factors and Academic Achievement: An Experimental Investigation." *Stanford.*

Kaspar David Naegele, A.B. McGill, 1945; A.M. Columbia, 1947. "Aggression and Hostility in Middle-Class American Families." *Harvard.*

Lionel H. Newsom, A.B. Lincoln, 1939; A.M. Michigan, 1940. "A Sociological Analysis of Two Hundred Cases of Inter- and Intraracial Homicide in St. Louis." *Washington (St. Louis).*

Alfred M. Nielson, B.S.Ed. Bowling Green State, 1942; M.A. Ohio State, 1947. "The Negro in New Hampshire." *Ohio State.*

Thomas L. Norris, A.B. Mexico City College, 1949; M.A. Michigan State College, 1950. "Selected Aspects of Social Organization in a Latin American Community (Aquiares, Costa Rica)." *Michigan State College.*

Walter Murray North, A.B. College of William and Mary, 1947; M.A. North Carolina, 1949. "Fifty Years of Change in the South." *North Carolina.*

Joseph E. Nuquist, A.B., M.A. Nebraska, 1935, 1936. "The Country Bank: A Local Community Institution." *Wisconsin.*

Thomas Francis O'Dea, A.B. Harvard, 1949. "Mormon Religious Values and Their Implications for Social Action." *Harvard.*

Bernard J. Oliver, B.A. Park College, 1940; M.A. Western Reserve, 1949. "Social Adjustments of the Negro Population in Albion, Michigan." *Michigan State College.*

Ann Garver Olmsted, B.A. Iowa State Teachers College, 1945. "Intervening Opportunities: A Study Relating Mobility and Distance." *Minnesota.*

Norman Painter, B.A. Baylor, 1947; M.A. Tulane, 1949. "Inter-community Relationships in the Turrialba (Costa Rica) Trade Area." *Michigan State College.*

Raymond Payne, B.S., M.S. Kentucky, 1948, 1949. "Organizational and Operational Processes in Seven Community Councils." *Cornell.*

Harold Pfautz, A.B. Brown, 1940; M.A. Chicago, 1947. "Christian Science as a Social Movement and Religious Sect: Its Ecology, Demography, and Social Psychology." *Chicago.*

Reed M. Powell, B.S., M.S. Brigham Young, 1946, 1947. "A Comparative Sociological Study of Two Latin American Communities." *Michigan State College.*

Sam Pratt, A.B. Connecticut, 1942; M.A. Michigan State, 1948. "Change in the Internal Organization of a Small Community as It Adapted to the Growth of a Metropolitan Center." *Michigan.*

Paul H. Price, A.B. Southeastern Louisiana College, 1940; M.A. Louisiana State, 1947. "The Polish Immigrant in Brazil." *Vanderbilt.*

Ira Progoff, B.A. Brooklyn College, 1941. "The Contribution of C. G. Jung's Methodology to Historical Sociology: A Critical Study." *New School.*

Douglas R. Pullman, B.Ed. Alberta, 1947; M.A. Toronto, 1949. "Cultural and Social Factors in Drinking Habits." *Toronto.*

Orville Quackenbush, B.A., B.S., M.A. Minnesota, 1933, 1935, 1938. "The Development of the Correctional, Reformatory, and Penal Institutions of Minnesota—a Sociological Interpretation." *Minnesota.*

Charles E. Ramsey, B.S. Indiana State Teachers College, 1947; M.S. Wisconsin, 1950. "Social Psychological Study of Occupational Status Aspirations." *Wisconsin.*

Donald E. Rasmussen, A.B., A.M. Illinois, 1937, 1938. "A Study of a Hundred Southern Liberals." *Illinois.*

Franklin E. Rector, B.A. Phillips, 1945; M.A. Oklahoma A. & M. College, 1948. "Social Correlates of Verbal Abilities of Rural and Urban Seventh and Eighth Grade Pupils in Two Wisconsin Counties." *Wisconsin.*

Leo Reeder, M.A. Chicago, 1949. "The Characteristics and Trends of Industrial Location in the Chicago Metropolitan Area." *Chicago.*

John Reid, A.B. Morehouse College, 1947; M.A. Atlanta, 1948. "The People of St. Simon Island." *Chicago.*

Leonard Reissman, A.B. Wayne, 1942; M.A. Wisconsin, 1948. "Functions of Mobility-striving." *Northwestern.*

Edward B. Reynolds, A.B. Montana State, 1940; M.A. Northwestern, 1948. "Pressures Exerted upon the Press in Selected American Communities." *Northwestern.*

Ruth Riemer, A.B., M.A. California (Los Angeles), 1943, 1946. "Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility." *Michigan.*

Oscar W. Ritchie, B.S., M.A. Kent State, 1946, 1947. "Some Factors Involving the Integration of Negro Teachers into the Faculties of the Non-segregated Colleges and Universities in the United States." *Wisconsin.*

Wayne C. Rohrer, B.S., M.S. Texas A. & M. College, 1946, 1948. "A Case Study and Analysis of Rural Hospitals." *Michigan State College.*

W. H. Roney, A.B. Occidental College, 1935; M.A. Michigan, 1936. "Barbados and Jamaica: A Comparative Study of Open and Closed Resources." *Duke.*

Paul Rosenbaum, B.A. California, 1934. "Fascism and the United States." *New School.*

Julian Samora, A.B. Adams State College, 1942; M.S. Colorado A. & M. College, 1947. "Spanish Speaking People: Their Cultural Changes." *Wisconsin.*

Alice Schwiebert, B.A. Cornell College, 1925; M.A. Northwestern, 1935. "A Sociological Evaluation of the Ohio Farm Bureau Federation's Experimental Program in Group Organization: An Analysis of the Role of the Small Group in a Complex Social Organization." *Wisconsin.*

Eleanor Torrell Scott, A.B. Mount Holyoke College, 1941; M.A. Chicago, 1944. "A Study of Pre-marital Conceptions of Marriage Roles." *Chicago.*

John C. Scott, B.S. Springfield College, 1942; M.A. Chicago, 1948. "Race and Culture Contact in a Southeastern Alaskan Community." *Chicago.*

H. John Seeley, A.B. Chicago, 1942. "The Ecological Distribution of Persons in Selected Psychiatric Categories." *Chicago.*

Margaret E. Shay, B.A. New Jersey College for Women, 1934; M.A. New York School for Social Work, 1946. "The Asbestos Strike: A Case Study in the Breakdown in Industrial Communication." *Fordham.*

Arthur W. Shirey, A.B. DePauw, 1926; A.M. Indiana, 1932. "The Teaching of Social Ethics in High Schools: A Sociological Analysis." *Duke.*

James Short, A.B. Denison, 1947; M.A. Chicago, 1949. "An Investigation of the Relation between Various Crimes and Fluctuations in Business Cycles of the United States." *Chicago.*

Alex Sim, B.A. Toronto, 1938; M.A. Columbia, 1943. "The Role of the Leader in a Bureaucratic Structure." *Michigan State College.*

Abraham J. Simon, A.B. College of the City of New York, 1931. "Development of Dependent Children." *Washington (St. Louis).*

Kenneth Skelton, A.B. Waynesburg College, 1928; M.A. Pennsylvania State College, 1931. "Sociological Aspects of Mark Twain." *New School.*

Alfred G. Smith, B.A., M.A. Wisconsin, 1943, 1947. "Culture-Change in British Malaya." *Wisconsin.*

Joel Smith, A.B. Queens College, 1945; M.A. Columbia, 1950. "Investigation of the Re-

lation between Mass Media of Communication and Upward Social Mobility as an American Value." *Northwestern.*

Lawrence E. Snyder, A.B. Wittenberg College, 1920; M.A. Ohio State, 1927. "Sociological Analysis of War Novels." *Ohio State.*

Ralph Spielman, A.B., M.A. Michigan, 1946, 1947. "A Study of Stratification in the United States." *Michigan.*

Bart Lanier Stafford III, B.A., M.S.S. New School, 1946, 1947. "Discrimination against the Visibly Physically Handicapped Viewed in Terms of Minority Group Treatment." *New School.*

Winfred G. Steglich, A.B. Concordia Seminary, 1942; M.A. Texas, 1945. "The Lutheran Reformation as a Social Movement." *Texas.*

Chalmers K. Stewart, B.A., M.A. Akron, 1932, 1933. "A Sociological Analysis of the American War Novel of World War II." *New School.*

Marianne Swain, B.S. Columbia, 1945. "The Interrelation of Fertility Control, Size of Planned Family, and Ego-centered Interest in Children." *New York.*

Philip Taietz, B.S. Brooklyn College, 1935; Diploma New York School of Social Work, 1938. "Differential Adjustment of Aged Persons under Different Institutional Living Arrangements." *Cornell.*

James Tarver, B.S. Texas A. & M. College, 1947; M.S. Wisconsin, 1948. "Owner-Operatorship Succession Processes of 900 Wisconsin Farm Families, 1848–1948." *Wisconsin.*

Marvin J. Taves, B.A. Hamline, 1945. "Social Factors Associated with Variations in Religious Beliefs, Attitudes, and Practices in a Sample of State College of Washington Employees." *Minnesota.*

James David Thompson, B.S., M.A. Indiana, 1941, 1947. "Communication—Intake Patterns of the Community." *North Carolina.*

Paul M. Thompson, Ph.B., M.S. Wisconsin, 1947, 1948. "A Crucial Point in Changing Family Values Today." *Wisconsin.*

Harrison M. Trice, B.A. Louisiana State, 1947; M.A. Wisconsin, 1949. "The Application of the Techniques of Industrial Sociology to the Problem of Industrial Alcoholism." *Wisconsin.*

Robert O. Trout, B.A. Louisiana Polytechnic Institute, 1938; M.A. Louisiana State, 1942. "A Demographic Analysis of the Population of the Hill Section of North Louisiana." *Louisiana State.*

John Addison Tumblin, A.B. Wake Forest College, 1948; M.A. Duke, 1950. "Conversion to Protestantism in Brazil." *Duke.*

Frank M. Vicroy, B.E. in E.E. Case School of Applied Science, 1932; M.A. in Soc. Adm. Ohio State, 1940. "Mate Selection and Rental Differentials." *Ohio State.*

Faye H. Von Mering, B.A. California (Los Angeles), 1943; A.M. Chicago, 1947. "Professionally-oriented Women in the Role of Mother." *Radcliffe College.*

Sylvia T. Wargon, B.A. Toronto, 1946; M.A. Illinois, 1947. "A Sociological Study of Restaurant Work as an Occupational Category." *Toronto.*

Charles Warrimer, A.B. Hillsdale College, 1942; M.A. Chicago, 1948. "Leadership and Society: Social Change and Changing Leadership in Three Small Communities." *Chicago.*

Doris West, A.B. Earlham College, 1945; M.A. Ohio State, 1947. "A Culture and Personality Study of the Seneca Indians through the Use of Projective Techniques." *Duke.*

Frank R. Westie, B.S. Central Michigan College of Education, 1947. "Status Differentials and Social Distance: A Study of Categorical Thinking." *Ohio State.*

William Westley, A.B., M.A. Chicago, 1947, 1948. "The Police—a Case Study in Formal and Informal Social Control." *Chicago.*

James Wiggins, B.S.Ed. South Georgia Teachers College, 1934; M.A. Duke, 1943. "Atlanta's Position in the Southeast: An Ecological Analysis." *Duke.*

George L. Wilber, A.B., M.A. Michigan, 1946, 1947. "Social Stratification Systems as Value Orientation Systems of Social Action." *Nebraska.*

Harold Wilensky, A.B. Antioch College 1947; M.A. Chicago, 1949. "The Role of the Staff 'Expert' in Trade Union Bureaucracies." *Chicago.*

Everett K. Wilson, A.B. Antioch College, 1938; M.A. Chicago, 1942. "Community Participation in Policy Formation: Analysis of an Attempt To Implement Democratic Processes through Group Discussion in a College Community." *Chicago.*

John Winget, A.B. Miami, 1934; M.A. Washington (St. Louis), 1937. "Ecological and

Socio-cultural Factors in Teacher Interschool Mobility: A Study of Transfer Applications of Elementary Teachers in Chicago, 1947–48." *Chicago.*

James S. Wittman, Jr., B.S., M.S. Cornell, 1941, 1948. "A Comparison of the Formal and Informal Social Participation of Farm Families in Ontario and Otsego Counties in New York State." *Cornell.*

Margot Haas Wormser, B.A. Elmira College, 1943. "Community Studies on Anti-Semitism." *New School.*

E. Grant Youmans, A.B., A.M. Chicago, 1937, 1938. "Work Interests of Michigan High School Youth." *Michigan State College.*

John Zadrozny, B.S. Illinois State Normal, 1944; M.A. Chicago, 1946. "The Folk Ideology and the Ideologies of the Intelligentsia." *Chicago.*

Leo Zakuta, A.B., M.A. McGill, 1946, 1948. "The Man with a Mission: A Study of the Political Evangelist." *Chicago.*

Dorothy Zietz, B.S. Illinois Institute of Technology, 1944; M.A. Loyola School of Social Work, 1946. "History of the Juvenile Court Movement in Maryland." *Maryland.*

NEWS AND NOTES

The *Journal* learns with regret of the death early in May of Herbert A. Miller, at the age of seventy-five, in Black Mountain, North Carolina. He began his academic career as instructor in Latin and Greek at Fisk University in 1899 and taught subsequently at Olivet College, Oberlin, Ohio State, and Bryn Mawr. He helped prepare the constitution of Czechoslovakia and aided in the unification of the Republic of Korea.

American Council of Learned Societies.—The American Council of Learned Societies announces a program of awards for individuals to be designated "ACLS Scholars," to be chosen from teachers in the humanities temporarily displaced from college and university faculties as a result of the defense emergency. General tendencies, manifest for some time but now acutely demonstrated by the particularly threatening effect of the defense emergency upon the humanities, argue the present need of increased concern on the part of humanists with the articulate interpretation of the relevance of their studies to the persistent problems of man. In this program, therefore, the ACLS will give preference to those individuals who present proposals which will contribute to the demonstration of this relevance.

The candidate must have exhibited a high degree of scholarly attainment in one or more of the humanistic disciplines, interpreted in general as follows: philosophy, including the philosophy of science and the philosophy of law, philology, languages, literature and linguistics; archeology; art history and musicology (but not applied art or music); history, including the history of science and the history of religions; and cultural anthropology, including folklore. He must have the Doctorate of Philosophy or its equivalent in training and experience. His university or college experience at the faculty level must promise, if it does not already demonstrate, distinction as a teacher and scholar. No candidate will be considered who, at the time of application, has an assured faculty position for 1951–52. Appointments as ACLS Scholars are open only to men and women who are citizens of the United States.

Each candidate will be required to present a plan for study or research which offers promise of relating his humanistic knowledge to the persistent problems of mankind and of developing his skill in communicating these interpretations to this generation. The burden of proof that the proposal meets the intent of this program rests upon the candidate. No limit is placed upon the subject matter, save that it must involve the humanities.

The stipend for an ACLS Scholar will normally be the equivalent of the salary earned by the candidate during the academic year 1950–51, although in no case will it exceed $5,000.00. If in the opinion of the ACLS this stipend is inadequate for the execution of the proposed study or research, additional payments may be made. No allowances will be made for foreign travel. The award will be for all or part of the academic year 1951–52. Renewal is neither guaranteed nor forbidden, since it will depend upon the continuance of the program, the availability of funds, and the quality of accomplishment under the existent award.

Applications will be received from individual candidates, although the ACLS will welcome nominations from academic institutions. In any case, the ACLS will ask the institution with which the candidate has been associated for an expression of its concern and its interest in his academic future.

Application forms should be requested immediately from the Secretary for ACLS Scholars, American Council of Learned So-

cieties, 1219 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

The American Sociological Society.—The Committee on Nominations and Elections announces the following officers elected for 1951–52; president-elect, Samuel A. Stouffer; first vice-president, Clifford Kirkpatrick; second vice-president, Joyce O. Hertzler; committee on publications: Jessie Bernard (3 years), Alfred R. Lindesmith (2 years), and John Useem (1 year); council: Howard Becker (3 years), Robert K. Merton (3 years), Theodore M. Newcomb (3 years), Conrad Taeuber (3 years), Read Bain (2 years), Ira de A. Reid (2 years), Lowry Nelson (1 year), and Logan Wilson (1 year).

University of British Columbia.—Joseph S. Roucek, of the University of Bridgeport, will be visiting professor during the summer session.

University of California (Los Angeles).—Leonard Broom has returned from eight months in Jamaica and the British West Indies, where he studied problems of urbanization and ethnic groups under a Fulbright grant.

A pioneer course on modern Latin-American society is being offered by Ralph Beals. Long a student of Mexican ethnography and social anthropology, Professor Beals recently made an extended tour of South America and a study in Ecuador. His course develops a new and much-needed area of investigation and represents a further effort in the integration between anthropology and sociology.

Philip Selznick was awarded the Grant Squires Prize by Columbia University in 1950 for his analysis of the TVA. This award is made quinquennially for an outstanding study in sociology by a Columbia graduate.

Carnegie Corporation of New York.—The following grant was made recently by the Carnegie Corporation: $10,000 to Northwestern University for further development of the new joint introductory course in anthropology, psychology, and sociology. The course, which is entitled "An Introduction to the Sciences of Human Behavior," is a broad liberal-arts course and a prerequisite to advanced courses in any of the three disciplines involved. It is under the joint direction of Kimball Young, department of sociology; Robert Seashore, department of psychology; and Melville Herskovits, department of anthropology. Also $130,000 was granted to the Social Science Research Council for continued support of the council's program of area-training fellowships and travel grants. The grants are designed to provide a period of field study for highly qualified specialists on foreign areas.

The Chinese universities.—Since the political change in China, the teaching of sociology has been affected more than any other of the social sciences. Only seven universities, namely, Tsing-Hua, Yenching, Fujen, Shanghai, Futan, Nankin, and Kinling Girls' College now retain a sociology department. All but two of these were originally missionary educational institutions.

The change of curriculums in sociology is drastic. The aim of the new education in China, it is said, is to emphasize the combination of theory and practice, and the former must be subjugated to the requirements of the latter. In sociology all courses on theory are suspended on the ground of nonpracticability, and, instead, four new courses—materialistic sociology, political economy, dialectic method, and the study of imperialism—are introduced. The rest are technical courses on the study of existing social problems.

In order to avoid overlapping and duplication, each sociology department in a given region of the country centers its teaching on one of the following fields: social administration, ethnology, labor, or child welfare. For instance, in east China the sociology department of Futan University assumes the responsibility for training students to conduct cadres in social administration; that of the University of Shanghai specializes in the

program of labor; and to Kinling Girls' College is assigned the work of training personnel in child welfare.

Prominent sociologists who hold university positions are engaged in teaching and field study or policy-making. Dr. Ta Chen is working as vice-chief of the Labor Protection Division of the Ministry of Labor. Professor Quintin Pan is now conducting an inspection tour in the Lake Tai region to look into the effectiveness of the new land-reform program. Dr. Hsiao-tung Fei had a long stay in the southwest frontier provinces visiting the aboriginal minority groups. Not long ago Dr. C. C. Wu finished a field trip to study the miners' lives and activities in one of the tin mines in central China.

Cornell University.—Cornell University has received a grant of $130,000.00 from the Lilly Endowment, Inc., to do a seven-year study of the impact of occupational retirement in the United States on physical and mental morbidity and mortality. The study is directed by Milton L. Barron; associates are Edward Suchman and Gordon Streib. The Rockefeller Foundation has granted Cornell $15,000.00 for a community pilot study of old age, in which John Dean is conducting the field work.

Eastern Sociological Society.—The twenty-first annual meeting of the Eastern Sociological Society was held at Yale University on March 31 and April 1. The meetings were attended by two hundred and sixty-eight persons from sixty-two colleges and universities.

At the annual business meeting, presided over by the outgoing president, Nathan L. Whetten, the members passed the following resolution relating to Academic Freedom:

WHEREAS, there is an increasing tendency illustrated by the recent action of the Board of Regents of the University of California, to impose oaths or contractual clauses on faculty members in public educational institutions; and

WHEREAS, such requirements tend to drive out faculty members of proven scholarship and integrity whose personal convictions about civic rights or academic freedom do not permit them to sign; and

WHEREAS, such action tends to create and spread hysteria; and

WHEREAS, such action may encourage unprincipled pressure groups to use such oaths or contractual clauses to intimidate any educators whose teachings are thought to be contrary to the special interests of the pressure groups; and

WHEREAS, there is a special interest on the part of social scientists in the right of free inquiry in the field of controversial social, economic, and political issues; therefore

Be It Resolved, that the Eastern Sociological Society go on record as deploring such discriminatory requirements and urge its members to take a steadfast stand against such discriminatory action by educational and public authorities.

The officers of the Society for 1951–52 elected at the meeting and carried over from previous elections are: Jessie Bernard, Pennsylvania State College, president; Theodore Abel, Columbia University, vice-president; Bernhard J. Stern, Columbia University, secretary-treasurer; members of the executive committee: Wilbert Moore, Princeton University; Mirra Komarovsky, Barnard College; Wellman J. Warner, New York University; W. Rex Crawford, University of Pennsylvania; N. L. Whetten, University of Connecticut. N. L. Whetten is the representative to the American Sociological Society.

University of Miami.—A summer Workshop in Intergroup Education will be held from June 15 to July 3. Among the out-of-state experts taking part will be Dan W. Dodson, director of curriculum and research, Center for Human Relations Studies, New York University, and Herbert L. Seamans, director of the Commission on Educational Organizations, National Conference of Christians and Jews. Directing the workshop will be M. A. Ritchie, chairman of the department of human relations at the University of Miami. Also participating are: Alice MacVicar, assistant director of instruction for secondary schools, and Elsie Delaney, assistant director of instruction for

elementary schools, both of Dade County, and J. A. Ridgeway, president, Dade County Parent-Teachers Association, James L. Whitehead, regional director of the national conference of Christians and Jews, and Gilbert J. Balkin, director of the Anti-Defamation League, B'nai B'rith.

The workshop is planned for persons interested in intergroup education through religious institutions, professional groups, women's clubs, and civic organizations as well as through public and private schools. Graduate credit for this workshop may be applied on the concentration in human relations studies for the Master of Education degree at the university.

University of Michigan.—Ronald Freedman has been appointed a research associate of the Survey Research Center on a one-third-time basis.

Monroe Sirken has been appointed assistant professor in the department of sociology for the next academic year. Dr. Sirken will be in charge of the quantitative training program and will also hold an appointment as research associate of the Survey Research Center.

Horace Miner has returned after a year of field work in Africa.

Ruth Shonle Cavan will visit the department in the summer session to offer courses on the family and criminology.

The Survey Research Center sponsored a three-day conference for directors of field interviewing staffs in Ann Arbor from March 22 to March 25. Thirty-five conferees from research organizations in government agencies, private business, and universities in the United States and Canada participated.

The conference was devoted to an intensive discussion of field interviewing problems, including such topics as selection of interviewers, training methods, instructions for interviewers, costs and budget control, response and refusal rates, field sampling methods, and research in interviewing methodology. The proceedings of the conference were recorded and will be published.

Morehouse College.—The sixth annual Institute on Building for Successful Marriage and Family Living was conducted by the department of sociology at Morehouse College with the assistance of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, Inc., March 14–16, 1951. This annual institute is under the direction of Walter R. Chivers, chairman, department of sociology, Morehouse College.

Moreno and Psychodramatic Institute.—The conference of 1951 will cover psychodrama, sociodrama, sociometry, and group psychotherapy, the theme being "Training in Human Relations." The conference will be held in Beacon, New York: the Independence Day Workshop on June 30, July 1, 2, 3, and 4; and the Labor Day Workshop on September 1, 2, and 3. For further information write to: Moreno Institute, Beacon, N.Y.

The Oslo Institute of Social Research.—The institute is calling a conference on comparative social research in northern European countries, to begin in September, 1951, and to last for approximately three months, to which participants from a number of European countries are to be invited. The members of the conference will plan in detail the first of a series of comparative projects to be undertaken in 1952. A project chosen will be of importance within the general area of international tensions. The International Sociological Association has sponsored the seminar.

Organizational plans are now being worked out by a special committee under the chairmanship of Herbert Hyman, visiting professor of social psychology for 1950 under the Fulbright Act. During the course of the conference the participants will have the opportunity to learn about recent methodological developments in social research from leading social scientists. Daniel Katz, of the University of Michigan, who is expected to join the Oslo Institute as visiting professor for 1951, will participate in this phase of the

project, which will help provide a common point of view and insure the high degree of uniformity necessary for effective cross-national research.

Participants will receive their travel expenses and a stipend at the salary level of a Norwegian professor for the entire period of the conference. A preliminary meeting for approximately one week in the spring of 1951 is being considered, at which time likely participants or a sponsoring group of social scientists will discuss organizational problems. Membership will be limited to about a dozen individuals; only one social scientist from each country other than Norway, can be included. Other requirements are that the participant be: fluent in English, the language in which the conference will be conducted; at an advanced professional level of training; not too advanced in age; in the field of social psychology or sociology; and oriented in the direction of empirical social research. Since the final selection of candidates has not yet been made, applications will still be considered. Address all such applications or any other inquiries to: Erik Rinde, Chairman, Oslo Institute of Social Research.

University of Pennsylvania.—Ray H. Abrams and James H. S. Bossard are acting as consultants for a study and conference on the subject of the psychiatric education of physicians, conducted by the American Psychiatric Association and the Association of American Medical Colleges. Dr. Abrams is temporarily on leave of absence to devote full time to the project.

Purdue University.—Harold T. Christensen is guest professor at the University of Utah during the first summer session, teaching courses on population and the family. Later he will lecture on marriage and the family at Idaho State College and at Ricks College.

Robert O. Andrews has received one of two advanced fellowships in family life offered by the Merrill-Palmer School. He will study there during the 1951–52 academic year.

University of Rhode Island.—The department of sociology (rural and general) of what was formerly Rhode Island State College is now the department of sociology of the University of Rhode Island since the change in status of that institution in March, 1951. The university is located at Kingston, R.I.

University of Southern California.—Harvey J. Locke, who is visiting professor at Uppsala University, Sweden, will be visiting professor at the Salzburg Seminar in Human Relations for the summer session. During the year he has lectured at the University of Stockholm, Lund University, the University of Copenhagen, and the University of Oslo. His book on *Predicting Adjustment in Marriage: A Comparison of a Divorced and a Happily Married Group* was released by Henry Holt in April.

The University of Tulsa.—The Southwestern Sociological Society elected the following officials at its meeting in Austin, Texas, in March: president, A. Stephen Stephan, University of Arkansas; vice-president, Marion Smith, Louisiana State University; secretary, Sandor B. Kovacs, University of Tulsa; member of executive committee, Sigurd Johansen, New Mexico A. & M. College; editor of the *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, Walter T. Watson, Southern Methodist University; representative to the executive committee of the American Sociological Society, Harry E. Moore, Texas University.

United Nations Technical Assistance Administration.—Robert C. Jones is spending three months in Ecuador as a community development consultant.

BOOK REVIEWS

Male and Female: A Study of the Sexes in a Changing World. By MARGARET MEAD. New York: William Morrow & Co., Inc., 1949. Pp. xii+477. $5.00.

Margaret Mead fits into Wilhelm Ostwald's classification of scientists as an extreme example of the romantic type. She has none of the assets or defects of the classic type and all the assets and faults of the romantic. A keen observer, ready to discover correlations between observed facts, she is as often brilliant as uncritical. She proposes her thesis in an ebullient style, illustrates her more or less loosely conceptualized formulations with an avalanche of examples whose very number and extravagance prevents their shedding more light on the thesis which remains buried under the weight of innumerable examples. The reader frequently has to dig out her contention from a half-page sentence, retracing its structure step by step. One must admit, however, that this arduous task is often very rewarding and that what appears first as a flight of ideas contains a brilliant recognition of connections between hitherto disconnected facts. The exponents of the classical approach to science will be disturbed by the formlessness, by the lack of self-restraint, precision, and critical judgment. But, if they have the fortitude to search for the richly interspersed values, they will find themselves greatly edified and refreshed by this volume.

Mead exposes impressively many variations of the eternal theme of the relation of the sexes, as she finds them in America and in seven Pacific islands. She successfully convinces the reader—if not always with economy of style and precision of reasoning—that much of what was long considered as biologically predetermined is behavior learned through cultural influences, transmitted to every child by parental attitudes and practices. Mead's great strength lies in her talent for describing how parental attitudes and child-rearing practices influence personality development. Her primary contribution is, therefore, to the field of child psychology. Indeed, she is one of the few pioneers in this veritably new discipline: comparative child psychology. While most child psychologists and child analysts study child development exclusively in our own Western culture, Mead enriches this field by invaluable observations of how children develop under different types of family influence. The scientific gain from such a comparative study is obvious. The effect of one of the variables, those parental attitudes which are more or less constant within the same culture, can be subjected to comparative study. It is true that due to the heterogeneity of the American cultural scene, those child psychiatrists whose field of observation is restricted to the domestic scene also have ample opportunity to compare the influence on child development of different types of parental attitudes and rearing practices. Nevertheless—as Mead correctly points out—in spite of the heterogeneity of the American culture, certain fundamentals are almost omnipresent in the American family. The common denominator may be a very general one, the influence of which can only be understood by comparing different cultural patterns. On the other hand, Mead's methods are primarily those of anthropology and not those of deep psychology. She observes and describes vividly the parental attitudes and practices, the climate of the family, and demonstrates their effect upon the child's personality. What happens in between, the complex psychodynamics by which parental attitudes exert their molding influence on the structure of the personality, of necessity escapes her method. She makes extensive use of psychoanalytic knowledge, however, to fill this gap. To a considerable degree, her work is the application of psychoanalysis to the field of anthropology.

Although Mead is quite aware of the fact that the cultural influences act upon a complex biological substratum and a basic biological organization which sets certain natural limits to the culturally determined variations, yet she often neglects the biological determinants. The artist can bring out a great variety of melodies from the same instrument, but he is limited by the register of the instrument. To mention only one example: In her claim that human fatherhood is a social invention she overlooks the basic biological tendency of the adult organism to expend energy beyond personal survival for the

sake of others. The argument that the providing of food for the family is not found among the primates, man's nearest relatives, is beside the point, because what matters is not whether the male gorilla nurtures its family or defends it from enemies but the fact that it contributes to the survival of the family through the exertion of energy. The manifestations of fatherhood may differ according to cultural variation; what is biologically determined is that the mature organism, having reached the limits of its own growth, expends its surplus energy in the form of some activity which serves the interests of the progeny. This may be simply the act of propagation itself, or the maternal care of the infant or some paternal activity promoting the survival of the offspring. What Mead does not sufficiently stress is that cultural influences may suppress or inhibit biological instincts but that they can never impose on an organism something for which there is not an innate inclination. In some instances, where Mead speaks of learning, one cannot escape the impression that her concept of learning is not so dynamic as that of modern psychology. Sometimes the imprint of the cultural pattern upon the individual is described as if it were an imprint of a mold in an infinitely pliable material. But the organism is a highly differentiated and complex mechanism, the workings of which can be directed and modified to a great degree, but only in accordance with its preformed basic dynamic structure. Cultural influences cannot introduce anything essentially new into the organism which has not been there before; they can only stimulate latent forces to expression, or they can suppress and distort an elementary biological force, even the powerful maternal instinct.

One of Mead's finest contributions is her lively description of the complex and heterogeneous American cultural scene. Some of the fundamental ideological undercurrents are formulated better than they have ever been done before. The influence upon American character of the traditionless, ever changing and forward-looking nature of the cultural climate has been emphasized by several authors, but Mead succeeds in demonstrating its ramified influences upon personality formation and sex behavior with an unprecedented richness. Particularly plausible is her explanation of a specific difficulty of American marriages deriving from the lack of traditional patterns and from the need for readjustment of modes of living to rapidly changing conditions, from "the strain on each young couple asked to build singlehanded a whole way of life in a world in which neither they or anyone else have ever lived." Here again, as in truly romantic writing, convincing and unconvincing formulations are encountered side by side on every page. For example, she explains why public street latrines are rare in America but common in the Latin countries of Europe by stating that the American has developed greater control over his bodily functions. But, in European, particularly Mediterranean, countries, public latrines are found on the streets because the European street, in contrast to the American, is not merely a utilitarian institution which allows people to get from one place to another but an extension of their own home and family life—a place where they sit on the benches under the trees or in the sidewalk cafés and where they promenade for hours, listening to the public orchestra. Therefore the streets, in addition to benches, shade trees, and other decorations, contain provision also for recreation, eating, drinking, and excretion. Similar examples of hasty, bizarre, and sometimes naïve explanations abound in this book along with valid and original formulations. An example of the latter is the convincing explanation of women's greater instinctive faculty as deriving from her maternal experiences. "The mother who must learn that the infant who was but an hour ago a part of her body is now a different individual, with its own hungers and its own needs, and that if she listens to her own body to interpret the child, the child will die, is schooled in an irreplaceable school."

The main topic of this book, like that of Mead's fine earlier study of the Balinese character, belongs in the field of comparative psychology. How personality development is patterned by parental attitudes and practices of child-rearing is described, but little systematic attention is given to the explanation of parental attitudes and mores themselves as functional adjustments to the existing social structure or as outmoded adjustments to past conditions. The determining influence of the total social structure and its history upon customs and attitudes is only sporadically explained. The social structure of the seven Pacific cultural groups is treated in the text in the form of vignettes and in somewhat more detail in an Appendix. The fact that the social structure is dealt with in the Appendix best illustrates the gap between sociological and psychological data. This is less the case in the chapters which deal with the Ameri-

can culture. Here the sociodynamic correlations between cultural pattern and history, on the one hand, and parental attitudes, on the other, are much better described. Yet the Gestalt upon which the attention is focused in this book is the family and not the total social configuration. Sociodynamics, the explanation of different social customs, institutions, and human (parental) attitudes as adaptations to different social configurations and to their history, a discipline requiring the co-operation of sociologists, historians, anthropologists, and psychologists, is still waiting for its pioneers. (Kardiner's contributions to sociodynamics are the most advanced.) We in the field of psychology are naturally asking: Who if not the social scientist should begin to explore this largely uncharted territory?

FRANZ ALEXANDER, M.D.

Chicago Institute for Psychoanalysis
Chicago

Social Surveys. By CARADOG JONES. London: Hutchinson's University Library, 1950. Pp. 232. 7*s*. 6*d*.

Mr. Jones says modestly that his book is intended for students with no special knowledge of the subject. But an expert might well humble himself to the level of student long enough to read a very informative account of the major earlier surveys of English communities and of the development of survey method. In the course of doing so he might also become more expert himself at exposition of his own knowledge.

After a very brief account of the origin of the census, Jones devotes a chapter or more to each of several modern surveys: London, York, the Five Towns, the new London, and the second York. He presents the problems and techniques of the Merseyside Survey, which he himself directed, in greater detail. The final chapters describe the technique of surveying, with illustrations from the Survey of the Elderly (a silly British word for people in "later maturity"!). There is a bibliography of some fifty items, most of which are reports of surveys of English industrial communities.

The survey, as here described, aims at discovering the "condition" of the population, especially of the poor, in a city or similar area: the occupations of the people, the composition of their families, their wages, their housing, food, clothing, health, and vices. Robert E. Park, who used to give a course on social surveys, thought of the survey as a way of gathering a kind of social news on which governmental and other bodies could act. Jones does not say much on this aspect of the matter, but it is implied throughout that the survey is an instrument of social politics. His emphasis is mainly on the way in which the problems of surveying have been met through the years. Perhaps the best thing in the book is the account of succeeding attempts to measure poverty. Jones also tells a good deal about various attempts to short-cut surveys by sampling methods and about the development of the various periodic surveys which have become instruments of government.

EVERETT C. HUGHES

University of Chicago

Leadership and Isolation: A Study of Personality in Interpersonal Relations. By HELEN HALL JENNINGS. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1950. Pp. xvii+349. $4.00.

Since 1934, when Dr. J. L. Moreno's *Who Shall Survive?* was published, sociometry has been handled as a useful tool of research, a comprehensive social psychological theory, and in some cases even as a solution to "social engineering." Helen Hall Jennings' *Leadership and Isolation: A Study of Personality in Interpersonal Relations*, however, can be viewed as an ingenious empirical study which helped fashion sociometry as a research tool. As such, sociometry has demonstrated its potentialities for integration with the main developments in research into human behavior.

The second edition of this pioneer study of the sociometric dimensions of a girls' correctional school contains data and analysis from the first published report. New chapters present additional material dealing with the differences between work and leisure choices as well as an amplification of the distinction between sociogroup and psychogroup. The added careful analysis of the data on choices still suffers from the lack of relevant subjective indexes to the psychological meanings connected with these choices.

A new concluding chapter, entitled "New Directions," reviews some of the main empirical studies and applications of the sociometric technique since the publication of the first edition. The new directions, as reported here, still reveal a preoccupation with the exclusive application of the sociometric technique rather than with

its broader incorporation into research. In this connection it is striking to note that although social scientists are particularly concerned with the analysis of the integration of primary groups into larger social institutions—factory, government agency, etc.—practically no progress has been made in the analysis of choice patterns *among* the various levels of leaders on whom the task of integration and co-ordination falls with particular weight.

As yet, sociometry has not found a solution for the complex of value judgments involved in its research. Generally, it is implied that more cohesiveness in group structure is desirable and that the expression of latent preferences and the arrangement of the group in terms of them will contribute to bringing it about. Certainly, preoccupation with the building of group cohesion is a fundamental task. But if this standpoint were made explicit at all points, sociometric research could free itself from the assumption that all choices, if only made manifest, make possible a restructuring of the group in such a way as to increase its cohesiveness. The converse is an equally relevant assumption: certain types of individual choices, if given full expression, may weaken or disintegrate the group. The process by which the group prevents the expression of disruptive choices ought to become a central concern of research.

MORRIS JANOWITZ
University of Chicago

Charity Main: A Coalfield Chronicle. By MARK BENNEY. London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1946. Pp. 176.

For a good many years I have been making notes of books which describe industrial communities in such a way as to make more understandable the relation between what goes on inside the industry and what goes on outside. They range from novels to the most meticulous statistical tabulations. The communities themselves are of many kinds. One of the most interesting and most written-about is the coal-mining community. It seems to have a quality which is much the same no matter what the land or clime.

Among descriptions of such communities Benney's "one-man survey" of the collieries in an English county must rank not merely as one of the most interesting but also as one of the best.

The observations were made near the end of the war, but they are not "dated" in any sense that makes them of less interest. For while some of the details are of that time, the main theme is the drama of work, the struggle in which the miners, their "lodges" (unions), the managers, the owners, and the government are involved. This drama goes on—and on. The body of social habit and attitudes with which any new legislation, new machinery, or new management, government or private, has and will have to contend is described in a way that should satisfy either a sociologist or a student of administration. "To think of the miners' unions . . . simply as trade unions . . . , is fundamentally to misunderstand their nature. Their functions are much more like those of the local medieval church than any other modern institution" (p. 172). "A long tradition of negotiating wage claims on the basis of the price of coal has made them [the owners] almost incapable of the intellectual effort required to conceive of methods of reducing costs other than reducing wages" (p. 166). "The Owner as Enemy . . . has often become a symbol quite divorced from any relation to objective fact" (p. 174). As for the government: "Nothing is done in the Ministry without the consent of both owners and miners" (p. 175). These quotations from the final chapter give some of the lines of the drama. There are chapters on the characters: the absentee, the manager, the secretary (of the local union), the owner, the committee. It is a good piece of observation, reporting, and sociological analysis, also evidence that the one-man expedition is a still valuable form of research enterprise.

I am not sure how available the book is here, or even in England. I report it for its value, not for its availability. It ought to be on the shelves for students of industry and society.

EVERETT C. HUGHES
University of Chicago

The Jews in Medieval Germany: A Study of Their Legal and Social Status. By GUIDO KISCH. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949. Pp. xv+653. $10.00.

This is an attempt to illuminate the history of the Jews in medieval Germany by tracing the development of legal codes and court decisions concerned with Jewish individuals and communities. The author presents a detailed description of medieval law codes in general and the provisions of criminal and civil law in par-

ticular. He holds that the Jews were considered a religious rather than an "alien" or racial minority. The legal and social position of the Jews was relatively favorable in the eleventh and twelfth centuries but deteriorated in the later centuries with the ascendancy of the Roman Catholic church law and the subsequent application of Roman law.

This type of study can contribute greatly to an understanding of the impact of economic and political forces on the legal position of a minority. Changes in the social structure such as took place during the period under study present an opportunity to observe the interrelationship of law and social structure with great precision. In the nature of the case, the author touched upon this relationship; but it is regrettable that he has not made it the focus of his investigation. Few are so well qualified as he to accomplish this task.

ERICH ROSENTHAL

Chicago

Field Theory in Social Science: Selected Theoretical Papers. By KURT LEWIN. New York: Harper & Bros., 1951. Pp. xx+346. $5.00.

Out of the Gestalt movement in psychology evolved Lewin's "field theory," and "group dynamics." The present work is a posthumous organization of papers written in the last decade of Lewin's life, and it constitutes, with his *Resolving Social Conflicts*, a summary of his theory and research. It presents a picture of an energetic, ambitious discoverer and organizer, whose value to the sciences of human behavior is widely appreciated and whose influence on students has been particularly fruitful. It provides, at the same time, an instructive display of scientific shortcomings.

Since all the papers here have appeared previously, there are no new findings in this volume. Experimental work, from the early studies of memory of unfinished actions to such recent studies as that of the food preferences of Iowans, is referred to and summarized briefly where it is appropriate to the theoretical development. These studies have been abundantly reviewed and criticized and need no additional comment now, except the observation that little or no recognition appears here of the various weaknesses indicated by critics. Lewin mentions the study that showed that "constructiveness of play of a five-and-one-half-year-old child may regress to the level of a three-and-one-half-year-old child as a result of a background of frustration" but fails to mention any of the serious defects of this study, including the fact that in some cases the constructiveness of play is found to increase. He also takes it as a matter of fact that the study of authoritarian, laissez faire, and democratic atmospheres was a total success, ignoring the shortcomings that have frequently been mentioned in print. But, on the whole, the mass of experimental work is much to the credit of Lewin and his colleagues and students. No highly creative person escapes errors.

The main purpose of the book, however, is to present the unified system which he calls "field theory," which, since experimental method is not Lewin's discovery or monopoly, constitutes what there is of uniqueness in his work. This theory is doubtless what his admirers have in mind when they call him "one of the most brilliant and productive minds in the history of social science" (jacket blurb, rear flap) and claim that his work "changed fundamentally the course of social science in its most critical period of development" (Cartwright, p. vii). These are large claims and deserve to be examined.

The first question is—what is field theory? It turns out to be not actually a theory at all but principally a state of mind. In Lewin's words, "Field theory is probably best characterized as a method: namely, a method of analyzing causal relations and of building scientific constructs." Cartwright adds that "field theory is more *an approach* to the scientific task than a theory about a realm of data."

Of central importance in the "field" approach are the following conceptions. All behavior is change in the state of a field. The field is "life space," which means the person and his environment as it "exists" for him. It exists if it has demonstrable effects. To condense and translate, then, field theory is the study of causes of changes in behavior. What is revolutionary or unique in this? Did science have to wait for "field theory" to begin to study causes of change in behavior?

Emphasis is placed on contemporaneity of causation—i.e., only the *present* system can operate as a cause. But this is apparently only a technical point of theory, for in practice "we have to take into account . . . a certain time period." And "situational units . . . have to be conceived of as having an extension in re their time dimensions."

Field theory is said to be "dynamic," but every investigator of behavior claims a dynamic

point of view; it is always the rival viewpoint that is static. It deals with the "psychological rather than the physical approach"—but so do most psychologists. It makes use of "analysis which starts with the situation as a whole" and keeps a distinction between the systematic and the historical—again not a unique claim.

Furthermore—and great pride is taken in this—field theory uses "a mathematical representation of the field." The mathematical aspect of field theory, however, needs to be scrutinized carefully. What is mathematical about such a "formula" as Lewin's "(9a) $real^{max}$ (Ch) < $real^{max}$ (Ad)"? There has been no measurement here of "reality," no multiplication of reality times child, no raising of reality to a "max" power as the superscript implies, and no other operation that by any kind of convention deserves the name of mathematics. To refer to the turtleback designs, however useful they may be in graphic explanation of a situation, as "geometry" is only to dissimulate by metaphor. And, according to a distinguished mathematician and specialist in topology who examined the matter at length, Lewin's "topology" is simply not what is known in mathematics as topology. We all know that mathematics is coming into increasing use, and we expect much from it, but from the appearances here Lewin did not quite understand what mathematics is.

In field theory, then, there is less than meets the eye. The most distinctive feature is the argot. The concept of "need" is used to replace wish or desire, although necessity may not be involved in the situation. The term "valence," which has no ancestor in psychology and makes no contribution to it, places the motivation in the object rather than in the person, that is, when a man wants a book, the book *has* positive valence for him. A number of current terms are reinterpreted, providing new meanings for intention, frustration, learning, regression, and others, and Cartwright holds that "it was in the concrete application of these principles [of the nature of conceptualizing] that he [Lewin] made some of his most significant contributions."

As is characteristic in the behavior of cult leaders, Lewin presents history as beginning with himself. The book opens with the sentence: "In recent years there has been a very marked change in the attitude of American psychology," and throughout the book the cause of the change seems to be himself. In some cases, useful work done by others before Lewin's arrival among us is mentioned. But the example of the discussion of the marginal man (p. 143) is not the only case of naïve implication of personal credit. In this case there is only one reference to a publication on the marginal man, and that reference is not to Park or to Stonequist but to Kurt Lewin. Furthermore, in the Index and Bibliography there is no indication that sociologists have ever conducted research in the subject matter of the book—their names are all but lacking in the volume. Field theory is apparently self-sufficient and can at least pretend to ignore a vast amount of useful theory and research in contemporary sociology and psychology.

The fact that a considerable amount of useful and relevant research in sociology and social psychology is carried on by admirers of Lewin and field theory indicated that this unproductive verbalizing at least does not paralyze. It is a speech defect and a functionless eccentricity in an otherwise well-meaning and fruitful research movement.

ROBERT E. L. FARIS

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Public Opinion, 1935–1946. Edited by HADLEY CANTRIL. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951. Pp. lix+1191. $25.00.

This enormous compendium reports the national polls of twenty-three organizations in the United States, Canada, and various European countries, from the first days of polling. The compilers propose hereafter to issue volumes at five-year intervals. The polls are classified under headings of the Library of Congress which will be recognized as those employed in the digests of the *Public Opinion Quarterly*. The Table of Contents is comprehensive and the cross-indexing is magnificent—a fact worth mentioning because such a volume would be well-nigh worthless otherwise. The Introduction, by Mildred Strunk, sets forth pertinent information about the size of sample used by each agency and something of their respective polling methods.

The product of this Gargantuan labor is an invaluable and irreplaceable record of how people used to think. Polls of public opinion are news at the time; thereafter they are information. In the nature of the case this sets severe limits to their usefulness. Most of the surveys are episodic and of ephemeral interest. The most informative are those which, by posing the same question at intervals, point to trends, for that makes them somewhat relevant to the present.

But, since public opinion is responsive to the news, intelligent interpretation requires one to know what happened in the interval. Obviously, the compilers could not be asked to leap into this breach. Even if the reader possesses a Jove-like knowledge of what was going on at the time, he would have no way of testing what events were relevant to the public opinion then current.

If one tries to compare one poll's findings with another's, all manner of obstacles present themselves. Variations in the wording of the question may—but one can never be sure—account for differences in opinion. For example, the American Institute of Public Opinion asked in 1936, "Do you think that everyone should be fingerprinted?" Sixty-eight per cent of a national sample said "Yes." Then in January, 1939, the same organization asked," Do you think that everyone should be fingerprinted by the federal government?" (p. 107). Now between 1936 and 1939 Europe moved toward war. Was that why 71 per cent said "Yes" in 1939? Yet the difference of 3 per cent might be due to sampling error. But what was the effect of the additional phrase "by the federal government?" Did it introduce antiadministration sentiment into the responses? Did this new variable obscure a real trend, greater than that shown by the insignificant 3 per cent difference?

Another frustrating circumstance is that the breakdowns are not uniform. The reader discovers what promises to be comparable surveys in Norway and in England, only to find that the age groups in Norway begin with the class 18–25 years, while the British breakdown begins with 21–29 years. Sometimes income classes are specified as "prosperous," etc., but sometimes they are stated as a range in dollars. *Que faire?* It would greatly increase the long-term usefulness of opinions sampling if the experts, at their international conferences, agreed upon standard breakdowns, which would be supplied whenever possible, in addition to the breakdowns which their own purposes make necessary.

Many of the surveys were conceived journalistically: they are questions presumed to interest a certain newspaper public at a given time. Therefore at this date they seem out of context, trifling, or simply quaint. Of more durable interest are those surveys in which an *ad hoc* public has been belabored with a set of related questions designed to illuminate its attitudes and make them precise. Particularly instructive are the *Fortune* polls, which probe issues with fair thoroughness. One may locate *Fortune* polls in this volume and then turn to the specified issue of *Fortune* to learn the hypotheses which led to the formulating of the questions.

One could wish that the patient compilers of this digest had made it clear when answers were supplied in the original questionnaire and when they were derived from the responses. Whence came, for instance, the more than twenty descriptions of Dewey's likable qualities, reported in an American Institute of Public Opinion poll of 1943 (p. 162)? Were they offered *to* the respondents or *by* them?

All these things are, however, faults of the original polls and are not to be laid at the door of Professor Cantril and his associates, who have prepared a fine digest of them.

HELEN MACGILL HUGHES

Chicago

Reader in Public Opinion and Communication. Edited by BERNARD BERELSON and MORRIS JANOWITZ. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950. Pp. xl+505.

It is a thankless job to assemble a volume of representative readings in a rapidly growing field. The editors of this *Reader* did as well in selecting and organizing their material as the fluid state of the subject would permit. The selections are grouped around nine well-defined topics: theory of public opinion, formation of public opinion, its effect on policy, theory of communication, its media (the daily papers, television, radio, film, and magazines), content of communication, its effects and its audience, public opinion and communication in a democratic society.

It is not easy to do justice to a volume which is made up of forty-seven different selections covering the period from 1886 to the present. The reader will find in this book statements of merit on the operation and control of the newspaper, the radio, and television; there are good essays on propaganda in war and peace, on radio listening, selective reading, and the effects of the film. Four case studies on the dynamics of public opinion are particularly notable. The article "A Social Critique of Radio Music" by T. W. Adorno raises some questions in this reviewer's mind. In this essay the author tries to trace the problems of broadcasting serious music back to the profit incentive and the prevailing antagonistic conditions of production which de-

grade classical music to a standardized mass commodity. That the extension of concert-hall music to an unselected mass audience creates problems of appreciation cannot be denied; but that a confessed protagonist of good music—and one who considers our "commodity society" an anachronism—should regret the change which generates the problem is surprising.

Altogether, this *Reader* is of unquestionable merit, and it will serve both as an introductory aid and as a reference book to advanced students of public opinion. The expanding scope of the subject may not assure the book a long life, but for the present the publication must be considered essential reading for sociologists and professional persons concerned with communication.

ERNEST MANHEIM
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Philanthropic Giving. By F. EMERSON ANDREWS. New York. Russell Sage Foundation, 1950. Pp. 318. $3.00.

"To give or not to give" has become an almost daily recurring problem of the citizen of any city or town on the North American continent. Considerations ranging from what is commonly called "conscience" to the more hidden but just as effective consideration of "what people will think" assail many people at every turn. How has this pattern of giving become so embedded in our society that hundreds of thousands of people not only give constantly to many different types of philanthropic endeavor, but also spend weary hours collecting money from others?

The author of this study, F. Emerson Andrews, has been a staff member of the Russell Sage Foundation since 1928. In this position he has been able to observe many types of philanthropic activity and has been necessarily interested in trends. In order to prepare this analysis, he claims to have consulted more than 8,000 references, including books, pamphlets, magazine articles, and newspapers. From these and from his own experience he has presented us with "an informing picture of giving" in the United States. After a somewhat philosophical discussion of the "New Era of Giving" he proceeds to present a brief history of philanthropy. He then outlines the activities of all the major organized groups concerned with giving, such as the government, foundations, community trusts, and fund-raising and religious agencies, and the recipients—the destitute, the underprivileged, education, art, and scientific research.

The sociologist will turn eagerly to the chapter on "Financing Research" to see what the social sciences get out of the grab bag. This is the other side of the coin, and Mr. Andrews shows that it is indeed a very important side. He suggests that the social sciences, being the "controversial sciences" are less eagerly assisted with funds by government or business than are the "noncontroversial sciences," such as medical research. Nor does he think that these two big givers are likely to become more interested in the future in "the needed deep probings into our social and economic structure and into relations between classes, races and nations." It is the foundations, he claims, with their unique liberty of action, which have recently been the main supporters of social research. To emphasize this claim, he quotes contributions to the social sciences from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, which increased from 28 per cent of total donations in 1945–46 to 73 per cent in 1947–48. As social scientists we can hope that this is not merely a momentary fluctuation of interest. Although the total amount of money given to research is difficult to establish, Andrews estimates that funds for the social sciences have increased gradually, but the rate of increase has been so slow that the relative amount they obtain is less than before, being now probably about 6 per cent of the total research donations. It is reassuring to note that Andrews himself includes a plea for more support to our field of research.

Comparative figures and suggestions in this study highlight certain trends in philanthropic activity which are of interest to the sociologist. For example, Andrews shows how organized philanthropy has become a crucial part of our social structure. Very few now escape the demands of giving, and many important institutions are partly or wholly dependent on good will. He shows, too, that the philanthropic pattern has followed the trend of many other patterns in our society: planning has become more and more rationally thought out, and a number of professional organizations have grown up with the specific purpose of directing the larger campaigns and training volunteer canvassers. The personal touch, too, is giving way to the impersonal: it is less and less possible to obtain the warm glow of self-righteousness that used to come from handing Christmas baskets to the poor widow. However, emotions still largely con-

trol donations, and the more "intellectual" appeals of the Community Chest are outdone by the more "emotional" appeals of tuberculosis seals, the March of Dimes, or the Red Cross. This point is supported by the great resistance of the public to taxation by government for charity.

Andrews includes a welcome section on the recipient, an aspect of philanthropy that is generally ignored in most publications. His remarks seem to bear out suggestions that have been made in studies by W. Lloyd Warner and E. C. Koos of the helplessness of the lower classes against the well-intentioned efforts of upper- and middle-class givers.

An interesting addition to this study would have been a section on the necessary increase in the advertisement of campaigns in this highly competitive field. This might have given some indication of the degree to which even the most pitiful human tragedy fails nowadays to stir most people. Perhaps the modern citizen must become dulled to propaganda, for how otherwise could he bear the almost daily demands on his sympathy?

The inquiry with which Andrews ends his study is not whether we should continue to give or not but "how shall we give"? This is followed by twenty suggested rules for giving. The earnest citizen may be surprised that the author does not, at any point in his book, suggest that the collecting and dispersal of such huge sums of money in such a seemingly haphazard way, often at the whim of some powerful interest, is a fairly inefficient way of redistributing the nation's wealth. Nor does he dwell on the inefficient way in which enormous amounts of time are spent by many thousands of people in collecting this money. However, one is grateful for this clear, well-organized, well-written account of one of the main leisure-time occupations of twentieth-century North America.

AILEEN D. ROSS

McGill University

Continuities in Social Research: Studies in the Scope and Method of "The American Soldier." Edited by ROBERT K. MERTON and PAUL F. LAZARSFELD. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950. Pp. 255. $3.50.

Whether we like it or not, theories are not verified without empirical data. In the case of *The American Soldier*, the data lend themselves to the furtherance of theory, not because they happen to be voluminous, but because they were systematically gathered and imaginatively analyzed with a few focal problems in mind. This point is properly stressed in the editors' Introduction, in which they describe the book as an attempt "to examine certain of these advancing frontiers and to explore the nature of the social science terrain that has been opened up" by the first two volumes of *Studies in Social Psychology in World War II*, by S. A. Stouffer and his colleagues.

The meat of the book is to be found in three chapters on sociological and social psychological theory and in a fourth chapter on problems of survey analysis. In one of the two other chapters there appears a content analysis of the very considerable number of reviews of *The American Soldier*, which are described as ranging from benedictory and pietistic to imprecatory and diabolic. The remaining chapter, by Stouffer ("Some Afterthoughts of a Contributor to *The American Soldier*"), illustrates both his deep concern for the improvement of theory and methods in social science and his own modesty.

E. A. Shils, in a chapter on primary groups, sifts out a number of significant contributions and goes on to offer some hypotheses of his own, derived from the same data. Many of them deal with functions performed both for the individual and for the army by primary-group membership. This reviewer found particularly challenging the sections on "Assimilation into Primary Groups," and "Individual Needs and the Establishment of Primary Groups." Shils's final comments provide an astute appraisal of the sources upon which this book draws: "The limitations are . . . those which are almost inseparable from the task of arriving at empirically adequate results on fundamental problems of social structure while doing research for administrative purposes. However, *The American Soldier* also shows that where research is scrupulously executed on problems of administrative importance . . . it cannot fail to produce data sufficiently rich and sufficiently reliable to provide many new hypotheses, some of which are fairly well supported by the data, some of which are suggested by the data, and all of which are a challenge to gather data with equal skill more centrally focused on the crucial theoretical problems which have been brought to our attention."

H. Speier, in a brief chapter packed with significant and critical evaluations, notes first that "the specific social function of the army has not

received as much attention in *The American Soldier* as it seemed to deserve in a sociological appraisal of a military organization." He then pursues some of the implications of the well-documented finding that "the American soldier had neither any strong beliefs about national war aims nor a highly developed sense of personal commitment to the war effort." Noting that if this country had lost the war, such findings would have been pointed to as helping to account for the defeat, he points to some factors (what happens to the homeland, the image of the enemy, and definitions of war as given by national leaders) which make it possible for an effective fighting force to be characterized by such apparent lack of personal involvement in the war. Speier's final section is on "empirical contributions to the sociology of knowledge." Six categories of data culled from the original sources are brought together in such a way as to provide neat support for the hypothesis that "the differences between opinions on the same subject matter expressed by groups high or low in power, prestige or privilege will increase as the subject matter is more closely and directly related to the status characteristics and relations of the group." This reviewer doubts that more convincing evidence has ever been assembled concerning what Mannheim referred to as "perspectivist thinking."

One index of the coming of age of a research discipline is the self-consciousness of its practitioners concerning their methodology. By this criterion, P. L. Kendall and P. F. Lazarsfeld have added significantly to the maturity of survey research. Their chapter is devoted to the neglected problem of the art of analyzing material once it has been collected. In a beautifully organized chapter, replete with illustrations from *The American Soldier*, they deal first with problems of accounting for statistical relationships, especially those of the legitimacy of drawing cause-effect inferences. The various methods described are shown to "involve a logic and a series of analytical procedures of their own. . . . The analysis of survey materials means essentially a clarification of the relationship between two variables in the light of one or more additional factors." The chapter also deals with the treatment of attitudes, motives, values, and social processes. Several pitfalls into which survey research is prone to fall are discussed, with corresponding intrinsic checks. There is an original and stimulating section, finally, on indices, in which five kinds of correspondence are noted between "personal" and "unit" data—i.e., individual and collective attributes, as inferred from survey data. This reviewer knows of no more sophisticated treatment of principles of ordering the variables which can be isolated from survey data.

The chapter by R. K. Merton and Alice S. Kitt entitled "Contributions to the Theory of Reference Group Behavior" illustrates particularly well how data are used both to suggest and to test new theoretical formulations. In the two basic volumes it was repeatedly suggested that otherwise unrelated or even seemingly contradictory findings could reasonably be interpreted in terms of the notion of "relative deprivation." In its most frequently used context the principle was simply that soldiers' satisfactions and dissatisfactions depended upon whom they compared themselves with. Stouffer illustrates the problem and its tentative solution (p. 199):

> I well remember our puzzlement, which went on for months, over the finding that Northern Negroes in Southern camps, in spite of the fact that they said they wanted to be stationed in the North and that they resented discrimination in Southern buses and by Southern police, showed as favorable or more favorable responses to items reflecting personal adjustment in the Army than did those in Northern camps. Some of our analysts were almost in despair at this discrepancy . . . they checked and rechecked in the vain hope of finding errors in the data or analysis to explain the paradox. When, eventually, it was suggested that the Northern Negro soldier in the South had very great advantages over Negro civilians in the South and that the advantages over Negro civilians in the North were much less, a clue to the paradox appeared.

In this, as in many other instances, the concept of relative deprivation is used as an "interpretative intervening variable." Expressions of attitudes are, in general, the dependent, and status attributes of various sorts the independent, variables. Over and over again, as is demonstrated by case data, *post hoc* use of this intervening variable makes the findings consistent. But this still leaves us with the problem of determining which of the many available reference groups will, in fact, be used in a specific instance. In particular, when does one's own membership group function in this manner, and when some other group? When one's immediate associates, and when impersonal status categories? Tentative hypotheses and further research leads are offered, which involve such variables as institutional definitions of social structure, status as-

pirations, and self-appraisals as distinct from group-shared values.

The authors go far beyond the original use of the term "relative deprivation" to account for states of satisfaction and dissatisfaction, noting that such general problems as mobility, marginality, assimilation, conformity, and attitude change have much in common in terms of reference-group theory. They might have gone even further. It is hardly too much to say that the concept of reference group is almost unique among the tools available to the social psychologist who wishes to understand how psychological processes are influenced by membership in a structured social order. It represents a *psychological* variable (involving motivation, perception, and judgment) whose form and content depend upon the *sociological* variables of social organization. It is a variable intimately associated with that central problem of social psychology: the relating of self to society. The hand-in-hand advancement of reference-group theory and of the research procedures which can make it possible would therefore seem to be one of social psychology's greatest needs. This contribution makes such advancement seem both more promising and more feasible than it had seemed before.

Perhaps the best thing about this book is its demonstration that significant hypotheses can be tested from data collected for quite different purposes. They will not, of course, be fully confirmed by such data—but whose hypotheses have ever been fully confirmed by even his own data? Even if we do not have the money and manpower to collect perfect data, we can do a lot with data systematically gathered by others. There's gold in them thar hills, and there is a lot more of it in *The American Soldier*, in addition to the nuggets which these authors have dug up.

THEODORE M. NEWCOMBE

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Human Behavior and the Principle of Least Effort. By GEORGE KINGSLEY ZIPF. Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Press, Inc., 1949. Pp. xiv+573. $6.50.

The development of the exact sciences, of which physics is justly considered typical, has proceeded through the harmonious co-operation of experimental and theoretical research. The experimenter supplies the observable facts; the theoretician interprets them. The former seeks to answer the question "What happens?"; the latter, the question "Why?"

How does the theoretical scientist find the answer to his question? He studies propositions of the form "If . . . , then. . . ." When, with the help of the experimenter, he finds that his "then" corresponds to observable phenomena, he concludes that his "if" may hold. In this way he is led to an understanding of possible hidden mechanisms which lie behind directly observable phenomena but which themselves are not amenable to direct experiment or observation.

When the phenomenon studied is relatively simple, the "If . . . , then . . ." reasoning may be made with the help of ordinary logic. If, however, the phenomenon is complex, ordinary logic fails and recourse must be taken to mathematical analysis. Hence the practical synonymity of the expressions "theoretical science" and "mathematical science."

For example, simple logic leads us to the proposition: "If a stone is attracted by the earth, then, when unsupported, it will fall." But no amount of logic could lead us to the following, more complex statement: "If a stone is attracted by the earth and if the force of attraction is uniform, then, when unsupported, the stone will fall in such a way that the distance traveled varies as the square of the time." Only mathematical analysis enables us to reach such a conclusion, which is verified by experiment. When we pass to even more complex phenomena, the need for mathematical analysis becomes even greater.

Propositions formulated mathematically are quantitative. This gives them an advantage over nonmathematical qualitative propositions. We may reach a qualitative conclusion that under such and such conditions a certain phenomenon must be observed. If we make an experiment to verify our conclusion and fail to observe the phenomenon, then the experiment actually does not prove anything. Either our deduction does not correspond to reality or else the expected phenomenon is too small or too weak to be observed with the available experimental equipment. When, however, we state that under such and such quantitative conditions a phenomenon of such and such magnitude must be observed, and when the experiment fails to verify this conclusion, then we know that the "if" part of our conclusion does not hold. An elimination of a bad assumption constitutes a progress of our knowledge. Moreover, mathematical analysis

frequently tells us how to modify our "if" in order to obtain quantitative agreement with experiment.

The conditional nature of the propositions studied by the theoretical scientist makes them rather restricted. It gives them, however, the permanence of mathematical propositions. When two physicists disagree about a theory, they do not disagree about the correctness of the particular "If ..., then ..." statement. They may argue about the reasonableness of the "if" part or about how closely the "then" part actually represents observation. In purely verbal qualitative discussions there never is that element of certainty, as in mathematical reasoning. In exact sciences a nonmathematical theory is almost a contradiction in terms.

The method which has been so successfully applied in the past to physical sciences has in the past few decades been also successfully applied to biology, and a rather voluminous literature on the subject is now available.[1] Quite recently the method has been extended into the domain of social phenomena.[2]

If we attempt to evaluate the late Professor Zipf's book on the background discussed above, we are met by a very peculiar situation. With due modesty and acknowledgment that a better theory may be presented by others, the author definitely considers his contribution as a "theoretical demonstration of the Principle of Least Effort" (p. ix). In view of the successes of theoretical physics and of the afore-mentioned progress in mathematical biology, it would be natural to expect a mathematically developed theory. The reader, however, will look in vain for any mathematical derivation in the whole book. The author reaches a number of interesting conclusions, but nowhere does the reader feel that these conclusions do actually follow from the fundamental assumptions. They may, or they may not. What is even worse is that the fundamental assumptions are not clearly stated. The designation "Principle of Least Effort" reminds the reader at once of the "Principle of Least Action" in physics. But there the concept of "action" is clearly defined, the units in which it is measured are stated, and, by applying the calculus of variations, quantitative, experimentally verifiable conclusions are obtained. Nothing even remotely similar to that is found in Zipf's book. To say that the author has *proved* or *demonstrated* a single clear-cut proposition would be an overstatement.

And yet the idea of deriving some of the observed relations from a maximum or minimum principle would undoubtedly appeal to many scientists and seems fundamentally sound. In fact, in 1943 the reviewer[3] suggested the derivation from a principle of maximum energy flow of some relations between lengths of words and their frequency, which were observed by Zipf.[4] As an example, an actual verifiable mathematical expression was derived. The reviewer thus entirely agrees with the aim of the book. He feels, however, that not only has the aim not been attained but that actually nothing more has been done than to state it.

We may, however, consider the book from a different point of view. The author, a philologist by training, not a mathematician, may nevertheless have appreciated the scientific approach to a number of problems where such approach was still lacking. He may have written the book with the aim in mind of calling the attention of exact scientists to possibilities of theoretical research in the field of behavior. However, such an evaluation of the book would have been justified only if at the time of its writing there had not existed an already imposing literature on mathematical methods in biological and social sciences. The Bibliography at the end of the book indicates that the author was aware of the existence of that literature.

[1] A. J. Lotka, *Elements of Physical Biology* (Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins Co., 1925); V. Valterra, *Leçons sur la théorie mathématique de la lutte pour la vie* (Paris: Gauthier-Villard, 1933); G. F. Gause, *The Struggle for Existence* (Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins Co., 1934); V. A. Kostitzin, *Mathematical Biology* (London: George S. Harrap, 1939); N. Rashevsky, *Mathematical Biophysics: Physicomathematical Foundations of Biology* (rev. ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948); A. S. Householder and H. D. Landahl, *Mathematical Biophysics of the Central Nervous System* (Bloomington, Ind.: Principia Press, 1945); see also the *Bulletin of Mathematical Biophysics*, a quarterly published by the University of Chicago Press, now in its thirteenth year of existence.

[2] N. Rashevsky, *Mathematical Theory of Human Relations: An Approach to a Mathematical Biology of Social Phenomena* (Bloomington, Ind.: Principia Press, 1948) and *Mathematical Biology of Social Behavior* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951).

[3] N. Rashevsky, "Outline of a New Mathematical Approach to General Biology. II," *Bulletin of Mathematical Biophysics*, V (1943), 49–64.

[4] G. K. Zipf, *The Psychobiology of Language* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1935).

The author's erudition can hardly be doubted. The more puzzling, therefore, appear some of his ideas. For example, after stating on page 262 that "there would be a tendency for an alteration of sexes in one's successive offspring," the author continues:

> If we inquire now into the possible mechanism whereby the sex of the offspring is determined—assuming for convenience of argument that it is carried in the father's sperm—we cannot help noting how conveniently the concept of sexual bipolarity offers itself as an explanation. In the case of the parents whose only child is a son, the father, in loving and caressing his son, is indulging in a homosexual activity with the result that his sexual bipolarity theoretically becomes somewhat more female. On the other hand, the mother, in loving and caressing the same son, does not become less female.

Even the most drastic statements of Trofim Lysenko seem to contradict the accepted facts of genetics less than does the foregoing paragraph!

The reviewer is very reluctant to criticize a book by a deceased author. This reluctance does not spring from an unconditional acceptance of the dictum: "De mortuis aut nihil aut bonum." The reviewer's reluctance is based on the impossibility for the author to reply to any criticism which may be unfair because of misunderstanding, missing a point, or any other reason. This reviewer believes it to be expedient to send a copy of a review to the author before sending it to the publisher. He has done so in the past. As a result of such a procedure, a difference of opinions between author and reviewer may remain, but the chances of misunderstanding or unintentionally unfair criticism are very much reduced.

To criticize and to find fault is usually a rather easy task, and, partly because of that, this reviewer thoroughly dislikes doing it. He will feel sincerely happy if the future will prove that he erred in his evaluation of Professor Zipf's book and that the latter will be found to be a more valuable contribution than the reviewer thinks it is.

N. RASHEVSKY

University of Chicago

Frustration: The Study of Behavior without a Goal. By NORMAN R. F. MAIER. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1949. Pp. xii+264. $3.50.

Psychological fashion in sociological circles, over-reacting to the seeming contention that men are merely beasts, frequently dictates that, since they are not beasts at all, we have nothing to learn from animal psychology, and "rat-psychologist" has become so opprobrious a term that this specialist, like the psychiatrist, is thought somehow to share the characteristics of his object of study. For such distortion, a book like Maier's may furnish a healthy corrective.

The key chapter, which presents a well-thought-out, well-executed, and well-reported piece of scientific investigation, deals with the experimental evidence of abnormal behavior *fixations*. Rats are the subjects, the "artificial situations" (e.g., the Lashley jumping apparatus) the context. The point is established that in frustration, operationally defined, behavior emerges in the rat which is demonstrably unlike the run of "normal," "goal-oriented," or motivated (hence understandable by empathy) behavior. The principal empirical differences reside in its fixity, its independence of reward and punishment, its independence of goals established, its intractability to "extinction" by the methods by which other responses may be extinguished, and its mode of selection in terms of mere "availability." So far we have, perhaps, merely a *curiosum* in animal psychology whose relation to human behavior is at best suggestive, analogical, or figurative. I think not.

In two well-argued chapters on the "Characteristics of Frustration-Instigated Behaviour" and the "Theoretical Implications" the author uses the distinction drawn in his experiment to reorder and render comprehensible, without the recurrent invocation of new explanatory concepts, further data from animal experimentation and from human studies, experimental and other. He brings not only aggression (cf. Dollard, Doob, *et al.*) but regression and fixation within the sweep of frustration-instigated behavior, which is itself related to learning-theory. Neurosis fits into the scheme in terms of the relative permanence of the fixation, and anxiety emerges in the situation where goal-oriented behavior and frustration-instigated behavior are struggling for dominance.

The second half of the book contains the author's argument as to the implications of his views and the application of them to behavior problems in children, reward and punishment, counseling and therapy.

Nowhere does the author commit the error sometimes made by, and often imputed to, the experimentalist of "simply taking the results of animal experiment and uncritically applying them to humans." The human material is met

discussed, and treated at its own level, symbol-mediated and "meaningful." Nevertheless, the reviewer is forced to agree with the author on his own showing, that "animal experimentation may be a crucial type of research since it is less hampered by mentalistic concepts and introspective reports, which are often vague and spotted with rationalizations." Not that the latter are dispensable but that the former may clarify, simplify, and make patent distinctions which the "richness" of the latter tends to occlude or obscure.

JOHN R. SEELEY

University of Toronto

Understanding History: A Primer of Historical Method. By LOUIS GOTTSCHALK. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950. Pp. xix+290. Library ed., $3.25; text ed., $2.75.

This book, as the subtitle indicates, is intended to serve as a guide to the beginning student in historical research and writing. If it is accepted as a guide and not as a substitute for more basic texts on historical method, it should prove useful. Professor Gottschalk covers a great deal of ground in some two hundred and eighty pages, ranging from how to take notes to theories of historical interpretation, and the treatment is necessarily summary throughout.

Sociologists will be particularly interested in Part III, entitled "Theory of History," in which the author discusses problems of cause, motive, and influence and the relationship of history to the social sciences. It would not be the place here to quarrel with his major premises, but this reviewer is not convinced that a case can be made for a separate discipline called "history." To argue that history is art as well as science is to seek refuge in a house of straw; so, in a sense, is economics, political science, or sociology. So long as social scientists proceeded on the assumption that there were natural, immutable laws governing all things and that their problem was simply one of discovering these laws, there was no meeting point between the social sciences and history. With the changing conception of the ends of the social sciences, however, and the recognition at the same time that history is concerned not only with telling what has happened in the past but with explaining it, the distinction between the two disciplines has disappeared. Failure to bridge the gap is not something for which historians can be held wholly responsible. Sociologists have shown little interest in problems of past development, and when they have turned to history they have sought to distinguish what they were doing from what the historian does by calling it "natural history," committing thereby all the sins of the nineteenth-century social theorist with his belief in natural laws.

S. D. CLARK

University of Toronto

The Burned-over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800–1850. By WHITNEY R. CROSS. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1950. Pp. xiii+383. $5.00.

This is an excellent piece of social historical writing. It traces in detail the history of religious, and related social, movements in western New York from 1800 to 1850. If a critical note is struck in this review, it is not intended to suggest that the book is anything but a fine scholarly work. It marks the growth of social history to a stature equal to that attained by political history.

One is somewhat puzzled as to the book's major thesis. It seems concerned with demonstrating that the movements which grew up in western New York cannot be explained as frontier movements, because they took place after the frontier stage had passed. They can only be explained, therefore, as a product of the Yankee heritage of the people who settled in this area. The Yankee settler brought with him an attitude of mind favorable to the growth of such movements, but, so long as frontier conditions existed, the population was too much occupied with securing a livelihood to devote much energy to religious affairs. With the coming of prosperity conditions became favorable to the burgeoning of a great variety of religious movements.

The author's argument, backed by a convincing body of facts, offers a healthy corrective to the Turner thesis that new movements were a product of frontier conditions and owed little to the cultural heritage of the population. But the author overlooks two circumstances. First, there seems to be a striking difference between the religious movements of the early pioneer period and those which came later; the first were mass movements of religious evangelization, while the second were more esoteric expressions of religion in the older religious organizations. This difference is important to an understanding of the relationship of religious

movements to social conditions. Second, it is questionable whether the growth of prosperity can be thought of as signifying the passing of frontier social conditions. The author thinks of the frontier in the Turner sense of a pioneer area of settlement. Actually, the frontier should be thought of as an area of mass movement of population. Early settlement took place by individuals—the hardy pioneer hewing out his cabin in the woods—but the real settlement which came later took place through great mass movements of people. On the author's own evidence, western New York between 1825 and 1850 was an area of intense social unrest. Canals were built, the towns increased, and new means of communication developed. It could hardly be thought of as having passed through a frontier period and then grown prosperous. Rather, prosperity signalized an intensification of unsettlement, and these conditions go far to explain the kind of social movements which grew up after 1825.

S. D. CLARK

University of Toronto

A Communist Party in Action: An Account of the Organization and Operations in France. By A. ROSSI. Translated and edited, with an Introduction, by WILLMOORE KENDALL. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949. Pp. xxiv+301. $4.00.

This book of essays on the Communist party of France analyzes the organization and operation of the party. It was prepared for an English-reading audience by an American political scientist in the hope of arousing people to greater awareness of the nature of communism and to more active measures for its defeat in the power struggles of our time. The political sociologist who turns to the book for systematic information about such topics as the social composition of the leaders and the led, and the indexes of success and failure in various years, will be disappointed.

HAROLD D. LASSWELL

Yale Law School

Tables of Working Life: Length of Working Life for Men. By the UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1950. Pp. 74. $0.40.

While industrialization has limited the employment of those in the later ages, advances in medical science, standards of living, and public health measures during the past several decades have resulted in an increased expectation of life. The consequent gap between working life and life-expectancy has been increasing. This volume attempts, with considerable success, to measure the size of this socially critical gap for the American male worker.

The report contains a clear and simple description of the pattern of working life, color and residential differentials and their application to problems of old-age dependency, labor force, and occupational outlook. The technical appendix includes a detailed table of working life and a methodological description.

Aside from presenting some important substantive results (such as the fact that under conditions of 1940 the average male entering the labor force at the age of eighteen could anticipate a gap of five and one-half years between his working life and total life-expectancy), the report also contains precise and direct explanations of the methodological assumptions and their effects upon the results. Only in the computation of occupational separation rates is there a noticeable lack of such clarification. In addition, though the description of the computational procedures *appears* sufficiently detailed, technicians will find that they need further detail.

Nonetheless, this is an important and useful volume both to those engaged in planning and in policy development and to those interested in improved measurement in social science research.

ELEANOR BERNERT

Columbia University

Pressures on Congress: A Study of the Repeal of Chinese Exclusion. By FRED W. RIGGS. New York: King's Crown Press and Columbia University, 1950. Pp. xii+260. $3.75.

This is a case study of the forces surrounding the enactment by Congress of the legislation in 1943 which repealed the Chinese exclusion acts. It is focused on the operation of a type of pressure group termed here the "catalytic group." The Citizens Committee To Repeal Chinese Exclusion is presented as an example of a pressure group which works toward its objectives primarily by stimulating and co-ordinating the efforts of various other groups potentially sympathetic, although not directly concerned, with the

issue. Such pressure groups, usually formed for limited objectives and lasting only for the time needed to achieve them, have been little studied. Their usually limited resources and short life-spans have made them less interesting to the social scientist than are such organizations as the National Association of Manufacturers or the Farm Bureau. Nevertheless, the small catalytic pressure group may be of decisive importance in mobilizing pressure for legislation. The author also reviews in turn the chief forces for and against the repeal of the Chinese exclusion acts, in Congress, in the administrative branch of government, and among private citizens and organizations.

This careful but slightly pedantic study—strongly suggesting a Ph.D. thesis—raises no new questions and offers no important original concepts or generalizations. Mr. Riggs sticks very close to the facts. His interest is in the processes of government, rather narrowly defined, and he makes, for example, no attempt to relate his material to the more general concepts of the "public" and of "public opinion." This is too bad, because he has organized here some exceedingly interesting data, of just the sort on which these general and rather vague conceptions should be brought to bear. In spite of these limitations, this book should be good reading for anyone interested in public opinion and the processes of democratic government.

LISA REDFIELD PEATTIE

Chicago

Social Problems. By FRANCIS E. MERRILL *et al.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950. Pp. xii+425 + v. $4.00.

The advantage of coauthorship is that each of the writers of this work has brought his special talents and knowledge to bear on the task of compressing material into relatively small dimensions. The disadvantage is the lack of unity between the sections. One must remember, however, that there is as yet no body of coherent theory of social disorganization.

Merrill's opening section on "The Study of Social Problems" makes an approximation at a statement of basic principles. Containing much that is traditional and familiar, it also offers some promising leads for systematic interpretation. H. Warren Dunham in "Problems of the Personality" brings his thorough familiarity with sociology and allied fields to bear on a subject ordinarily left to technicians who fail to grasp the significance of group organization in social life. Paul Tappan's section, "Problems of Delinquency," stresses the extent of delinquency and our ineffectiveness in dealing with it. Part IV, devoted to "Problems of the Family," is competently handled by Merrill. The final section, on "Problems of Minorities," is a useful digest by Arnold Rose of what Rose has written about at length in numerous other volumes.

The relative briefness and high selectivity of the work is at once a blessing and a shortcoming. This depends primarily on the particular instructor and his institution. If the instructor wants the course "laid out cold" for the students in a single volume, either out of his own inclinations or because institutional pressures make it difficult for him to do otherwise, this volume is too brief and too highly selective. If, however, he is willing to do the work he should and can spend the necessary time on it, a substantial course could be created with this book as basic reading.

MELVIN TUMIN

Princeton University

The Envelope: A Study of the Impact of the World upon the Child. By JAMES S. PLANT, M.D. New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1950. Pp. 299. $3.00.

The major virtue of this volume—and no mean virtue, at that—is the packing into just under three hundred pages of a wealth of sound and well-reported clinical observation, with shrewd speculation on its meaning. The writer demonstrates an ability to listen and to hear what youngsters say without the usual doctrinaire constraints in the hearing. He has, too, a refreshing capacity to say "I don't know . . ." or "I merely *feel* . . ." or "It may be that . . . *or* . . ." where knowledge is wanting. Readable, vivid, unpretentious, and packed with valuable research leads is Plant's report on his experience.

The author devotes twenty-one chapters to the discussion of as many "problems," one chapter to "Some Other Problems," one to "The Meaning of Meaning," and an Appendix of three-and-a-half pages to a comparison of his "scheme" with the formulations of Pareto, H. A. Murray, and Andras Angyal. He would be the first to say—indeed, does say—that there might be fewer or more important problems if the locus were shifted or the age-range extended.

Each of the twenty-one chapters begins in all modesty with the statement, "We see children who have the problem of . . . ," followed, usually, by a sensitive discussion of that "problem" in terms of a rough natural history of it: no Yesell-like timetable, but a series of expected stages. The problem is related to a number of "trends," such as those reported in *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, not by way of assertion of an existent causal relation, but merely by way of drawing attention to social developments whose outcome might affect persons as they deal with this or that particular problem. This is more a mapping of future research than assertion of knowledge or mere speculation.

On the theoretical side the book appears to contribute very little. The twenty-one problems are conceptually heterogeneous and have nothing in common except that patient and the rapist feel that they are problems. In some cases one problem is an effect or aspect of another. In any case, their relation to one another or to theory, as we have it, is obscure. The Appendix relating these to Pareto's *residues* or Murray's *needs* seems to the reviewer to illuminate neither these nor those. The concept of "the envelope," which presumably is to order the data, is, as far as one can see, independent of them. The book would probably be no whit different without the concept. The notion of selective action and reaction is not new—it is common knowledge that people hear what they want to hear (or "need" to hear) and learn what they can afford to learn. To reify this process, give it a structural term, an envelope, analogize it as psycho-osmosis, locate it at "the periphery of the personality" (though, later, it is part of "the central process"), is picturesque but not really clarifying.

Despite this, I judge the book to be stimulating and suggestive, primarily as a sourcebook of inviting hunches. Perhaps if Plant had lived, it would have become more systematic and stronger theoretically. In any case, it is, as it stands, a worth-while contribution to have left behind.

JOHN R. SEELEY

University of Toronto

Principles of Juvenile Delinquency. By CLEMENT S. MIHANOVICH. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1950. Pp. xi+138. $2.00.

This is a brief outline written primarily for interested Catholic laymen. Other sociologists should be pleased to note the scope of the sociological literature to which the author has evidently been exposed. After two chapters on the social and ethnic characteristics of the delinquent and the etiology of delinquency the author expounds the principles which he holds essential for the interpretation of delinquency as a cultural problem. Few sociologists will, after reading the first two chapters, object to the writer's plea for a religious approach to the question and to the space devoted to the antideterministic argument. It is in this chapter that he expresses regret for the "modernists"—that is, the social scientists of our time—who "ignore the facts of man's supernatural nature, of the efficacy of grace and of man's fallen nature, because test-tube tests in laboratories do not reveal their existence." The last two chapters deal with prevention and treatment.

While this informative booklet is, contrary to the claim of the editor, not the equivalent of a college text, one may discern a certain gain over similar publications in the past, due to the author's sincere effort to relate himself to the main stream of the sociological discussion on the subject.

ERNEST MANHEIM

University of Kansas City

Our Neglected Children. By ALBERT DEUTSCH. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1950. Pp. xxii+292. $3.00.

This book reports the explorations of a crusading journalist and friend of youth in ascertaining to what extent the institutions for the care of youth bear out their claim to rehabilitation. In quest of an answer the author visited a number of children's farms, reformatories, and juvenile courts. The sum of his account is an indictment of our institutional treatment of delinquent children. In a vivid narrative he draws a picture of administrative incompetence, the paralyzing effect of the political-spoils system on serious professional efforts, the tenacious survival of the punitive mentality in institutions, and the substitution of superficial discipline for individual treatment. The survey, however, not only exposes malpractices but also throws some light on recent gains in the care of institutionalized youth, such as group therapy, coeducation, the incentive system, adequate vocational training, and occasional success in creating an institutional substitute for an adequate home.

The author's program for improving the standards of care includes the employment of

competent personnel, federal grants-in-aid for training staff workers, more extensive use of psychiatric workers, the operating of reform schools under the control of state welfare agencies, more extensive use of foster-homes for the benefit of graduates of reform schools, and educational standards in reform schools to equal those which prevail in the normal community. A brief sketch of the social background and home of the delinquent, a discussion of the effect of comic books on children, and a summary of the present position of the juvenile court and of prevailing detention practices complete the list of subjects with which the author competently deals. The purpose of the book is to stimulate public interest and reform. In this aim the book is likely to succeed.

ERNEST MANHEIM
University of Kansas City

The Burden of Diseases in the United States. By ALFRED E. COHN and CLAIRE LINGG. New York: Oxford University Press, 1950. Pp. 129. $10.00.

Despite the title, the authors, like most persons interested in this field, were mainly limited, because of availability, to a consideration of mortality, rather than of morbidity statistics. They do include one chapter on studies of morbidity, but it is recognized that such surveys that have been made do not allow extensive conclusions.

In anticipation of the contents of this book, one might infer from death-rate statistics that the declining death rate in this country indicates a prolongation of life and consequently a lessening of the burden of disease. Morbidity studies might indicate otherwise: extended chronic illnesses and an upward trend in these. But it is not in terms of these last two statements that "burden" is used. Rather, the authors emphasize the changes in the prominence of certain diseases. The burden is discussed in so far as deaths have been tending for some time to occur less from infectious diseases and more from such diseases as cancer, nephritis, intracranial lesions of vascular origin, etc. In short, the burden is described by means of calling attention to the decreasing trend of death rates from infectious diseases and the increasing trend from cancer, nephritis, etc. Age, sex, and race are separately considered.

The first three chapters are entitled "The International List of Causes of Death and Changes in Nomenclature," "On the Value of Statistical Statements," and "Population and the Death Rate." Following these three chapters is a discussion of leading causes of death for various age groups, using death rates for the census years 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930, and 1940. Then a comparison is made of white and nonwhite age groups, using 1940 death rates from various causes. Chapter vi is a short chapter of comments on sex differences; 1940 rates are used. Then the census-year death rates are investigated from the standpoint of each disease, references to the United States death registration states and rates from several foreign countries being introduced for comparison. New York City statistics are also described in the introductory pages of the chapter. Age and sex differences in the incidence of each disease are taken into consideration. In chapter viii, each census year is graphed separately to indicate the death rate from a given disease for each age group. Next, deaths from various diseases are discussed from the standpoint of numbers rather than rates. Chapter x summarizes several studies of morbidity, and chapter xi summarizes and concludes the book.

The main conclusion—that the communicable diseases are declining as causes of death, while the chronic diseases are rising—is information readily available from any number of United States Public Health publications. Perhaps the documentation within this book is more extensive than, though not so thorough in the main as, the reports. Most of the statistics used are for census years, and only infrequently are more recent data of the 1940's introduced. However, the authors' medical knowledge is often used to introduce some interesting discussion of the diseases. On the other hand, they omit reference to many relevant studies, particularly those of the United States Public Health Service and Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. Yet, they refer to both of these sources in text and bibliography. But the extended series on influenza presented in the "Public Health Reports" (U.S. Public Health Service) of the early 1930's were evidently not used.

The authors discuss the fact that fund-raising is often related more to propaganda than to available statistics about the relative incidence of diseases. They recognize that diagnostic confusion is reflected in inadequate statistical classifications of causes of death. They also com-

ment upon the use of vital statistics in planning for hospital and other medical facilities.

The text is amply illustrated throughout with charts, which are, with minor exceptions, excellent. Charts in color under separate cover allow for the presentation of extensive disease and age breakdowns together on one large page.

Certainly a comprehensive coverage of available death-rate and morbidity statistics would be of great help to public administrators, students of vital statistics, and the general public. Unfortunately, this volume, despite all the effort that obviously went into its preparation, does not prove satisfastory to the reader who is familiar with the statistics and widely scattered articles already published.

ERWIN L. LINN

Chicago

Suicide: A Study in Sociology. By ÉMILE DURKHEIM. Translated by JOHN A. SPAULDING and GEORGE SIMPSON. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951. Pp. 405. $5.00.

Durkheim first published his study of suicide in 1897. It was for its time an advanced and powerful, but not his most important or influential, contribution. In a period in which armchair research was the popular procedure, this project was conspicuous for being methodical, organized, and explicitly and consistently sociological. Some of it stands up under inspection today.

Some thirty years after its publication and a few years after the death of Durkheim, his colleagues and students decided that the time had come for a revision of the study, and Halbwachs, the most distinguished of his students, undertook the task. In the course of this effort, the latter found that a revision could not be satisfactory and that the job had to be done over from the beginning. Halbwachs' *Les Causes du suicide* (1930) was thus published in honor of Durkheim, and at the same time the original edition was reprinted as a sort of memorial.

The present volume is a translation of the 1930 reprinting and is essentially identical with the earlier work of 1897. For this reason it is too much to expect of it that it would be of great value to those whose interest lies primarily in the causation of suicide. Halbwachs' book and other more recent material constitute the useful sources of information for this purpose. Interest in the Durkheim version would be mainly historical.

Durkheim brought out, among other points, that the private and individualistic act of suicide recurs in the mass with highly satisfying statistical regularity. From this he concluded that each society has a rate which is a real entity and which indicates the general condition of its organization. Undoubtedly many readers today, even with much sympathy for his general point of view, will consider that his argument on this matter is a little forced. He did, however, succeed in building up a powerful case linking suicide with certain conditions of social disorganization, showing that it had little relation to anything else (race, climatic factors, and the like). The findings in general remain supported by the Halbwachs research, conducted in the same manner, and by such statistical knowledge as we have at present, and these reveal the essential soundness of Durkheim's contribution.

Such weaknesses as appear in the study lie in its details and in the method. In view of the present difficulty in judging the utility of modern statistical information on suicide, it seems hopeless to the reviewer to attempt to assess the soundness of the information from such sources as official suicide death reports from the grand duchy of Oldenburg in 1871–85. In the absence of other knowledge it would seem wise to regard these figures as less useful than those obtainable today. Halbwachs once mentioned to the reviewer an attempt by Durkheim to account for a sudden rise in rates of suicide in England, in terms of some kind of weakening in the sociological soundness of the nation, only to find that the apparent rise was merely a result of a change in classification policy—before the change all bodies found floating were classified as accidental death, but afterward they were classified as suicides. Possibly Durkheim caught the error in time, as the present volume does not show it.

Some modern investigators would hesitate to draw inferences as freely as did Durkheim from variations of rates in different areas and countries. Rates are higher, for example, in countries in which divorce is common than in countries in which divorces are not allowed. But many other conditions differ also, and it is not possible to disentangle the influence of divorce by the crude tabulations employed by Durkheim. A modern study in the United States has shown that in eighteen major divisions of the country there is a positive correlation between suicide rates and an index of business failures, of .40. When age, however, is held constant by partial correlation, the same relation drops to the negligible figure of

.09. Durkheim saw these difficulties but lacked modern statistical tools to separate the variables.

Most sociologists today would probably follow Durkheim in distinguishing the two types of suicide, which he calls "altruistic" and "egoistic." One could make a good case for not calling the former suicide at all. It is much less clear that his other two types, "anomic" and "fatalistic," are useful. Even Durkheim makes virtually no use of the fatalistic except to point to it as a logical opposite to anomic, but he discusses the latter at length. It is obviously not a clear-cut type, for he states that there are mixtures of any two types. The evidence for an anomic type could all be reorganized to support a simpler general theory of all suicide (omitting the altruistic as not being actual suicide) as a consequence of describable processes of social disorganization. Perhaps there are types of suicide, but this attempt to separate them does not appear to be completely successful.

Durkheim's times and culture are reflected in certain details. Perhaps he was not too wrong for his place and century, but his description of the experiences of men and women in the marriage relationship sounds quaint today: "Being a more instinctive creature than man, woman has only to follow her instincts to find calmness and peace" (p. 272). "At a certain time of life man is affected by marriage in the same way as woman, though for different reasons. If, as we have shown, very young husbands kill themselves much more often than unmarried men of the same age, it is doubtless because their passions are too vehement at that period and too self-confident to be subjected to so severe a rule. Accordingly, this rule seems to them an unendurable obstacle against which their desire dashes and is broken" (p. 275).

Some readers may find the translation disconcertingly close to the French idiom and thus awkward to read and perhaps in places misleading. A translation is for the convenience of persons who do not read French and who might not therefore understand that "collective conscience" does not refer to what we know in our language as "conscience." The unprepared reader may be baffled by "collective revenue" and "public report" (*la voix publique*), and he may wonder what is meant by "density" of family. He may also be distracted by the use of "affection" when "affliction" is meant and find that reading is slowed when interrelated characteristics are awkwardly said to be "solidary one with another." The translators, by failing to render Durkheim's words into equivalently graceful English, may make his efficiency of thought and expression seem to be less than it actually was.

Neither the original nor the translation is provided with an index. A somewhat detailed Table of Contents, though less adequate, is offered in its place.

ROBERT E. L. FARIS

University of Washington

Gesellschaftliche Stände und Klassen. By LEOPOLD VON WIESE. Bern: A. Francke, 1950. Pp. 85. Fr. 3.80.

This essay on social stratification (estates and classes) is a postscript to the major work of the author, and it should properly be reviewed in that context. However, I am here concerned only with the essay by itself. It consists of a somewhat discursive analysis of different historical "systems" of social stratification. The author discusses these systems in turn: those based on kinship, on land ownership, on the organization of production; and he appends to these an analysis of the interrelation between the commercial as against the craft aspects of the modern social order. This last point partly resembles and partly differs from Veblen's *Theory of Business Enterprise*, and a contrast of the two theories would be of some interest.

In the second part of the essay Wiese shifts his ground somewhat by proceeding to a discussion of social strata in the capitalist societies of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Many of his specific remarks are interesting in themselves, but they do not lead either to a theory of stratification or to proposals for research. Perhaps of greatest interest to American sociologists are his comments on the changing class structure of German society under Fascism and after World War II.

REINHARD BENDIX

University of California

The Twentieth Century: A Mid-way Account of the Western World. By HANS KOHN. New York: Macmillan Co., 1949. Pp. ix+242. $2.50.

"This book was written at the approach of the middle of the twentieth century—perhaps

as decisive a turning point as the corresponding epoch one hundred years before was—as an attempt to draw up within a brief compass, a balance sheet of the last fifty years" (p. vii). It includes material in his "older books" and "older material" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and is divided into four parts: disintegrating forces in nineteenth-century civilization, the challenge of tradition (Germany and Russia), the challenge of old myths and new trends (imperialism, racialism, fascism, national socialism, communism), forces of reintegration and reaffirmation (democracy, co-operation, and federation). It is the sort of book for readers who want to read this sort of book. There are notes referring to sources—English, French, German, Czech, and Latin—and an Index.

H. A. INNIS

University of Toronto

Freedom & Planning in Australia. By A. CAMPBELL GARNETT. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1949. Pp. x+331. $4.00.

Professor Garnett, born and educated in Australia, taught philosophy there and has now taught it for more than twenty years in the United States. He has renewed his contacts with his native land by several visits, one recently, in preparation for this work. Being a philosopher, he is interested in values, the relationships of man and the state, of freedom and authority. In this pleasantly written book, he traverses Australian social, economic, and political history, portraying a nation of independent men and women, valuing fiercely freedom of choice of work as an essential condition of democracy, yet using freely "the activity of the state to open safe channels for the activity of the individual." Australia, under any party, "is committed to a planned economy as surely as she is committed to the maintenance of democratic freedoms." (Even her anti-Oriental policy is found to be rooted in democratic desires to exclude exploitable coolie labor, although that policy should perhaps be re-examined.) Professor Garnett adds to the interest of his account by showing how and why pioneer Australia, facing many of the same social problems as pioneer America, came out with different social groupings that led to different political configurations. Spokesmen for each of the contemporary political parties have contributed chapters outlining their policies. They buttress the author's conclusion that neither a very conservative nor a very radical party could gain the support of a majority of Australian voters.

CHARLES S. ASCHER

Brooklyn College

CURRENT BOOKS

ABBOUD, MICHAEL BEN. *Love, Life and Truth.* Boston: Christopher Publishing House, 1951. Pp. 60. $1.75. A plea for return to the Scriptures.

AGARWAL, S. N. *The Two Worlds.* Bombay: Hind Kitabs, Ltd., 1950. Pp. vi+173. Rs. 6.8. Reminiscences of an East Indian's travel in the West.

ANDERSON, W. A. *Marriages and Families of University Graduates.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1950. Pp. xi+52. $1.00. A study of marital experience and status, child-bearing and child-spacing of 1,496 graduates of Cornell, classes of 1919, 1920, and 1921.

ANDERSON, W. A. "Marriages and Families of University Graduates (Statistical Supplement)." Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University, 1950. Pp. vi+32. $1.00. Statistical tables of findings in study of Cornell University graduates.

BEAN, LOUIS H. *The Midterm Battle.* Washington, D.C.: Business Press, Inc., 1950. Pp. 98. $1.00. How to predict the elections of 1950.

BERNSTEIN, PERETZ F. *Jew-Hate as a Sociological Problem.* New York: Philosophical Library, 1951. Pp. 300. $3.75. Reprint (with long new epilogue) of a theoretical essay published in German in 1926.

BETTELHEIM, CHARLES, and FRÈRE, SUZANNE. *Une Ville française moyenne Auxerre en 1950.* Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1950. Pp. xiv+270. Fr. 500. A statistical survey of a French town; history of population, family, housing, education, leisure, and public life.

BURCHARD, JOHN ELY (ed.). *Mid-century: The Social Implications of Scientific Progress.* Cambridge, Mass.: Technology Press (Massachusetts Institute of Technology); New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1950. Pp. xx+549. $7.50.

BYE, RAYMOND T. *Social Economy and the Price System: An Essay in Welfare Economics.* New York: Macmillan Co., 1950. Pp. viii+356. $3.50. An essay in institutional economics—dealing with the effects and functions—not merely the determination of prices.

CANTOR, NATHANIEL. *Learning through Discussion.* Buffalo, N.Y.: Human Relations for Industry, 1951. Pp. 111. For "the professional discussion leader." Treatment of the psychological processes in led group discussion.

CLARK, WALTER HOUSTON. *The Oxford Group: Its History and Significance.* New York: Bookman Associates, 1951. Pp. 268. $3.50. An evaluation, based on a questionnaire sent to many people, of the policies and effects of the movement.

CODERE, HELEN. *Fighting with Property: A Study of Kwakiutl Potlatching and Warfare, 1792–1930.* New York: J. J. Augustin, 1950. Pp. viii+136. $3.00. A study of the Potlatch among the Kwakiutl Indians.

COYLE, DAVID CUSHMAN. *Day of Judgment: The Economic and Political Challenge to the West.* New York: Harper & Bros., 1949. Pp. vi+212. $3.00. Essay on economic, political, and ideological problems.

CRONIN, REV. JOHN F. *Catholic Social Principles: The Social Teaching of the Catholic Church Applied to American Economic Life.* Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1950. Pp. xxviii+803. Systematic presentation of Catholic thought on economic and social matters, documented from papal and other authoritative sources.

CUBER, JOHN F. *Sociology: A Synopsis of Principles.* 2d ed. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1951. Pp. xviii+647. $4.50. Contains new graphs and charts and more documentations.

DAVIS, JEROME. *Character Assassination.* New York: Philosophical Library, 1950. Pp. xix+241. $3.00. Cases from the early history of the United States down to the present of attempts to destroy reputations by propaganda and persecution.

DEES, JESSE WALTER, JR. (ed.). *Florida State Institutions.* Ann Arbor, Mich.: Ann Arbor Publishers, 1950. Pp. xvi+561. A compilation of facts, impressions, figures, maps, and photographs; reprints some annual reports concerning prisons.

DE MENEZES, GERALDO BEZERRA. *Dissídios coletivos do trabalho.* Rio de Janeiro: Departamento de Imprensa Nacional, 1950. Pp. 245. History and analysis of labor law and its application in Brazil.

DERBER, MILTON (ed.). *Proceedings of Third Annual Meeting of Industrial Relations Research Association, Chicago, Illinois, December 28–29, 1950.* Madison, Wis.: Industrial Relations Research Association, 1951. Pp. ix+388.

DEXTER, ELISABETH ANTHONY. *Career Women of America, 1776–1840.* Francestown, N.H.: Marshall Jones Co., 1950. Pp. xiii+262. $4.00. Social history, with extensive references to contemporary documents. Chief occupations treated are: teaching, midwifery and doctoring, revivalists and leaders of sects, entertainment, writing, keeping lodgings, sewing and weaving.

DOLLARD, JOHN, and MILLER, NEAL E. *Personality and Psychotherapy: An Analysis in Terms of Learning, Thinking, and Culture.* New York:

McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1950. Pp. xiii+488. $5.00. A general science of human behavior based on a conception of learning derived from the methods and findings of psychology, psychoanalysis, and sociology.

DURBIN, E. F. M., and BOWLBY, JOHN. *Personal Aggressiveness and War*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1950. Pp. vi+154. 8*s*. 6*d*. Separate reprinting of an essay published in a symposium in 1938.

EBERSOLE, LUKE. *Church Lobbying in the Nation's Capital*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1951. Pp. x+195. $2.75. Based on interviews, observations, and documents. Deals with Protestant and Catholic lobbies, their methods and objectives.

EUCKEN, WALTER. *Die Grundlagen der Nationalökonomie*. 6th ed. Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 1950. Pp. xvii+279. DM. 18.60. Principles of economics.

FODOR, NANDOR, and GAYNOR, FRANK (ed.). *Freud: Dictionary of Psychoanalysis*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1950. Pp. xii+208. $3.75. Freud's own definitions of his technical words and phrases, with references to sources in his writing.

FRIEDMANN, GEORGES. *Où va le travail humaine?* Paris: Librairie Gallimard, 1950. Pp. 389. Extensive presentation and critique of American work in the field of industrial sociology and psychology, as well as further development of author's own ideas and theories on modern Industrial work.

FROMM-REICHMANN, FRIEDA, M.D. *Principles of Intensive Psychotherapy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950. Pp. xviii+245. $3.75. Chapters on the personal and professional requirements of the psychiatrist: the initial interview and other matters. Extensive references.

GASPAR, GEZA. *Science, Conscience and God: Should the Scientist Believe?* New York: Helicon Books, 1950. Pp. 64. $1.25. Pamphlet.

GILLEN, PAUL BATES. *The Distribution of Occupations as a City Yardstick*. New York: King's Crown Press, 1951. Pp. xiii+144. Using census data of 1940, the author develops an index of occupational distribution of cities, which he proposes as useful for rating the city in various other respects—education, health, etc. Describes manner of deriving the score. Comparisons with similar devices in appendixes.

HELINE, OSCAR, and KALDOR, DONALD R. *A Framework for Long-Range Agricultural Policy: An Agriculture Committee Report*. ("Planning Pamphlets," No. 72.) Washington, D.C.: National Planning Association, 1950. Pp. viii+68. $0.50.

ISSAWI, CHARLES (trans.). *An Arab Philosophy of History: Selections from the Prolegomena of Ibn Khaldun of Tunis (1332–1406)*. London: John Murray; New York: Transatlantic Arts, Inc., 1950. Pp. xiv+190. The selections form, in effect, a theory of society. The compiler has arranged selections under conventional social science headings: geography, economics, public finance, population, society and the state, religion and politics, knowledge and society. Interesting section on kinship as the basis of society, especially of primitive society.

JENSEN, VERNON H. *Heritage of Conflict: Labor Relations in the Nonferrous Metals Industry up to 1930*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1950. Pp. xiii+495. $4.75. Mainly concerned with mines of the western states. Good bibliography of documents.

KALLEN, HORACE M. *The Education of Free Men: An Essay toward a Philosophy of Education for Americans*. New York: Farrar, Straus & Co., 1949. Pp. xix+332. $5.00. Deals with the school as an institution, as well as with discussion of social organization and personality.

LEIGH, ROBERT D. *The Public Library in the United States: The General Report of the Public Library Inquiry*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1950. Pp. ix+272. $3.75. A summary of the findings of the nineteen special studies of the public library.

LUDLOW, WILLIAM L. *The Fellowship of Marriage*. Boston: Christopher Publishing House, 1951. Pp. 128. A semipopular treatment.

LYNES, RUSSELL. Drawings by ROBERT OSBORN. *Snobs: A Guidebook to Your Friends, Your Enemies, Your Colleagues and Yourself*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1950. Pp. 54. $1.00. An essay on the newer snobbery.

MARTINDALE, DON, and MONACHESI, ELIO D. *Elements of Sociology*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1951. Pp. xi+724. $5.00. General text, with appendixes, on sociological instruments and experimental design.

MONTAGU, ASHLEY. *Statement on Race: An Extended Discussion in Plain Language of the UNESCO Statement by Experts on Race Problems*. New York: Henry Schuman, 1951. Pp. xi+172. $2.00. Author comments at some length on each of the brief paragraphs.

MOSK, SANFORD A. *Industrial Revolution in Mexico*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1950. Pp. xii+331. $3.75. Emphasis on recent development, with data down to end of 1948.

MÜHLMANN, WILHELM E. *Mahatma Gandhi: Der Mann, sein werk und seine Wirkung*. Tübingen: Verlag J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1950. Pp. viii+298. DM. 8. An essay in the sociology of religion and political ethics. Chapter on Gandhi's life, the Indian revolution, Gandhi's political methods, etc. Extensive bibliography.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK. *Social Work in the Current Scene, 1950: Selected Papers*,

77th Annual Meeting, National Conference of Social Work, Atlantic City, New Jersey, April 23–29, 1950. New York: Columbia University Press, 1950. Pp. x+389. $4.75.

NELSON, LOWRY. *Rural Cuba*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1950. Pp. x+285. $3.50. Monograph based on documentary and field research, relating tenure, style of farming, etc.; the class structure; standard of living; and education.

NUMELIN, RAGNAR. *The Beginning of Diplomacy: A Sociological Study of Intertribal and International Relations*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1950; London: Oxford University Press, 1950; Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1950. Pp. 372. A natural history of the diplomat, being a comparative ethnology of the relations between tribes and nations. Extensive documentation.

PESTALOZZI, HEINRICH. *The Education of Man: Aphorisms*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1951. Pp. xii+93. $2.75. Collection of sayings and paragraphs of the famous educator.

PLANT, G. F. *Oversea Settlement: Migration from the United Kingdom to the Dominions*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1951. Pp. vi+186. $3.00. Organized by periods (to 1815, 1815–1914, 1914–39, contemporary). Describes briefly general character and goals of emigration in each period. Sources listed. Tables of emigration, 1899–1949, in Appendix.

PRATT, WALLACE E., and GOOD, DOROTHY (eds.). *World Geography of Petroleum*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950. Pp. xvii+464. $7.50. Maps and figures on oil supply and extraction by regions of the world; discussion of patterns of exploration, political problems, and so on.

RADEMAKER, JOHN A., and LANE, JAMES T. (photographic ed.). *These Are Americans: The Japanese Americans in Hawaii in World War II*. Palo Alto, Calif.: Pacific Books, 1951. Pp. viii+277. $5.00. Chapters on Hawaiian Japanese in military service and in home-front organizations. Numerous photographs.

RADHAKRISHNAN, S. *Is This Peace?* Bombay: Hind Kitabs, Ltd., 1950. Pp. 72. Rs. 1.8. An essay on the present state of relations among great powers.

ROBINSON, CHARLES ALEXANDER, JR. *Ancient History: From Prehistoric Times to the Death of Justinian*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1951. Pp. xxiii+738.

RÖPKE, WILHELM. *Mass und Mitte*. Erlenbach-Zurich: Eugen Rentsch Verlag, 1950. Pp. 261. Fr. 12.50. Essays on liberalism, the sociology of communism, the natural order, advertising, the nationalizing of the individual man.

ROHRER, JOHN H., and SHERIF, MUZAFER. *Social Psychology at the Crossroads*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1951. Pp. viii+437. $4.00. Symposium of seventeen lectures on biological factors, cultural setting, group structures and individual roles, etc.

ROSE, ARNOLD M. (ed.). *Race Prejudice and Discrimination: Readings in Intergroup Relations in the United States*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951. Pp. xi+605+vi. $4.50. A collection of sixty readings in race relations organized around the facts and exercise of prejudice and discrimination.

SCHILLING, KURT. *Geschichte der Philosophie*, Vol. I: *The Ancient World*. Munich: Ernst Reinhardt Verlag, 1951. Pp. 455. Fr. 20. Includes parts entitled (1) The Greeks; (2) The Age of the Transcendental God; (3) The New Era; (4) The Christian-Germanic Middle Ages.

SEGUIN, C. ALBERTO, M.D. *Introduction to Psychosomatic Medicine*. New York: International Universities Press, 1950. Pp. 320. $5.00. History and concepts. Of interest to sociologists are sections on the interview as an experience and the physician-patient relationship.

SEIDENBERG, RODERICK. *Posthistoric Man: An Inquiry*. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1950. Pp. 246. $3.75. An essay on the fate of man.

SHISTER, JOSEPH (ed.). *Readings in Labor Economics and Industrial Relations*. Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1951. Pp. x+661. Selections on working class, unionism, bargaining, and social security. Nothing on work satisfaction, social life of workers, or organization of industry as related to industrial relations.

SIKES, EARL R. *Contemporary Economic Systems*. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1951. Pp. xii+756. $4.75. Revised edition of book first published in 1940, bringing facts up to date and including new chapters on the program of the British Labour party since 1945.

SIMON, HERBERT A.; SMITHBURG, DONALD W.; and THOMPSON, VICTOR A. *Public Administration*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1950. Pp. xv+582+xviii. $6.00. Textbook; organized about concepts of group process.

SNIDER, CLYDE F. *American State and Local Government*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1950. Pp. xiv+639. $5.00. A college textbook. Deals with constitutions, charters, governmental units, and their functions and powers.

SOROKIN, PITIRIM A. *Social Philosophies of an Age of Crisis*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1950. Pp. xi+345. $4.00. Analysis of philosophies of Spengler, Toynbee, Berdyaev, Northrop, Kroeber, Schweitzer, and others, and of the author's own philosophy.

SPIEGELMAN, MORTIMER. *Health Progress in the United States: A Survey of Recent Trends in Longevity*. New York: American Enterprise

Association, Inc., 1950. $0.50. A factual pamphlet accompanied by some propaganda.

STRAUS, DONALD B. *The Development of a Policy for Industrial Peace in Atomic Energy.* ("Planning Pamphlets," No. 71.) Washington, D.C.: National Planning Association, 1950. Pp. viii+104. $1.00. Prepared for the NPA Committee on the Causes of Industrial Peace under Collective Bargaining.

WAKEFIELD, EVA INGERSOLL (coll. and ed.). *The Letters of Robert G. Ingersoll.* New York: Philosophical Library, 1951. $7.50. Arranged topically, with items on many social problems of his day: vivisection, capital punishment, divorce, racial intolerance, and others.

WARBASSE, JAMES PETER, M.D. *Cooperative Peace.* Superior, Wis.: Cooperative Publishing Association, 1950. Pp. xiv+273. $3.00. Outline by a retired surgeon, for twenty-five years president of the Cooperative League of the United States of America, of the co-operative way to peace as a method of avoiding the evils of free enterprise, on the one hand, and centralized governmental control of property and men, on the other hand.

WARD, NORMAN. *The Canadian House of Commons Representation.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950. Pp. xii+307. $5.00. History and analysis of constituencies, the members of parliament, and election and nominating procedures. Original sources.

WEBER, MAX. *General Economic History.* Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950. Pp. xviii+401. $4.50. Reprint. First published in 1927.

WOOTTON, BARBARA. *Testament for Social Science: An Essay in the Application of Scientific Method to Human Needs.* New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1951. Pp. vii+197. $3.00. Essays on method, science and morals, arts, and so on.

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IN THIS ISSUE

The *Journal* presents in this issue two independent critiques of the methods of research used by the Gluecks in their imposing study of juvenile delinquency which has just appeared in print. The first is written by **Sol Rubin,** legal and research consultant of the National Probation and Parole Association and lecturer at the City College of New York. The second is by **Albert J. Reiss, Jr.,** assistant professor of sociology at the University of Chicago.

David Riesman, now professor of the social sciences in the College of the University of Chicago, is the author of the recent book, *The Lonely Crowd.* His contribution to this issue is a study of lawyers and the law based on his own experience in the legal profession which included a term as law clerk to the late Mr. Justice Brandeis.

In "The Professional Dance Musician," **Howard Becker** draws upon his seven years in the occupation to analyze the musician's characteristic attitudes and the means he employs to set himself apart from the layman. He has just completed a Ph.D. thesis at the University of Chicago on the role and career problems of the public school teacher.

An unusual ethnic situation is described in "The People of Frilot Cove," a Louisiana community whose population is racially and culturally mixed. The authors are **Vernon J. Parenton,** associate professor of sociology at Louisiana State University, who has contributed articles on ethnic minorities to several sociological periodicals; and **J. Hardy Jones, Jr.,** research assistant in the Bureau of Community Service of the department of sociology at the University of Kentucky.

Theodore Bienenstok, research associate in the Division of Research of the University of the State of New York, currently engaged in a study of equality in admissions to New York colleges and medical schools, is the author of "Antiauthoritarian Attitudes in the Eastern European *Shtetel* Community." He traces resistance to authority to early family experience in a particular culture.

By ingenious use of an event of great human interest as a case study, **Noel P. Gist** and **Warren Peterson** arrive at some interesting conclusions reported in their article, "Rumor and Public Opinion." The first-named author is professor of sociology at the University of Missouri and the holder of a Fulbright Award for research in India in 1951. The second, a research associate of Community Studies, Kansas City, Missouri, is at present undertaking a social psychological study of elderly men.

Two Pennsylvania communities, both founded by Germans but of different sects, are analyzed by **Eugene E. Doll** in an article in this issue. Both a historian and an anthropologist, the author, who is the index librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, has specialized in the study of American-German cultural relations.

In "Religious Training in the Roman Catholic Family," **John L. Thomas, S.J.,** assistant director of the Institute of Social Order and instructor in sociology at St. Louis University, discusses the declining role of the family as the transmitter of religious knowledge and attitudes as revealed in case-study data.

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UNRAVELING JUVENILE DELINQUENCY. I. ILLUSIONS IN A RESEARCH PROJECT USING MATCHED PAIRS

SOL RUBIN

ABSTRACT

In their latest study of delinquent behavior the Gluecks proposed an eclectic plan of research. Their basic assumption is erroneous, leading to a method of work which invites challenge. The unsound method inevitably leads to erroneous conclusions: their apparatus for the prediction of delinquency and their "causal law" are invalid.

An arduous, expensive piece of criminological research, supported by numerous foundations, utilizing a large, distinguished staff under the direction of one of the most eminent American research teams in the field of criminology, made its appearance in 1950. Its goal, as stated by Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck in the authors' Preface to the study, *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency*,[1] is to study "causation, with a view to determining the bases for truly crime-preventive programs and effective therapy." Their intention is to be eclectic rather than particularistic.

To question the validity of such a study is not a casual undertaking. The criticism is, however, in the spirit of the Gluecks' own words: "Our exploration of the causal mechanisms of persistent delinquency is still in process. This book represents the first analysis of the data; further reflection, particularly examination of more intimate inter-correlations of the constituents of the various levels of exploration, will very probably bring about deeper insights and some modification of present conclusions." The present writer finds illusions in the plan of the work, in the method employed, in its findings, and in its interpretation.

I. ILLUSION IN THE PLAN

The authors strive to avoid what they consider a basic weakness in sociological explanations of crime: the assumption that "the mass social stimulus to behavior, as reflected in the particular culture of a region, is alone, or primarily, the significant causal force." The area studies reveal "crude correlations between the gross physical makeup and composite culture of different zones of a city, on the one hand, and the incidence of delinquency and other aspects of social pathology on the other"; but "they do not reveal why the deleterious influences of even the most extreme delinquency area fail to turn the great majority of its boys into persistent delinquents."[2] They claim that the sociological explanation fails to an-

[1] Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency* (New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1950).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

swer the question, Why in the same environment do two individuals behave differently, one becoming delinquent or criminal, the other law-abiding? Elsewhere Sheldon Glueck observes: "Obviously, whatever be the element of social disintegration we are concerned with, its influence makes itself felt only on a *selected group of individuals*. It must therefore be the physical and mental makeup of offenders, as compared with nonoffenders, that presents the crucial and practical issue in the study of crime causation."[3]

But must it? Why is it erroneous to dismiss social causation by pointing out that many slum dwellers are law-abiding? The slums are characterized not only by strongly criminogenic elements but also by forces strongly supporting lawful behavior. The latter are positive community attributes and family, group, and individual resources, which operate to protect some individuals better than others. Chance, too, plays a part in the selection of youngsters fated to be delinquent: the separation into delinquents and nondelinquents is not always a basic separation, not the sharp differentiation which the categories imply. A change in administrative policy may mean a change in a delinquency rate. In a slum, delinquent behavior for some may frequently be not unnatural, but rather a natural choice; it is not the only choice; and lawful behavior is likewise not the only choice. But, in fact, the very data contained in *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency* provide unmistakable clues as to why not all slum children become delinquent—if, as will be shown, the data are properly interpreted.

Certainly, it must be granted that slum areas produce relatively high delinquency and crime rates. Then, perhaps, *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency* is a study of causation within that primary fact? For that to be so, we would expect the study to seek the mechanism by which slums produce delinquency. One way to do that would be to contrast the behavior and conditioning of children in slums and children in good neighborhoods, or in some other way to pursue the clues; but, as will be shown, that was not done.

The method was to select 500 institutionalized delinquent and 500 nondelinquent children, matched as closely as possible with respect to age, general intelligence, national (ethnico-racial) origin, and residence in underprivileged neighborhoods. What is the significance of controlling the pairs as to residence in underprivileged neighborhoods? It means that the attempt is made *to exclude residence in underprivileged neighborhoods as a causative source* for purposes of the study. As the Gluecks say: "A comparative study of delinquents who have been paired with non-delinquents in respect to certain factors can throw little light on the very factors that have been controlled."[4] The findings of such a study could easily be predicted. This artifact of crime causation can be characterized by suggesting another study: match delinquents and nondelinquents as to the characteristics found by this study to be significant; then whatever differences were demonstrated to exist between them would be, automatically, factors *other* than those found significant in this study.

II. ILLUSION IN THE METHOD

The most elementary caution in criminological research is the recognition that an examination of institutionalized offenders (or delinquents) will provide information

[3] "Crime Causation," *National Probation and Parole Association Yearbook* (1941), p. 90. This position has been taken by some others. A psychiatrist, Dr. Ralph S. Banay, writes: "Sociological causation, the existence of slums, deprivation, poverty, . . . as criminogenic elements . . . [do] not stand up under statistical evaluation. The fact is that in identical bad environments relatively few succumb to antisocial drive. Most of them make an adequate adjustment" (*National Probation and Parole Association Yearbook* [1949], p. 59). A penologist, Donald Clemmer, writes: "There must be some differences between the average run of mankind in the street who never becomes involved in conventional crime, and the bulk of these men in our institutions" (*Federal Probation*, March, 1949, p. 32).

[4] *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency*, p. 15.

about *institutionalized offenders* and *not* about offenders in general. An institutionalized offender is characteristically, in great part, an institution product.

It is, of course, valuable, particularly as a guide to administrative reform, to understand clearly what happens to an individual in an institution not only socially and physically but psychologically. But *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency* says nothing about the effect of institutional life on the inmate. Its purpose is to comprehend the causal pattern as it presents itself *at the time of entrance into public school.* The outcome of the study is a prediction table to be used at that stage of a child's life. Yet the institution children selected were not six, seven, or eight years old. They averaged in age fourteen years and eight months at the time they were selected for study,[5] ranging from eleven to seventeen years of age.[6] They had spent an average of 7.12 months in correctional institutions.[7] Their average age at the time of first commitment to a correctional school was thirteen and nine-tenths years.

What can be discovered by examining children at that age, in a correctional institution for such a number of months? Can we discover their characters and personalities as of the age of eight years, a time when they had had no contact with courts, probation, police, or institutions? To suggest that we can is a hazardous surmise, not one to be relied on without justification and discussion. To rely on the probability that their personalities and characters *had* changed, at least in so far as character and personality are related to their criminal behavior, would be less hazardous.

Furthermore, is it not probable that the judge, at the point of disposition, considers the personality of the child and selects for commitment the less amenable delinquent? Very probable. Then we would be constrained to recognize that there may be a difference between a delinquent child released on probation and a delinquent child who is committed. If *three* groups were compared—institutional delinquents, noninstitutional delinquents, and nondelinquents (noninstitutional)—it is possible that the noninstitutional delinquents would be found to be more like the nondelinquents than like the institutional delinquents.

The nondelinquents told the psychiatrist who interviewed them on behalf of the study of their peccadilloes, such as window-breaking, truck-hopping, occasionally sneaking admission into a movie theater, and occasional stealing from a five-and-ten-cent store.[8] What if there were a comparison of children committed for peccadilloes and these nondelinquents—might they not be similar to the children committed for more serious acts, rather than to the nondelinquent but peccadillo-committing boys? And might it not be found, then, that the difference between commitment and noncommitment of a boy guilty of a peccadillo is the resources available to the family rather than the personality or character of the boy?

III. ILLUSION IN THE FINDINGS

Although delinquents and nondelinquents had been matched as to general intelligence, some differences in intelligence-test results were found. The delinquents showed less aptitude in vocabulary, information, and comprehension. The authors recognize that these results are related to the delinquents' lesser amounts of schooling and the inferior cultural atmosphere of their homes. In the performance of intelligence tests the delinquents and nondelinquents resemble each other closely. What do the Gluecks say about this? "Although it may be a fact that the way in which individuals score on intelligence tests is to some extent affected by cultural opportunities, it must be kept in mind in interpreting these findings that in the general sources of the culture-complex—ethnic derivation and residence in underprivileged areas—the two groups under comparison were closely matched. It is therefore reasonable to assume that there may be

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 260.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 28.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 61.

some fundamental residual difference between the delinquents and non-delinquents in their variability in test scores."[9] But what, in fact, are the literal findings with respect to social background? They are that *there is a greater difference between the delinquents and the nondelinquents in the quality of their social background than in their intelligence* scores.

More than half (55 per cent) of the delinquents as against 34.2 per cent of the nondelinquents live in blighted tenement areas;[10] 27.2 per cent of the homes of the nondelinquents are described as *good*, compared with 11.4 per cent of the homes of the delinquents, while 33.9 per cent of the homes of delinquents are extremely *poor* (overcrowded, lacking in sanitary facilities, filthy, etc.), compared with 19.8 per cent of the homes of nondelinquents in equivalent conditions.[11] The parents of the delinquents are markedly overburdened, as compared with the parents of nondelinquents, by serious social, physical, and psychological difficulties.[12] Naturally, then, the delinquents moved about more than the nondelinquents, and a considerably higher proportion engaged in street trades, while more nondelinquents were in jobs in which some supervision was provided; a far larger proportion of delinquents hung around street corners, played in vacant lots, on waterfronts, and in railroad yards, frequented cheap poolrooms and dance halls; the delinquents were considerably involved in gang membership, while the nondelinquents avoided gangs almost entirely.[13] What, then, becomes of the "close matching" relied upon by the Gluecks for their assumption of "fundamental residual difference" between the two groups? How can one avoid seeing the effectiveness of these factors in the natural selection of delinquents?

Rorschach test and psychiatric findings indicate important differences between delinquents and nondelinquents. The delinquents are found to be more socially assertive, defiant, hostile, more impulsive, vivacious, and extroverted. They also suffer less from anxiety and are more independent.[14] The delinquents are said to be less adequate than the nondelinquents in deep-rooted emotional dynamics. On the other hand, they are more dynamic and energetic, more aggressive, adventurous, and impulsive.[15]

There are many other such findings, which we do not stop to summarize or evaluate. But, as has already been pointed out here, both these tests were made in the correctional institutions and hence are findings which compare not two groups from depressed neighborhoods differentiated as to delinquency and nondelinquency but two groups from markedly different total social backgrounds, one group being an institutionalized group, the other with no experience in the institution.[16] There is a strong possibility that institutional life contributed to the greater display among delinquents of social assertiveness, defiance, ambivalence toward others, hostility, suspicion, destructiveness, less submissiveness to authority—to mention most of the characteristics noted by the Rorschach test. As for the psychiatric characterizations of the delinquents, much is said of the *cause* of the greater emotional tension of the delinquents than of the nondelinquents; but no attempt is made to show that these emotional differences are a *cause of delinquency* or to explain why they were

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 206.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 79.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 83.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 107.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 167. The results of the intelligence tests were, like the findings in respect to bodily constitution, not used for predictive purposes, as being inaccurate or unsound when applied to children under ten. The foregoing cited treatment of these findings, however, illustrates the manner in which the raw data were weighed.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 240.

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 251, 252.

[16] To demonstrate the objectivity of the parts of the research, the authors point out that the psychiatrist, for example, did not have before him, prior to an interview, the findings of the psychological tests, the Rorschach test, or the social history. But, of course, the more important source of bias, if there were any (which is not suggested here), would be the knowledge of the history and the situation of the boys; the fact is that the delinquent boys were *interviewed in the institutions.*

not a cause of delinquency in the nondelinquents who also exhibited them.

IV. ILLUSION IN THE INTERPRETATION

In the concluding chapters of *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency*, the authors derive from the findings (*a*) a tool for "practical crime prevention efforts" and (*b*) a proposed *law* of crime causation.

a) THE PREDICTION TABLES

"The selection of potential delinquents at the time of school entrance or soon thereafter," the Gluecks point out, "would make possible the application of treatment measures that would be truly crime preventive."[17] Three prediction tables are therefore constructed and are proposed as aids in this selection. The first table uses five *social factors:* discipline of boy by father (overstrict or erratic; lax; firm but kindly); supervision of boy by mother (unsuitable; fair; suitable); affection of father for boy (indifferent or hostile; warm, including overprotective); affection of mother for boy; cohesiveness of family (unintegrated; some elements of cohesion; cohesive).[18] The second prediction table uses *character traits* determined in the Rorschach test: social assertion (marked; slight or suggestive; absent); defiance; suspicion; destructiveness; emotional lability. The third prediction table uses *personality traits* determined in the psychiatric interview: adventurous (present in marked degree; not prominent, or noticeably lacking); extroverted in action; suggestible; stubborn; emotionally unstable. Are the prediction tables validly established?

1. It is not at all clear that the table based on "social factors" is a true reflection of the useful data contained in the findings. Both delinquents and nondelinquents were selected from poor neighborhoods, for a simple reason—these are high-delinquency areas. The social factors table, however, says nothing about areas! Is this table applicable to *all* kinds of areas? Hardly. One could, for example, select from good and poor neighborhoods children who meet the conditions of overstrict or erratic discipline of boy by father, unsuitable supervision of boy by mother, indifferent or hostile father and mother, and unintegrated family. Would this test be equally effective in predicting delinquency for both groups? Possibly not. It has not been tried. But perhaps the test can be used for underprivileged neighborhoods? If the test is said to apply to the limited social setting only, then one concedes the effect of environment! But, if one overcomes the logical inconsistency of denying the prime importance of social causation while at the same time relying on it, and the prediction table is applied to the poor neighborhood, we find that only some of the factors are used. In the prediction table based on "social factors" no account whatsoever is taken of extra-household social conditions. As to the "under-the-roof" environment, for specific social facts interpersonal effects are substituted,[19] without its being established that the interpersonal effects are, in fact, causes rather than, like delinquency, *effects*.

2. As has already been noted, the psychiatric and Rorschach findings do not *provide* an explanation of anything; on the contrary, they *require* an explanation. Did the differences noted between delinquents (*institutionalized*) and nondelinquents result mainly from experiences connected with court and institution for the delinquents? Did they result in great or little part from the role in which they were placed as delinquents? Or did they, in fact, exist earlier? Are there differences between these institutionalized children and child delinquents in a modern camp or in a cottage institution with a small population or in an institution with adequate psychiatric service? Are there differences between these children and delinquent children from rural areas? The psychiatric study was neither prolonged nor intensive enough to answer these questions; it consisted of a single interview.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 257. [18] *Ibid.*, p. 261.

[19] Compare the items in the "social factors" prediction table, with the "under-the-roof" social conditions listed in our text in connection with nn. 11 and 12.

3. The psychiatric and Rorschach findings regarding children of the average age of almost fifteen years, within a correctional institution, cannot be used with confidence to "predict" what these children, or other children, were like at the age of six. It is awkward, to say the least, to call this "prediction." The social factors, by contrast, *are*, in all probability, relevant as of the time these children entered school; but, as is seen, the prediction table based on "social factors" is a pale list of the social factors which are discernible in this study.

4. If we are interested in "prediction" as a preventive tool, the test is not what per cent of accuracy these tables might have, but how these tests compare with other predictive tools which might be used. For example, if a professionally trained case worker were to spend a flexible amount of time with entering school children, in total not more than would be needed to apply the "social factors" table developed by the Glueck's, would the case worker achieve a poorer, equal, or better result as compared with the use of the *combined* prediction tables?

b) THE LAW OF CRIME CAUSATION

The Gluecks tentatively formulate a "causal formulation or law." The great mass of delinquents, says the proposed law,

> as a group are distinguishable from the non-delinquents: (1) *physically*, in being essentially mesomorphic in constitution (solid, closely knit, muscular); (2) *temperamentally*, in being restlessly energetic, impulsive, extroverted, aggressive, destructive (often sadistic)—traits which may be related more or less to the erratic growth pattern and its physiologic correlates or consequences; (3) *in attitude*, by being hostile, defiant, resentful, suspicious, stubborn, socially assertive, adventurous, unconventional, nonsubmissive to authority; (4) *psychologically*, in tending to direct and concrete, rather than symbolic, intellectual expression, and in being less methodical in their approach to problems; (5) *socio-culturally*, in having been reared to a far greater extent than the control group in homes of little understanding, affection, stability, or moral fibre by parents usually unfit to be effective guides and protectors or, according to psychoanalytic theory, desirable sources for emulation and the construction of a consistent, well-balanced and socially normal superego during the early stages of character development. While in individual cases the stresses contributed by any one of the above pressure-areas of dissocial-behavior tendency may adequately account for persistence in delinquency, in general the high probability of delinquency is dependent upon the interplay of the conditions and forces from all these areas.
>
> In the exciting-stimulating, but little-controlled and culturally inconsistent environment of the underprivileged area, such boys readily give expression to their untamed impulses and their self-centered desires by means of various forms of delinquent behavior. Their tendencies toward uninhibited energy-expression are deeply anchored in soma and psyche and in the malformations of character during the first few years of life.[20]

It is a daring thing to formulate a law of crime causation—particularly so when the correlation which serves as the basis of the law is an untested one. This law is untested; it is *derived* from data, but not *tested* by them. But how well, in fact, *is* the law derived from the data? A hypothesis and, even more so, a law, like a hypothetical question to an expert witness in a court of law, must be true to the facts.

1. The law is not limited as to place, age, or administrative policy, to accord with the limitations of the sample.

2. The law applies to the "great mass" of delinquents' characteristics observed only in an institutionalized group of delinquents and only in a part—sometimes a very small part—of those delinquents. For example, as to the characteristics of temperament, the "great mass" of the institutionalized delinquents are not aggressive—only 15.1 per cent are (as compared with 5 per cent of the nondelinquents); 41.4 per cent of the delinquents are characterized as stubborn (Table XIX-1), 13.7 per cent are egocentric, 28.8 per cent are uncritical of self (Table XIX-3); etc.

[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 281–82.

3. The law declares, in its first clause, a definite physical characteristic for delinquents. But the physical differences had earlier been rejected by the authors for predictive purposes because, they said: "As regards physique, we are dealing with a discipline as yet highly controversial because physical anthropologists have not yet answered a major question, namely, whether or not the somatotype remains constant and, if it does, whether, in the formative years of growth around the age of six or seven, when children normally enter school, the physique type is as yet reliably distinguishable."[21] Then what justification is there to include physique in the "law"?

The Gluecks had characterized as "crude correlation" the findings of the area studies which noted high rates of delinquency in regions of economic and cultural disorganization.[22] Here physique finds its way into the "law" as a sheer correlation, rather general, without a guess as to a causal relationship. Although called a "causal law," *none* of the law goes beyond mere correlation.

4. Clause 4 similarly includes characteristics which were rejected for predictive purposes. "The possibility of a predictive device to be applied at school entrance derived from the differential findings of the Wechsler-Bellevue and Stanford Achievement tests was also ruled out, because Dr. Wechsler had suggested to us 'that the scale not be used with children under ten years.' "[23]

5. Clause 5 is the translation of social factors. What has been done here, however, as pointed out earlier (Sec. *a*, par. 1, in the discussion of the prediction tables) has been to translate the data into a generalization which uses only *part* of the social factors, which uses the *effects* of environment rather than the environment itself, as if a chemist were to talk only of *properties* rather than substances.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 258.

[22] Above, n. 2.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 259.

V. REINTERPRETING THE DATA

Two outstanding facts emerge from *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency:* (1) In place of a study which sought steadfastly to eliminate environmental factors as well as to eliminate them from a causal law, *the force of social (or environmental) causation of delinquency proves irrepressible.* (2) Institutionalized children differ from children who have not been institutionalized.

Unfortunately, the study has not explored these facts. In what ways do rundown neighborhoods cause delinquency? Why do institution children differ from children who have not been institutionalized?

Although the authors determined to be *eclectic* in relation to the disciplines used in this study, they appear to have achieved the result of being *fractional* with regard to the child. Compare, for example, the following statement taken from the report of another kind of delinquency study:

> The project accepted the philosophy that each child must be treated as a whole and his problems as a unit regardless of the number of problems or the areas of his life affected. The experience of the project shows that minor and incipient problem behavior in children can be identified by the community and that if adequate community services are effectively coordinated much of this problem behavior can be corrected and modified or, if not susceptible to correction, prevented from developing into more serious forms. Its experience further emphasizes the fact that the community services called upon to work in a coordinated program must include not only the social agencies, which are primarily concerned with the neglected, dependent, and delinquent child or the child in need of special care, but also the health and law-enforcing agencies and the agencies established to serve all children, such as the group-work agencies, the recreational agencies, and the schools. The acceptance of this philosophy of treating the child as a whole and of its corollary of including all services affecting children either directly or indirectly is of primary importance to the community interested in developing a program to prevent problem behavior in children and to identify and treat

such behavior early in its development if it does appear.[24]

The foregoing are attributes of a rational crime-prevention program, which considers the whole child; which takes his behavior as sharing in and reflecting his own, his family's, his community's life; which recognizes that he may develop critical difficulties at any time—at or before school entrance or at any time thereafter. His conduct is determined not only by his own attitudes and character and those of his family and companions but, not least, by the attitudes and character of the community and its agencies. A flexible plan of detection of incipient behavior problems is projected and tested successfully.

As for the prediction tables, serious questions may be raised as to their practical use in the prevention of delinquency. The direction of a child's behavior depends not only on what he is but on how he grows and on how the community and its services behave and grow. Prevention is in the community more than it is in the child. It looks to the present and future rather than to the past. It strives to control adverse conditions which contribute to difficulties in children. Prediction tables do not assist in this broad approach to prevention.

Prevention also takes a more limited form in work with individual children. How practical are validly produced prediction tables at this level? The base of the prediction tables is in the past. Their concept is continued uniformity of the process which brings a child to the point of difficulty. Without such uniformity between past and future, the prediction tables are invalid. The larger prevention effort, the more important prevention effort, is therefore at work to produce changes which will affect the basis of the prediction table. Environment is not static; normal social change will in time render the prediction tables less and less reliable. The psychological framework of prediction tables is condemnation of the community and its services to unvarying persistence in a current course. The prediction tables are difficult and expensive to produce and to use, require extensive testing to confirm their validity in the first place, and continual retesting to reaffirm their validity thereafter. At best, they have an ephemeral life as a subsidiary tool in a crime-prevention program.

[24] Sybil A. Stone, Elsa Castendyck, and Harold B. Hanson, *Children in the Community: The St. Paul Experiment in Child Welfare* ("United States Children's Bureau Publications," No. 317 [1946]), p. 158.

UNRAVELING JUVENILE DELINQUENCY. II. AN APPRAISAL OF THE RESEARCH METHODS

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ABSTRACT

There are no adequate theoretical or methodological criteria for evaluating the findings of the recent research work of the Gluecks. Nevertheless, it must be noted in judging their work that the delinquents and nondelinquents are poorly matched on neighborhood environmental factors and that the role of primary group relationships and controls and of secondary institutions in structuring personality and enforcing behavior in conformity with a set of norms is largely ignored. Moreover, the prognostic instruments are not designed for a prediction situation.

Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency[1] is the first in a new series of volumes by the Gluecks which attempts to provide "a study of causation, with a view to determining the basis for truly crime-preventive programs and effective therapy" (p. ix). To arrive at an understanding of the causes of habitual or serious delinquency rather than occasional delinquency, the Gluecks selected an experimental group of 493 boys committed to correctional schools in Massachusetts, together with 7 cases which had records of continuing offenses. A control group of 500 nondelinquent boys from the general *public* school population in Boston was paired with the delinquents on the basis of four characteristics: (1) age; (2) ethnic origin by patrilineal (in some cases matrilineal) descent; (3) delinquency rate of area of residence and rating of neighborhood influences; and (4) I.Q. as measured by the Wechsler-Bellevue Full-Scale I.Q. test. The data were gathered and in a number of cases independently analyzed by a staff of social investigators, a psychiatrist, physical anthropologists, statisticians, Rorschach analysts, and the Gluecks. No sociologists were among the members of the research staff.

We shall confine our discussion to the theory and design of the research, its sociological adequacy, and the predictions of delinquency.

Four types of data, the sociocultural, the somatic, the intellectual, and the emotional-temperamental, were gathered and interpreted. While the study presents individual findings from 231 tables in the body of the report and an additional 114 tables in appendixes, the Gluecks summarize the individual findings in a "tentative causal law or formula":

> The delinquents as a group are distinguishable from the non-delinquents (1) *physically* in being essentially mesomorphic in constitution; (solid, closely knit, muscular); (2) *temperamentally* in being restlessly energetic, impulsive, extroverted, aggressive, destructive (often sadistic)—traits which may be related more or less to the erratic growth pattern and its physiologic correlates or consequences; (3) *in attitude*, by being hostile, defiant, resentful, suspicious, stubborn, socially assertive, adventurous, unconventional, non-submissive to authority; (4) *psychologically*, in tending to direct and concrete, rather than symbolic, intellectual expression, and in being less methodical in their approach to problems; (5) *socioculturally*, in having been reared to a far greater extent than the control group in homes of little understanding, affection, stability, or moral fibre by parents usually unfit to be effective guides and protectors or, according to psychoanalytic theory, desirable sources for emulation and the construction of a consistent, well-balanced and socially normal super-ego during the early stages of character development [pp. 281–82].

These summary conclusions are not the result of a systematic attempt to test a series of hypotheses about the etiology of delin-

[1] Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency* (New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1950). Pp. xv+399.

quent behavior, nor are they adequately evaluated by technical design. Since the study was essentially eclectic, the interpretation of findings is necessarily ex post facto. No theoretical criterion of significance could therefore be applied to the findings. Hence reliance was placed on a technical criterion —the rejection of the null hypothesis. Making this the sole criterion was unfortunate, since technically it necessitated the assignment of equal value to all findings. The analysis of the data for extent of association (coefficients of association) or a factorial analysis (promised in a later volume) would have permitted a more objective evaluation of the findings than the one presented. Then factors which have correlations with the criterion of 0.8 or 0.9 (as some do) and which probably are highly correlated with many other variables in the study could not be so easily discarded (e.g., associates of the delinquent).

Though the theoretical and technical design of the research does not permit other than the assignment of equal value to all findings, the Gluecks do not treat them in that way. Rather, the relative importance of separate findings is generally interpreted within a framework in which delinquency "must have sprung from individuals whose physical and psychologic equipment inclined them to select the antisocial culture as opposed to the conventional, or who found the former more congenial to their biologic tendencies" (p. 281). More particularly, the primary causal factors are constitution, temperament, attitude and reactive patterns, and family milieu. While the authors are ambivalent toward factors in the milieu, they consider the "exciting, stimulating, but little controlled and culturally inconsistent environment of the underprivileged area" (p. 282) as secondary and precipitating. This leads to some misconceptions of the role of the social environment in in the causation of delinquency. While the Gluecks summarize their findings as a causal law of delinquency, their delinquents are primarily from certain families in lower-class culture. Though class culture may define only the limits of the law, investigation must also include a determination of limits. The inadequate sociological design of this research does not permit the assessment of social factors as causal factors and/or as limiting conditions.

From the perspective of the sociologist, then, this volume has many deficiencies. We may briefly examine its shortcomings in the matching of samples and the analysisof data.

In matching the samples on I.Q. and ethnic origin, remarkably close agreement was obtained between paired delinquents and nondelinquents. However, age and neighborhood environment are less well matched. With respect to age, while the differences in mean age for the two groups is not statistically significant, a significantly larger proportion of delinquents than of nondelinquents is over fifteen years of age (46.8 and 39.0 per cent, respectively). Only a detailed analysis of the data by age would disclose whether this skewness of age distribution affects the results.

The Gluecks state their purpose in matching the two groups as to neighborhood environment was to control "a complex of socio-economic and cultural factors whose similarity would permit us to find out why it is that even in regions of most adverse social conditions, most children do not commit legally prohibited acts of theft, burglary, assault, sexual aggression and the like." It also was to correct "the conception . . . that delinquency is largely bred by conditions in such areas" (pp. 14–15). The criteria selected to "control" these factors were the delinquency rate of area of residence (by four class intervals!) regardless of geographic area of residence; the quality of neighborhood influences on a three-point continuum (good, fair, poor); and residence in an underprivileged area. While the groups match by the crude class intervals for rate of delinquency, the proportion of each group from the same area is quite dissimilar (see p. 40, nn. 6, 8, 9, and 11). Further, this kind of matching is not by neighborhood causal factors. Rather, the rate of delinquency is a summary measure for the probability of be-

coming a delinquent. Similarly, while they attempt to show that "neighborhood influence" is the same for the two groups, this factor is defined as the presence or absence of the institutions of vice, crime, recreation, and street gangs. Finally, the data on residence in underprivileged areas show that 55 per cent of the delinquents and only 32.4 per cent of the nondelinquents come from "blighted slum-tenement areas" (Table VIII-1). Yet all these comparisons are perhaps unimportant compared with the assumption that matching on such gross characteristics "adequately" controls the neighborhood environment of the two groups. The neighborhood environment in a sociological sense can and does vary considerably both inter- and intra-neighborhood. These influences must be measured by indexes of the character of the local social life and institutional control.

The study has a limited perspective of what are generally called "sociological factors" in delinquency, particularly the normative and control factors. Typical of the Gluecks' cavalier treatment is their discussion of the following data: 55 per cent of the delinquents and 0.6 per cent of the nondelinquents are members of gangs; 98.4 per cent of the delinquents and 7.4 per cent of the nondelinquents associated largely with other delinquents (Table XIII-16). On these findings the Gluecks comment: "So far as delinquency is concerned then, 'birds of a feather flock together.' This tendency is a much more fundamental fact in any analysis of causation than the theory that accidental differential association of non-delinquents with delinquents is the basic cause of crime" (p. 164). The possibility that the gang or delinquent associates may serve as immature ego-ideals; that the delinquent gang (like any social group!) exercises control over its members; or that certain systematic aspects of delinquency can be learned in such groups is discarded for "birds of a feather." Similarly, they ignore such questions as: How does the child's behavior itself become a factor with which the family must cope? How do local community institutions exercise contra-delinquent control over members? and others which the sociologist would necessarily raise.

The sociologist must also question the various assumptions regarding the inevitability of delinquency as a consequence of the person's "physical and psychologic equipment" or the "congeniality to their biologic tendencies" of "antisocial culture," and the supposed fixity of the "character structure" which permits one to decide who will be a delinquent when one is six years of age. The social environment of the child from age six to sixteen is hardly so negligible a circumstance in his life-history. At a minimum, there are other social "outlets" for such "tendencies." To the sociologist more meaningful questions would be: What is the role of social groups in developing the delinquency-oriented character structure? or, Given a delinquency-oriented character structure, what are the environmental conditions which dispose toward and against delinquency? or, In what ways can the milieu restructure the "delinquency-oriented character"? Such a study should point to the role of primary group relationships and controls *and* of secondary institutions in structuring the personality of the child and enforcing behavior in conformity with a set of norms. For such, after all, are criteria of "success" for social groups and their institutions.

Furthermore, sociologists will rarely find comparisons of the findings in this study with their research. This means that findings which conflict with (or are supported by) previous research are often ignored.

Although the Gluecks use no explicit theoretical approach to the problem of delinquency, certain of the specialists do, e.g., the Rorschach analysts. The most stimulating part of the volume to the reviewer is the appendix on the analysis of the Rorschach protocols by Dr. Ernest Schachtel. Here one finds the most careful statement of research procedures in the entire volume, and the analysis of the data is tempered with appropriate scientific caution.

Of considerable interest is the reliability

of the judgments of delinquency which Schachtel made for the 735 protocols for which data adequate to classification were available. His judgments of delinquency by a blind analysis of the protocols yield greater efficiency than any of the experience tables constructed by the Gluecks (see Table 1). Of particular interest to sociologists are Schachtel's statements of the sociological basis of his judgments. In contrast

TABLE 1

RELIABILITY OF THE JUDGMENTS OF DELINQUENCY BY SCHACHTEL IN THE ANALYSIS OF THE RORSCHACH PROTOCOLS

JUDGMENT FROM RORSCHACH PROTOCOL	ACTUAL BEHAVIOR		ERRORS
	Delinquency	Nondelinquency	
Delinquency	328	41	41
Nondelinquency	33	333	33
Neutral*	135	121	.....
No protocol	4	5	.....
Total	500	500	74

* Certain portions of the test results were not sufficiently conclusive to permit a judgment of delinquency or nondelinquency.

with the Gluecks, he particularly emphasizes the importance of class culture and the milieu in which the delinquent lives as important factors in delinquency. Specifically, in making his judgments he states: "The judgments would have been different if the socio-economic background had been different." For the judgments were made by "asking myself whether his character structure, as I saw it on the basis of the Rorschach Test, was of a type likely to resist the inducements toward becoming delinquent offered by poor socio-economic circumstances and by the neighborhood" (p. 365).

As in their previous research on delinquents, the Gluecks undertake prediction. Also, as in their previous writings, they do not validate their prediction instruments. Rather, they provide a set of experience tables from which predictions may be made for follow-up samples. Five criteria are set forth to govern the construction of these experience tables: (1) they should be able to predict potential juvenile offenders at school entrance; (2) they should contain no more than five factors as predictors; (3) predictors should have the greatest differentiating potential between delinquents and nondelinquents; (4) predictors should be independent of one another; and (5) it should be relatively easy to secure the data on predictors. The desirability of criteria 1 and 5 can hardly be questioned if they yield valid prediction. Whether 2, 3, and 4 are actually valid criteria, the Gluecks do not demonstrate, although it is authoritatively stated: "Experience has shown that such a number is adequate for prediction purposes" (p. 259); "Efficient prediction tables have been constructed" (p. 284); and so on. Certainly, empirical research and critical evaluation of the Gluecks' work have not shown their tables to yield valid prediction (or very efficient experience tables for prediction)—though, to be sure, it is not known what criterion of efficiency they employed.

The most important fact, of course, is that the Gluecks do not have a prediction problem here in a situational sense, for the probability is extremely high that a situation comparable to that of the matched samples does not occur in a life-situation for which predictions are made. This follows from the fact that the Gluecks have matched samples of delinquents and nondelinquents where the rate of delinquency is exactly 50 per cent. Unless this is the actual rate in a similar population for which predictions are made, the tables will yield very poor prediction. Certainly, the tables do not appear to be applicable in general to the public school children of Boston. It is impossible, therefore, to evaluate the predictive efficiency of the experience tables as presented, as the actual frequencies of delinquency must be taken into account in evaluating the predictive efficiency of an operating table.

Let us assume that the rate of habitual or serious delinquency—that is, the rate

which can be reasonably predicted from these tables—for all male school children of the ages covered by the study is about 10 per cent (although 10 per cent is probably much higher than the actual rate of habitual delinquency and is more likely the percentage of all male children of these ages who receive official court records of delinquency).[2] We shall then evaluate the predictive efficiency of one of the tables by the percentage reduction in the error of prediction.

groups, one would predict nondelinquency. Further, all the probability levels for delinquency in the various score groups are lowered considerably if the corrected ratio of delinquents to nondelinquents is applied.

Nonetheless, assuming that the table is valid, to achieve a low predictive efficiency in predicting delinquency for this segment of the general population is an achievement. Then, too, the table, assuming sampling reliability of score groups and rates,[3] has practical value as a selection device (which is

TABLE 2

PREDICTION TABLE FOR FIVE FACTORS OF SOCIAL BACKGROUND*

Weighted Failure Score (Gluecks)	No. of Delinquents (Gluecks)	No. of Nondelinquents (Gluecks)	No. of Nondelinquents (Rate Delinquency Estimated at 10 Per Cent)	Chances of Delinquency (Gluecks)	Chances of Delinquency (Rate Estimated at 10 Per Cent)	Expected Errors in Prediction (Rate as 10 Per Cent)†
Under 150.....	5	167	1,503	2.9	0.3	5
150–99.....	19	102	918	15.7	2.0	19
200–249.....	40	68	612	37.0	6.2	40
250–99.....	122	70	630	63.5	16.2	122
300–349.....	141	23	207	86.0	40.5	141
350–99.....	73	8	72	90.1	50.3	72
400 and over.....	51	1	9	98.1	85.0	9
Missing cases.....	49	61	549	44.5	8.2	49
Total.....	500	500	4,500	50.0	10.0	457

* Adapted from Table XX-2 of *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency*.

† The percentage reduction in the error of prediction is 8.6 per cent.

It can be seen in Table 2 that, so far as prediction of delinquency or nondelinquency is concerned, the table has a low predictive efficiency when the rate of delinquency is estimated at 10 per cent. For example, in the score group 250–99 the chances of delinquency were 63.5 in the Gluecks' table, while the chances are only 16.2 per hundred in the table which assumes a rate of 10 per cent habitual delinquency. In fact, for cases which score in all but the upper two score

what the Gluecks appear to mean by "prediction"), although in all but the upper two score groups one will select more nondelinquents than delinquents.

One might show further that the Gluecks have not selected the most highly differentiating factors in the study for their tables; that, given the Gluecks' data, more efficient prediction tables could probably be constructed; that the criterion of independence can be met more adequately; and so on. But then there is a technical literature on the techniques of prediction.

[2] This crude estimate is based on data for the rate of delinquency in the city of Boston in Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay, *Juvenile Delinquency in Urban Areas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942). Shaw and McKay provide rates for 4,917 alleged male delinquents, aged seven to seventeen, who appeared in Boston courts during the three-year period 1927–30.

[3] This assumption cannot be granted when the rate of delinquency is not exactly 50 per cent, as the weighted failure score groups will be unstable. This follows from the fact that the Gluecks' weights are a function of the rate of delinquency for subgroups of a predictor.

TOWARD AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE OF LAW AND THE LEGAL PROFESSION[1]

DAVID RIESMAN

ABSTRACT

Anthropologists and sociologists who have studied primitive law and to a degree freed themselves from both semantic quibbles and the limitations set by public policy still have not applied their method to contemporary law in the United States. An anthropological study must go beyond both the glamorous and the social reform aspects and study the unique structure of the law, the type of people it attracts, their training, and the role the law has played in shaping present-day society.

Examination of the barriers to the study of law and lawyers in the United States helps at least make a beginning, depressing as it may seem, in the direction of an anthropological science. Among other things, by seeing what we are up against, we may prevent the disillusionment which is bound to set in (perhaps has set in) because so little has actually been accomplished by the realist movement in American jurisprudence.[2] Many times, programs and exhortations have driven law professors and their social science allies into the breach between them, but no junction has been provided for the *American* culture comparable to the brilliant pioneering work on preliterate culture by Llewellyn and Hoebel in *The Cheyenne Way*.[3]

Let us look first at the obstacles from the side of the lawyer who wants to take an anthropological look at himself and his role. He has been trained to move within a terminological system of abstractions which are (as Roscoe Pound has pointed out in his comments on the "ideal" or "normative" element) necessarily self-contained.[4] True, many lawyers of recent years have moved away from abstraction toward a greater semantic hygiene. But law, however they define it, remains ethnocentric in the fundamental sense that it is the "law" of a particular jurisdiction, or bench, or board of officials. This ethnocentrism appears in many ways, among them the tendency to exaggerate the differences and underplay the similarities in the legal systems of Western society. Thus lawyers are brought up on dichotomies between common and civil law: one is supposedly judge-made, the other statute-made—or one is supposed to rely on precedent, the other to disregard it. Such teaching may lead the lawyer to overlook the possibility that the use of precedent is not merely a legal game played in America but not in France but is actually a human characteristic to be looked for everywhere.[5]

[1] This article is based (*a*) on a lecture in December, 1947, to the introductory graduate course in sociology and anthropology at the University of Chicago, and (*b*) on my remarks at the "Round Table on Law and the American Mind," under the chairmanship of Professor Albert Ehrenzweig, meeting of the Association of American Law Schools, December, 1950 (to be published in the *University of Chicago Law Review*, Autumn, 1951).

[2] Little, that is, in the domain of research; the realist movement has had a considerable influence on teaching and on actual practice and case law.

[3] Karl N. Llewellyn and E. Adamson Hoebel, *The Cheyenne Way* (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941).

[4] A. R. Radcliffe-Brown (*Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* [New York: Macmillan Co., 1937], pp. 531–34) points out: "If you examine the literature on jurisprudence you will find that legal institutions are studied for the most part in more or less complete abstraction from the rest of the social system of which they are a part." And he adds: "The system of laws of a particular society can only be fully understood if it is studied in relation to the social structure, and inversely the understanding of the social structure requires, amongst other things, a systematic study of the legal institutions."

[5] Interesting light might be shed on this question by studying the adaptation to the United States of the refugee lawyers whom Hitler drove here. One surmises that they could draw on their European experience and therefore adapt most readily if they possessed an anthropological turn of mind and were

(Pound's distinction between "Cadi justice" and "Western justice" also deprecates this possibility.)

If there is a touch of snobbery in the lawyer's trained ethnocentrism, there appears to be more than a touch in his focus on appellate litigation as the classical road to legal education. The rituals of the upper-court "opinion industry" are overt and impressive, and law students sometimes fail to observe that upper courts edit the "script" provided them by lower courts, much as a Hollywood producer edits his scriptwriters, in order to feel important and because institutional pressures compel him to assume this function and to give it weight in action. (Tammany has always known this and, one suspects, has made a tacit deal with the leaders of the bar to toss them the New York Court of Appeals, where the prestige lies, while holding on to the lower courts, where the money lies.)

To be sure, most lawyers today recognize that their most important work is done in the office, not in the courtroom; the elaborate masked ritual of the courtroom holds attraction only for the neophyte and the layman. Yet it is astonishing how strongly the image of the judge stands as the image of the lawyer-hero. While at the better law schools at least one and often nearly three years are spent in debunking upper-court opinions, in showing their largely derivative quality, their endless fallacies, their interminable self-confusion as to what they are "actually" deciding (as against what they *say* they are deciding), the better products of the better law schools want nothing more exciting when they get out than a chance to serve as law clerk to an upper-court judge—the "upperer" the better. And as members of the bar they will move heaven and earth to get on the bench themselves (which is the source of much dirt in our political system, since many congressmen have partners who itch to be judges), although they know from practical experience how little power the judge has under the American system and how skilled lawyers are in emasculating that little.

Why this is so would be a study in itself. We would have to find out why Holmes and Brandeis have been inflated to mythical proportions and have captured the imagination of the young law student, who is unlikely even to know the names of the brilliantly daring and inventive corporate and governmental lawyers who helped build our modern industrial society and its governmental stimuli and curbs. We would have to find out what there is in law practice, even in the most refined offices, which is felt as dirty work, from which the bench is an escape. We would have to find out whether the judge becomes an ideal before law school or in law school (certainly the federal circuit courts have a great attraction for law deans and professors!)—an ideal which later experience does little to influence.[6] And so on.

Moreover, we would have to draw class, ethnic, and regional distinctions in the image and appeal of the various levels of the judiciary. As Kentucky has its "colonels," so it, and the South generally, has its "judges": men of good family who represent the law as a scholarly, humanistic occupation and who, as R. L. Birdwhistell puts it, regard judgeships as their "natural right" by inheritance and early jurisprudential bent. In the big cities, on the other hand, judgeships become part of the system of ethnic brokerage by which the party machines

inclined to look for institutional similarities under obvious—and often emotionally disturbing and distracting—differences; whereas they could not adapt if they capitulated too readily to the proposition that adaptation had to be a total, all-or-none process.

[6] It is not surprising that the public at large shares the lawyer's reverence for the judge: United States Supreme Court judges rated highest (doctors next) on a poll of occupational prestige, and the Supreme Court decision on racial covenants served to overawe a bunch of white Chicago hoodlums who had not been impressed by any other form of protolerance propaganda. The hoodlums, indeed, are not so wrong. For, whether in general the judicial power is shadow rather than substance, there can be no doubt that in the field of Negro-white relations the Supreme Court has exerted enormous leverage, from *Dred Scott* to the *Civil Rights* cases to the latest decisions on segregation in education and transport.

keep the urban peace—the rise of the Italian judge is a recent illustration. Plainly, considerations of class and ethnic status influence the symbolic appeals of the robe to the profession and its lay audiences. Furthermore, is it not likely that, with the growth of concern for security as against risk, and for "plateau" positions as against achievement peaks, the judgeship, with its long tenure (even under elective systems) and fixed salary—and, save in rare cases, short hours—is preferred even to the most creative tasks in private practice?

The fact that law schools today spend their time in impious treatment of cases—this is what the "case method" means—is of course a tribute to the generations of lawyers who, especially since the time of Bentham, have reacted against the mystique of the law and have sought to ridicule its fictions and ceremonies. Bentham did so under the banner of rationality: he wanted the law to make sense. The new-style debunkers, of whom Thurman Arnold is one of the most gifted,[7] are less sanguine about reason: indeed, they often come close to glorying in the claimed irrationality of legal myths, symbols, and rituals. This aspect of their work may be thought of as part of the general tendency of intellectuals to decry intellectuality wherever it appears to be overrationalistic while regarding more or less romantically those uneducated folk who are supposed to have not only more fun but also more common sense. This anti-snobbery is very clear in the writings of Judge Jerome Frank, who not only wants to elevate the study of lower courts to a position of academic respectability but attacks as snobbish and overintellectual antiquarians those who continue to study upper-court verbalisms.[8]

Yet these contemporary legal critics of the law are not only amused by legal rigmarole and nonsense; under their wit they have hidden their anger at legal injustice, stupidity, and waste. While they may talk, as Veblen also did,[9] as detached observers, they are motivated by a profound concern for social policy, for the beneficent use of law in the public interest, and in this they remain the heirs of Bentham.

Yet this countermovement (which has captured the law school avant-garde) has had little concrete consequence in studies of legal process in America. A too-immediate concern for public policy is perhaps one reason for this, for it tends to take away the curiosity and the patience of the observer: he is likely to assume that he has done his job if he has proved that a legal device is a myth or a fiction or a rationalization—though this does not even prove that it is irrational. The guilt of the more sensitive lawyers over the abuses and wastes of their profession—as these are seen in the Benthamite and the Veblenite view—may be one element in this preoccupation with "getting the goods on" the upper courts, the corporate bar, the bar associations (other than the Lawyers' Guild), as the case may be. Such guilt may even conceal a grandiose notion that the lawyers have a vocation, a "calling," to change the face of America.[10] In that case, guilt can become a vested interest which is hostile to research, even while it appears to invite it.

If, with this all too brief comment, we turn now away from the legal profession and ask why the other social sciences have not, on their side, done more with the law, we find that some of the same explanations

[7] *The Folklore of Capitalism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937). See also Fred Rodell, *Woe unto Ye Lawyers* (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1939).

[8] E.g., in *Courts on Trial* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949).

[9] Thorstein Veblen's chapter on the law in *Absentee Ownership* (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1923), pp. 40–68, is still a very stimulating classic.

[10] Lasswell and McDougal's justly famed article on legal education, "Legal Education and Public Policy," *Yale Law Journal*, LII (1943), 203–95, suffers from such grandiose aims, which is perhaps one reason why it still stands as a huge land grant for research which has not yet found its occupants of quarter-sections, at least so far as I know. My own article, "Law and Social Science" (*Yale Law Journal*, L [1941], 636–53), suffers from the same high hopes.

hold. Sociologists, for instance, have until quite recently been as much concerned with immediate social reform as their brethren of the bar; thus, they have looked at the law only where it impinged on the disadvantaged groups in society—on the criminal, the juvenile delinquent, the poverty-stricken seeker of divorce, etc. Like the criminologists still railing at the M'Naghten rule,[11] they view the law as unjust as well as irrational; their aim is to show up, perhaps to change, the law and the legal mentality rather than to understand it sympathetically. Furthermore, the sociologists who are theoretically inclined have concerned themselves with formal definitions of law (e.g., M. Georges Gurvitch) and with the problem of the origins of law—both perfectly valid enterprises but not good ways to bring the sociologist into actual contact with the legal profession as a going concern.

Meanwhile, anthropologists have been merrily analyzing some of the functions of law in preliterate societies—Sir Henry Maine's classic work may indeed be thought of as some sort of bridge between the study of legal origins and of functions. Malinowski, Hogben, Redfield,[12] and Llewellyn and Hoebel have tried, in Radcliffe-Brown's sense, to view primitive law in the setting of primitive social structure. They have not denounced legal myth and symbolism; rather, they have tried to see its function, sometimes with the admiration of one craftsman for the craft of another. Since they could approach primitive law with some knowledge of law in Western society, they needed no Rosetta stone to translate the symbolism which they found.

As soon as the search for origins lost its high priority, moreover, this anthropological enterprise could readily shed the ethnocentrism and snobbery which we have seen to be barriers on the side of the lawyer's study of law in our own culture. cross-cultural uniformities as well as curious diversities could be looked for readily enough. By the same token, the anthropologist could be quite as interested in the law of a small group, lacking in political power, as in the law of a national state or "big power," and this very interest in what was intrinsically significant saved him from the frequent sterility of the "public policy" approach, which begins with what some other people (the officialdom, the liberals, the elite, etc.) think to be important in our own society, which is usually something pretty sizable in scope. Furthermore, the anthropologist's bias vis-à-vis institutions has in the past tended to be very different from the sociologist's: whereas the latter sees institutions as "vested," as restrictive, the former sees them (as united in the concept of culture) as fundamentally channeling and hence permissive. This leads the anthropologist to look for the channeling aspects of the law as well as the litigious and punitive ones—a point of view which, in Llewellyn's case, has governed his approach to American law as much as to Cheyenne law.[13] (Of course, this distinction between sociological and anthropological slants is rapidly breaking down; and elsewhere in this paper "anthropological," "sociological," and "social-psychological" are used as virtually interchangeable terms.)

Perhaps most important of all, the anthropologist is not likely to harbor the naïve assumption that the law, or any other institution, serves only a single function—say, that of social control—and that any other functions which in fact it serves are excrescences or "contradictions." The concept of ambivalence is part of his equipment; he tends to search for latent functions, tran-

[11] Neither George Dession's paper, "Psychiatry and the Conditioning of Criminal Justice," *Yale Law Journal*, XLVII (1938), 319–40, nor the casebook of Jerome Michael and Herbert Wechsler, *Criminal Law and Its Administration: Cases, Statutes and Commentaries* (Chicago: Foundation Press, Inc., 1940), each with a more sophisticated approach, seems to have put an end to this sterile attack and counterattack between lawyers on one side and criminologists and psychologists on the other.

[12] See, e.g., Robert Redfield, "Maine's *Ancient Law* in the Light of Primitive Societies," *Western Political Quarterly*, III (1950), 574–89.

[13] See, e.g., Karl N. Llewellyn, "The American Common Law Tradition and American Democracy," *Journal of Legal and Political Sociology*, I (1942), 14–46.

scending the ostensible.[14]

Yet despite this equipment and experience with primitive law, the anthropologist has still not turned back to American law with the *élan* he has shown in studying such other American institutions as the movies, child-rearing, and social class. My impression is that social scientists somehow believe that, since it takes three years to get through law school, law itself must be impermeable to them without long and arduous preparation. Many are willing enough to grant verbally with Thurman Arnold that the law is a set of irrational mystifications; but they feel nevertheless that the trained lawyer must "have something" that they could not possibly acquire in short compass. Men who are prepared, before going into the field, to learn a primitive language seem unready to tackle the hardly more difficult semantics of American law. One of the few social scientists who have not been impressed, the psychologist Robinson, tried to explain matters as follows:

> The lawyers are a priesthood with a prestige to maintain. They must have a set of doctrines that do not threaten to melt away with the advances of psychological and social science. . . . They must, in order to feel socially secure, believe and convince the outside world that they have peculiar techniques requiring long study to master. In a way they have overplayed this card. Even laymen are coming to see that if The Law were as difficult to understand as the profession implies, nobody would ever be able to become a lawyer.[15]

What is the blockage which prevents other social scientists from doing what Robinson did? It seems to me that there *is* an irrational blockage, much like that among people who feel that they cannot handle simple mathematics or statistics—and so "prove" to themselves that they cannot. It is easy enough to see Robinson's point that the legal profession has an obscurantist interest at stake, but it is less easy to see why the social scientist falls for this. Has he at stake some self-image which his legal competence would threaten, in the same way that the girl who cannot read timetables believes her femininity at stake? I do not know the answer, but the blockage itself is a matter one can observe often enough—and not among social scientists only. Consider the manufacturer of soft drinks, a small businessman, who feels no awe of his chemist at all—there is no magic there for him—but who stands in terrible awe of his lawyer. Or the social scientists who, aware enough of specialization in their own fields, try to get free legal advice from a colleague with legal training about landlord and tenant law, divorces, wills, copyrights—even assault and battery! They assume, though they know he may not have practiced law for ten years, that he has some magic formula for them at his fingertips; moreover that there *is* a formula. They are astonished to find that he, as a lawyer, is much more casual about legal matters than they; that he goes on the principle (so often pointed out by Judge Frank) that the law in any given case is uncertain. In spite of their skepticism, they are surprised, for at bottom they believe in the certainty and majesty of the law. But, again, this describes their attitude; it does not explain it.

Nor does it explain it to point to the overreaction of many social scientists who, convinced that they cannot penetrate the opacity of the law, declare that there is nothing really there to be understood. The doctrine

[14] Cf. Camilla Wedgewood, "The Nature and Functions of Secret Societies," *Oceania*, I (1930–31), 129–45, and the work of Robert K. Merton on manifest and latent functions in *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949).

[15] E. S. Robinson, *Law and the Lawyers* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1935), p. 28. It would require a great deal of discussion to try to explain the one apparent exception to this, namely, the group of political scientists who study and teach "public law." Many of these men treat Supreme Court cases with a reverence (even when they criticize them) that few lawyers would maintain; they are likely to be more literal than lawyers, for they have missed the three years of case-law debunking—training whose result is that the lawyer takes law less seriously than the typical educated layman. These teachers of public law do, however, share with law teachers the belief that cases on "public policy" are prima facie important.

of Sumner and his followers that man-made law and legislation have minimal power to alter folkways and mores has influenced not only those who aver that law is fundamentally irrational but also those who aver that it is, if not wholly irrelevant, at best a cultural lag—or, in Marxist terms, an ideological superstructure. (An attitude basically not very different is to be found among those law teachers who see "the balancing of interests" as the formula of legal intervention and do not allow the law at any point a crucially innovating role—that is, they do not see law as an "interest" in its own right.) Despite the work of Max Weber, and, even more, his hints concerning the role of law in the development of Western "rationalization"; despite such a book as Commons' *The Legal Foundations of Capitalism*;[16] despite many other things which could be cited, the social scientists of this stamp believe that law is fundamentally a "secondary" or derivative institution—and thus feel they do not need to take a look to see whether and to what degree it is such.[17]

[16] John R. Commons, *The Legal Foundations of Capitalism* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1924).

[17] An interesting study of W. W. Webb's *The Great Plains* (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1931) might be made from this perspective. Webb sees water law, manufactured in England and New England, as bowing to the rainfall pattern of the plains, and he attacks the doctrine of equal riparian rights as a bigoted and misguided "lag." Yet no one seems to have asked why, when it came to underground waters, and later underground oil, the developments in technique since *Acton* v. *Blundell* did not lead to compulsory pooling and a departure from *this* precedent. Was it simply the competitive ethos of Texas? Or the vested interests of the makers of oil derricks? I doubt it very much; I think that the law often cuts its own channel—in this case so deep that a court held a compulsory pooling law unconstitutional, although it would in 1846 have been quite conceivable to decide *Acton* v. *Blundell* the other way. This "watershed" role of developments within legal doctrine itself has been little studied, though obviously it has to be studied before we can dismiss law as mere ideology, superstructure, or lag. For a pilot effort of my own (which helps make me fully aware of the difficulties) see my examination of the development of libel law in "Democracy and Defamation: Fair Game and Fair Comment," *Columbia Law Review*, XLII (1942), 1085–1123, 1282–1318.

The American corporate bar played a decisive role in the development of our society, as Berle and Means have recognized.[18] Only lawyers had in the post–Civil War period the particular gift for "relational thinking" adequate for the framing of corporate charters, security issues, and all the rest; the particular courage to work ahead of the cases and statutes in order to give powers to corporations which had never been tested (and often have never yet been tested) in court; the particular tradition to give body to such decisive inventions as the fiction of the corporation as a "person." This extraordinary achievement has neither created topics for the social scientist to study in close detail nor, as observed above, made heroes for the bar—perhaps because the social consequences have been so generally deplored among intellectuals;[19] perhaps, too, because the anonymity of office work—"paper work"—leads to its relative disregard.

Only relative disregard, however. Since the corporation is obviously important and glamorous for its friends and foes alike, students of the law from within and without the profession have paid some attention to its development. Such studies have been a junction point between law and economics,[20] or between law and political science,

[18] Adolph Berle and Gardner Means, *The Modern Corporation and Private Property* (New York: Commerce Clearing House, Inc., 1932).

[19] Until the twentieth century it would seem that the truly inventive American lawyers and judges had been conservatives: Marshall, Field, Choate, for example. Since we like to think that inventiveness is a liberal monopoly, we do not find these men to be models for young lawyers today; Brandeis is a model, or Holmes—the latter thought to be both liberal and legally inventive, though he is neither.

[20] Cf., e.g., the pioneering work of C. Reinhold Noyes, *The Institution of Property* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1936). Noyes tries (in chap. vi) to treat the question as to the relation between property and social stratification in terms of politically enforced legal rules for the distribution of men and things upon land. And he sees that property may serve the function of stabilizing one's geographical location. See also the general framework of theory presented in *ibid.*, pp. 16–21.

though hardly yet between law and anthropology. The place to begin the latter kind of junction is at a point which is neither glamorous nor obviously policy-oriented, but where the functions served by the legal process do not strike one at the first, and perhaps stereotyped, glance and need to be discovered anew.[21]

Let what I have to say from here on be regarded simply as notes or prolegomena to some field studies of the functions of law and the lawyers in our culture, with an emphasis on those functions which perhaps have received less recognition than is warranted in view of what we might learn if we understood them. Here, as elsewhere in social research, curiosity does well to focus on what is changing rather than on what is more or less stable.

Take, for example, the apparent decline in the function of law as popular amusement or festivity. This decline may be viewed as a fairly good index of urbanization and the rise of modern leisure industries. But law still serves this function in the smaller country places. James West, in *Plainville, U.S.A.*, is fully aware of it.[22] He describes the legal "party" thrown for Hobart Proudy, who shot his cousin, Mort Proudy, in the seat of the breeches with both barrels; a witness testified in Hobart's favor that he should be let off because "if he had intended to kill Mort, he would have, since Hobart won't shoot a squirrel down out of a tree, anywhere except in the eye." The legal "party" served thus to entertain the community and to throw a scare into Hobart—West is fully aware of compounding practices but sees them not as an excrescence but as an essential part of the legal order. He also describes the way in which an adultery suit between an undertaker and a garagekeeper over the affections of the latter's wife provided the town with an agenda for gossip: "The atmosphere was electric with spiteful talk for many months, though most people said 'Nobody will make any money out of that trial and it may break both men up.' " This remark leads West to comment on the ambivalent attitude toward law on the part of Plainvillers: they fear it, yet enjoy it; one suspects that they enjoy it, as one enjoys a roller-coaster ride, partly because they fear it. Even so, one of West's informants noted the decline of scandals as compared with her experience farther south: "The people here," she observed, "are either a lot better or a lot smarter." Perhaps it is only that they have increasing access to other amusements, such as the movies and radio.

But the word "amusements" does not convey the full significance of this function. "Amusements" are always more than individualistic escapes from monotony; they are, like the weather, an endless unifier of conversation and of attitude. The Plainvillers share a common culture by virtue of sharing a common focus for discussion, and politics and law may be seen in part as providing topics in this way, just as a high-school basketball team might do. By the same token, a trial may serve as a divisive point, not in terms of a factional split as between the friends of the garagekeeper and of the undertaker, but in terms of a moral turning point, such as is described in James Gould Cozzens' fine novel, *The Just and the Unjust*, or as the Western world experienced—perhaps for the last time?—in the trial of Sacco and Vanzetti.

It would be interesting to pursue these leads further and to inquire, as could be readily done by means of interviews, into the question as to what sorts of laymen talk on what occasions about what sorts of legal process today. One hypothesis is that in middle-class intellectual circles court cases play much less part in conversation than they did even twenty years ago; but that in labor and Negro circles they may play more part—certainly, many labor-union officials, in their upward intellectual and social mobility, seem to be quite law-oriented. Over

[21] Similarly, law and psychology will not really mesh while attention remains concentrated on the obvious junctions of insanity law, trial psychology, evidentiary rules, etc.

[22] James W. West, *Plainville, U.S.A.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945).

all, there may be a general fading-out of law, not only courts, from public view. But this remains to be seen.

Could the ambivalence toward law observed by West be related to the possibility that the lawyer must do things the community regards as necessary—but still disapproves of? Hence, is the lawyer something of a scapegoat? Now, to be sure, this does not in itself distinguish lawyers from prostitutes, politicians, prison wardens, some doctors, and many other occupational groups.[23] What does distinguish lawyers in this role is that they are feared and disliked—but needed—because of their matter-of-factness, their sense of relevance, their refusal to be impressed by magical "solutions" to people's problems. Conceivably, if this hypothesis is right, the ceremonial and mystification of the legal profession are, to a considerable degree, veils or protections underneath which this rational, all too rational, work of the lawyer gets done.

Of course, this view of the matter is in plain contradiction to that of Thorstein Veblen, who, it will be recalled, saw the engineers and the skilled workmen as the bearers of the modern, skeptical, matter-of-fact temper, while the lawyers were typical for the archaic, predatory, pecuniary, and otherwise nonrational employments. Very likely, there has been a notable change in legal education since Veblen wrote, with the major law schools going ever more heavily into the systematic practice of skepticism concerning judicial authority. *Lawyers learn not to take law seriously.* They learn to make distinctions; they are trained in relevance—or at least in worrying about relevance—and they will discover when they get into practice that relevance is a concept which, to their chronic frustration, seems nearly absent from the mental equipment of most of the people they deal with.[24] While teachers of evidence for several generations have punctured the absurdities of the rules of evidence, they may have paid less attention to the fact that their students were, in the process of learning to apply and criticize the rules, also obliquely learning what relevance means.

In fact, my experience with engineers would lead me to suppose that Veblen's strictures might better apply to them than to the lawyers I have known; true, engineers believe themselves to be matter of fact, but that is only one of the myths to which they succumb. In the wartime Army and Navy bureaucracies, it was often the lawyer-in-uniform who was prepared to cut red tape and to walk indelicately over red carpets; he might be, and generally was, out of his "field," but he was engaged in what may be his occupational role of being unimpressed by authoritative rituals.[25] He seemed less

[23] I am greatly indebted to Professor Everett Hughes for my understanding of this occupational pattern.

[24] Compare the following recollections from Lenin: "When I was in exile in Siberia . . . I was an underground lawyer because, being summarily exiled, I was not allowed to practice, but as there were no other lawyers in the region, people came to me and told me about some of their affairs. But I had the greatest difficulty in understanding what it was all about. A woman would come to me and of course start telling me all about her relatives and it would be incredibly difficult to get from her what she really wanted. Then she would tell me a story about a white cow. I would say to her: 'Bring me a copy.' She would then go off complaining: 'He won't hear what I have to say about the white cow unless I bring a copy.' We in our colony used to have a good laugh over this copy. But I was able to make some progress. People came to me, brought copies of the necessary documents, and I was able to gather what their trouble was, what they complained of, what ailed them" (*Selected Works*, IX, 355 [New York: International Publishers]). I am indebted for this reference to Nathan Leites, *Operational Code of the Politburo* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1951), pp. 13–14.

[25] From this perspective, not the least shocking thing about the Korematsu cases is to see the Supreme Court bowing to the claim of "military necessity." A court which is unimpressed by patent cases, or by the accounting concepts used in rate litigation, or by most other factual grist, here falls for the flimsiest and most outrageous propaganda handouts General DeWitt's lawyers could dream up! Lawyers actually in uniform were less easily swindled by "military necessity" than these men of the robe. For details see Morton Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949).

impressed than the accountants, bankers, businessmen, and engineers in similar slots. But, of course, such casual observations, while "relevant," are hardly "evidence."

More to the point, perhaps, are the observations of Ferdinand Lundberg in his article on "The Profession of the Law":

> The lawyer comes to know society not as a tenant or owner knows a house but as the architect, building contractor, and repair men know it. And his knowledge of society extends beyond the knowledge these technicians have of any building, for he is intimately acquainted as well with the servants that staff the structure. He either knows all there is to know about judges, public officials, business leaders, bankers, professional politicians, labor leaders, newspaper publishers, leading clergymen, and the like, or through that informal clearing house of esoteric information, the bar association, can find out from colleagues. The lawyer is a vast reservoir of actual or potential information about the social and political topography. . . .[26]

The layman is, however, not quite sure how he feels about such a person, whose usefulness he may need and whose knowledge-ability may fascinate him: the more he needs him, the more he may be likely to project upon him his own tendencies to cynicism about authority and about procedure. Journalists also have this sort of knowledge about the culture, but, despite the best efforts of schools of journalism, they have not been able to turn their profession into a secret society. Indeed, it is the lawyer's LL.B. which allows his client to delegate this outlook, and the work it entails, to him: he can seek counsel from lawyers without loss of face, although the matter in hand may not, in any technical sense, be "legal" at all. It is, then, the lawyer who loses face on his client's behalf.

What is there, then, in the selection and training of lawyers that readies them for accepting such a role? Doubtless, many elements are involved, but an important one is the fact that the law schools throughout the country are still fairly wide open to "talent," irrespective of class, ethnic, and kin lines. Thus, they attract the more ambitious, the more mobile young people—the bright Grinnell graduate whose political science teacher tells him to "take a crack at Harvard law," or the intellectual hope of a Bronx family which feels he is cut out to be a lawyer and sends him to Fordham. Law schools maintain a highly competitive atmosphere, and the law reviews are almost uniquely work-oriented institutions: they pay no attention to "personality" and concentrate on performance with a zeal as rare and admirable as it is savage. From Grinnell to the law review to a New York or Washington office—and from there to Chrysler or U.S. Steel or TVA—the path "from the wheat bowl to the salad bowl" is clearer than in any other profession.[27]

To repeat: law schools attract the more hard-working, ambitious young men; they drill them to respect top performance; they furnish them with models of, and perhaps contact with, previous graduates who moved rapidly into positions of influence. Under this combined nurturing, lawyers tend, I suggest, to become hard-working isolates. They are less inclined than the average client to be or appear to be "big-hearted," "good guys," etc.—the vocabulary by which they would be seduced into accepting the normal archaisms of the business world. The teamwork of a law review is based on competitive performance largely and very little on good fellowship; it is very different from the teamwork of other, more clubby, professionals; this same atmosphere continues in the larger offices. An interesting illustration is gleaned from comparing the corporate bar's admiration for the SEC registration statement filed for the Kaiser-Frazer Company some years ago—a statement which whizzed through in record time—with the distrust of Henry Kaiser felt by his business competitors who view him as too streamlined for their comfort.

In sum, lawyers tend frequently to be-

[26] *Harper's*, CLXXVIII (December, 1938), 10.

[27] On the historical connection between social mobility and the law see my article, "Equality and Social Structure," *Journal of Legal and Political Sociology*, I (October, 1942), 72–95.

come paid rate-busters, mobile men in every respect, who find in devotion to their work and in the esteem of their professional colleagues rewards for serving clients in ways of which the clients do not entirely approve —and, what is more, do not want to have to approve. The "mystery" of the law is here a protection for the client: under an inevitable ignorance of *part* of a technical field, he can throw virtually the *whole* moral burden on his counsel and excuse himself on the ground that he could not possibly know enough to have an independent judgment. The lawyer, usually unaware of the psychological roots of this division of labor, may sometimes vainly try to "educate" his client into the whys and wherefores of his actions.

The so-called partisanship of the lawyer provides an interesting illustration of some of these problems. It is frequently said that lawyers are particularly partisan people; this is part of the stereotype. And it may be that the ambition of lawyers to go on the bench may spring to some extent from a wish to air opinions. Yet it is a question if lawyers are more opinionated than most people; they are ordinarily less partisan than nonlawyers and could hardly do their work if this were not so.

Every client realizes this when he sees the fraternizing of opposing counsel. He may suspect that his lawyer cares more for the opinion of other lawyers (including the judge) with whom he has to do business every day than he cares for the momentary problem of the client. The "rules of the game" of the law are so set up that lawyers can appear to fight hard without irretrievably hurting each other; yet, as with other games when *anomie* sets in and rules become purely instrumental, this restraint can break down. For many reasons, lawyers are more willing to bear each other's hostility for the sake of a client than other professionals (e.g., doctors); this would again seem connected—as Durkheim might predict—with the openness of the law-school world to talent, without ethnic and class barriers; and one of the important areas for sociological investigation would seem to be to study differences in type of professional camaraderie (at the client's expense) in different types of law practice. It seems likely that the lawyers' training in objectifying social relations permits them to tolerate not only the hostility of the public brought upon them for the disrespect of the public's image of the law they must show in order to get the public's work done but also this considerable amount of hostility to colleagues, or the risk of it.

But if there are times when the lawyer is less partisan than he should be in the client's interest (and it is hard for him not to confuse his own interest with the interest of his other present and potential clients who will exploit him as a bearer of a certain amount of good will from bench and bar), there are other times when the client cannot tolerate a nonpartisanship which is clearly in his own interest.[28] There have been cases of quite conservative but unfanatical lawyers, accustomed as few engineers are to taking account of human stresses and strains, who have lost their jobs as labor negotiators because management wanted, not success in the labor bargain, but a ritual of expletives against those damned union bastards. Sometimes businessmen and others dealing with the government have been similarly unwilling to accept, even in scapegoat fashion, their lawyer's matter-of-factness; they have wanted to pay, not for success, but for resounding speeches. And since they could find other members of the bar who would do this for them, they were deprived both of their success and of their comfortable assurance that they were morally superior to lawyers. Sometimes, as Everett Hughes has observed, this problem is handled by symbiotic teams

[28] This conflict between lawyer and client over the proper degree of affect which the former is to bring to the affairs of the latter is one of those conflicts between client emergency and occupational routine which has attracted the interest of Everett Hughes. As he observes, the client wants his problem given priority—yet he would be uneasy with a professional for whom his case actually was "the first" and who had neither been trained on other people's emergencies nor could control his own emotions in the face of the client's loss of control.

of lawyers, one matter-of-fact, the other a ham actor. Similar demands are made today on our diplomats—men, of course, often trained in the law.

The demand for partisanship comes, moreover, not only from the client, but from the lawyer's own desire to believe in the client as a cause. John Brooks, in his novel *The Big Wheel*, describes the revolt of the writers for a newsweekly against a pious editor who wanted them to believe their own stuff: they felt their intellectual integrity depended on their being able to divorce their private beliefs from their daily writing stint. The law has a long tradition of rationalizing that divorce by an ethic of "invisible harmony" which assures each practitioner that if he fights hard for his client within the rules the general interest will be somehow advanced. Though obviously the matter is very hard to document, it appears that this ethic is breaking down and that lawyers consequently feel either the need to be partisan or to be iron-clad cynics.

When this outer and inner demand for partisanship is coupled with the perhaps increasing psychological need of lawyers to be liked by their clients, the lawyer's usefulness may be impaired. We must ask, in this connection, whether it is really a good idea to train lawyers in psychology, if the effect of this is to make them more sensitive to their clients' moods and judgments? If it is to make them more "other-directed"?[29] If it is to break down the psychological defenses of the "secret society"? Perhaps the lawyer, or certain kinds of lawyers, has to be a person with a thick skin, not very interested in how other people feel or in how he himself feels?

To put this another way, if the lawyer should become very concerned with others' feelings, might he not become merely a competitor with another kind of client-caretaker, namely, the public relations man? While to be sure many public relations men are LL.B's, can the law schools eventually do as good a job in training this crew as, let us say, schools of journalism or of applied psychology?[30] May not the eagerness of some law-school leaders to "modernize" their schools, by incorporating much social science, have the consequence, if what they introduce takes at all with their students, of cramping those mobility drives which have pulled and pushed lawyers along the particular career lines they have followed in this country to date? Obviously, we can say very little about such questions without knowing much more than we do about who goes to law school, what happens to him there, and how this is related to what happens to him later on.

Equally obviously, law schools differ very much *inter se* with respect to the kind of rate-busting ethos discussed above. It is not every law school whose graduates will carry to the courts (at their clients' expense) a real crusading effort to prove Williston right as against Corbin or vice versa, as some Harvard and Yale graduates in big law firms are said to have done in the pre-social-science era.

Connected in subtle and still opaque ways with some of these psychological shifts is the shift of awareness in the legal profession itself concerning the nature of legal rights. Whereas law has been very greatly preoccupied with property, with the relation of men to things, it is only in the most unsophisticated circles today that it is thought there are true rights *in rem;* elsewhere, it is recognized that all rights come at bottom down to relations among men, including relations among men concerning things, and that all rights are therefore creations of social organization. In the past lawyers have

[29] Cf. Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), chap. vi.

[30] It is interesting to watch how this new type of business and government counselor seeks to develop a ritual of his own in his competitive effort to displace lawyers as those who profit, in Lundberg's terms, from keeping their clients "in a condition of permanent convalescence, always dependent upon the expensive advice of specialists in obscure, often nameless disorders, never thoroughly ill, never wholly cured" (*op. cit.*, p. 2). This new ritual is usually based on public opinion research techniques and on psychological jargon—which perhaps has still some way to go before it becomes as impressive as law-talk.

tended to be people who, so to speak, reified social organization; they moved among their complicated networks of personal relations (corporations, domestic relations, administrative rules, etc.) as physicists might move among their models of atomic nuclei. Their eye was on the structure, not on the personalities who happened at any moment to occupy various niches in it. This cultivated blindness to people, this ability to insist on the reality of legal fictions, helped to make it possible for lawyers to erect in confidence and good conscience the elaborate organizational machinery of our society. True, they lacked or repressed current sociological learning about the importance of the informal organization, whether in the bank wiring-room at the Hawthorne plant of Western Electric or the higher reaches of the telephone company as described by Chester Barnard. But Danielian's book on the A.T. and T.—incidentally, one of the few corporate biographies which pays any attention to the role of lawyers—indicates that the development of the over-all telephone organization owes much to legal invention—and not alone in the patent suppression field.[31]

But anthropological and psychological learning offers not only the truism that legal rights are creations of culture, of human relations; it penetrates somewhat further into the question of what these rights are actually made of, what their effective sanction is. This may be illustrated by reference to an experimental psychodrama developed by the Veterans Administration in order to test candidates for jobs in the VA in terms of aggressiveness. A psychodrama is a playlet in which people play roles whose barest outlines are assigned to them; in this case, one of the testers plays the role of a Chinese laundryman who cannot speak English. The candidate is not told this but is told simply that his tuxedo has been left at a laundryman's, that he needs it for a big date at 7:00 P.M., and that he will see his tux hanging, fully pressed, behind the counter. The following is a typical conversation.

CANDIDATE: Here is my claim check; there is the suit hanging there.

LAUNDRYMAN: Don't speak English. Boss back at 7.

C.: But I need this before 7. There it is.

L.: Don't speak English. (*Sits down behind counter and picks up paper.*)

C.: (*Hesitates, moves toward the counter.*)

L.: (*Lowers paper, looks up.*)

C.: (*Halts.*)

L.: (*Raises newspaper.*)

C.: (*Starts to cross counter.*)

L.: (*Rises, says nothing.*)

C.: (*Gives up and leaves, but in two cases only:*) God damn it, give me my suit! (*Goes and grabs it and leaves.*)

Our own problem here is not so much the question of aggression—though this has been of great interest, as it bears on law, in the work of Malcolm Sharp and others—as in the question: What is the counter made of?

There is no reason to assume that the counter is simply a culture barrier between Chinese and Americans, nor has the counter been charmed by a disease incantation. Rather, the counter seems to be made of some kind of interpersonal field situation connected with property rights and the nuances of trespass. Among these "generalized others" a line is drawn between the suit and its owner by some of the same considerations which created the relation between owner and tuxedo in the first place. (There being, apparently, some connection between the origin of property and of patriarchal society—a society, that is, which rests on inference and reasoning about paternity—one wonders if the VA would have gotten the same results in the psychodrama had the actors both been women!)

There are many unresolved complexities in this experiment. It may, however, serve to illustrate a further point, namely, that social psychology has much to gain from a study of the operation of law. In handling such incidents, psychologists sometimes show a tendency to overestimate the impor-

[31] See Noobar Danielian, *A.T. & T.* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1939), p. 97.

tance of individual personality, or of the "field" created by a number of personalities, while overlooking the bearing of a long historical development of a structural and institutional sort, to which these personalities, unless quite crazy, will defer, at least up to a point. The strength of the VA's imaginary counter depends not only on the weakness of the VA's candidates but also on the long and luxuriant growth of legal forms and practices. These have proceeded historically without becoming entirely the product, at any given time, of the private personalities of those who then fill its roles and perform its duties.

Another illustration may be drawn from my observations when I served a term in the Appeals Bureau of the New York District Attorney's Office. What struck me there was the fantastically unutilitarian character of many of the briefs we wrote. The head of the office, a law-review-trained man, felt that no case was too humble not to be loaded with all the erudition and art of brief-writing the whole staff could muster. There were open-and-shut gambling cases, for example, where our brief would draw, not only on Hawaii and the law reviews, but even on New Zealand reports and perhaps something from the French Court of Cassation! Now, who was the audience for this display of professional activity? It was not a make-work ritual such as James Caesar Petrillo might devise, for not only were we all high-minded men but we were in fact shorthanded and were actually more likely to lose men and even funds than to gain them by our tactics. For they were certainly not appreciated by the trial lawyers in the office who ridiculed us as some kind of fanatical brain trust, pointing out, as we well knew, that we won 98 per cent of our appeals anyway and that most of the judges did not, or perhaps could not, read briefs. Nor did we endear ourselves to defense counsel, often barely literate and often much too impecunious for such displays of irrelevant learning. Nor did our briefs come to the attention of members of prominent downtown firms, who might appreciate our standards and hire our people—for such members enter the criminal courts only, so to speak, by proxy.

Thus, after eliminating rational explanations for our activity—activity in which I found myself joining in spite of myself—I concluded that we were engaging in some sort of secularized religious activity by which the members of the Appeals Bureau exploited a long tradition of legal learning in order to lend meaning to their daily lives. (Recalling how legalistic the Puritans seemed to their more easygoing and worldly foes, we may think of the law as one of the secular equivalents of seventeenth-century theology.) On the face of it, these lawyers were worldly men, or at least worldly-wise; behind their backs, in their unconscious, operated motives of an unworldly sort they would have done their best to deny. Perhaps something of what Veblen called "the instinct of workmanship" was also at work here, some desire to do a good job apart from any immediate audience. These nonutilitarian elaborations go on in the law—our office was not unique, though it may have been extreme—not in search of justice but in search of something which transcends even justice, some kind of quest of the Absolute, some kind of art for art's sake. Indeed, I am fairly sure that something of the same sort happens in all occupations, but the lawyer is perhaps less able than others to conceal his intellectual orgies. They are often a matter of record, or they exist in filing cabinets. At the same time this very openness of the lawyer's play with reasoning may be a factor in the way the profession operates (of course, in conjunction with other professions, such as teaching and the more intellectual branches of the ministry) to drain off some of the culture's more adept and avid reasoners, who might find themselves deviants if these careers were not open to them as external defenses and internal sublimations.

It follows that the lawyer's sense of relevance—often greater than that of other people—must constantly struggle in this way with his desire to use his very rationality for ends he cannot admit to himself. And

this in turn may link up with the ambivalent roles of the lawyer in our society, who stands at once for reason and for an excess of it.

If this set of hunches makes any sense, it may follow that the lawyer, the person to whom society assigns the function of being peculiarly rational and relevant, protects himself from his clients by his mobility and professional *élan* and from himself by such ritualistic overwork. That is, he encysts his reason both within layers of professional mystique (much as the Delphic oracles may have done, or shamans of many tribes and climes) and within irrational work patterns of his own.

But, of course, lawyers are not the only examples of such irrational use of rationality. Any true effort to see the function for the lawyer of his own functions in society must proceed in terms of a more general view of occupations and professions—such a view as my colleague Everett Hughes is engaged in developing.[32] Many lawyers, like many other professionals, have to work hard to down the suspicion that their work lacks meaning, lacks "reality." Lawyers sometimes feel that all they live by is words, that they perform operations which have been taught them but which have no nonsolipsistic consequences. Watching lawyers at work, puzzled about the relation of that work to some larger and more embracing whole, one is reminded of the hero, Laskell's, attitude toward his fishing expedition, as Lionel Trilling describes it in *The Middle of the Journey:*

> Lack of practice made him awkward with his casting. He dutifully reminded himself of all the things he must think about—arm close to the body, wrist loose, the fly to touch the water before the leader. He did not believe that it made any difference. He did not really believe there were fish in the stream, or that he could catch them, or that fish had ever been caught by this method. You equipped yourself expensively, you learned the technique, you did everything the way you had been taught, and even, for the deceptive pleasure of it, you debated the theory of flies with other fishermen, arguing about just what it was that the fish saw when the fly floated over its head. But nothing really happened, or whatever happened happened for quite other reasons and not because you did what you did.[33]

Here, too, the more we find out about law, the more we will know about the meaning of work as a mode of relating people to some sort of physical and social reality, as culturally or existentially defined—and as a mode also of alienating them from reality and from each other.

On its face, it seems not a difficulty but an advantage that the student of the legal profession can have ready access to records, files, and other materials accumulated by a diligently record-keeping lot of men. To be sure, no profession likes to be studied (apart from the public relations value of being professional and prominent enough to have studies made), and Judge Frank in *Courts on Trial* reports a striking example of judges refusing to co-operate with would-be investigators;[34] but on the whole the lawyers are

[32] See, e.g., his articles, "Work and the Self," in John H. Rohrer and Muzafer Sherif (eds.), *Social Psychology at the Crossroads* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1951), pp. 313–23, and "Institutional Office and the Person," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIII (November, 1937), 404–13.

[33] Compare with Trilling's remarks the following observation by Llewellyn and Hoebel in *The Cheyenne Way*, p. 292: "Thus each law-job, and all of them together, presents first of all an aspect of pure survival, a bare-bones. The job must get done *enough* to keep the group going. This is brute struggle for continued existence. It is the problem of attaining order in the pinch at whatever cost to justice. But beyond this, each job has a wholly distinct double aspect which we may call the *questing-aspect.* This is a betterment aspect, a question so to speak of surplus and its employment. On the one side, this questing aspect looks to more adequate doing of the job, just as a doing: economy, efficiency, smoothness, leading at the peak to aesthetically satisfying grace in the doing of it. On the other side, the questing aspect looks to the ideal values: justice, finer justice, such organization and such ideals of justice as tend toward fuller, richer life. It no more does to forget the bare-bones in favor of these things than it does to forget these things in favor of the bare-bones." Cf. also Simmel's significant juxtaposition of art and play with law as activities which are purposeless in the sense that they are self-determining and independent of the original impulse that led to them (*The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, trans. Kurt H. Wolff [Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950], p. 42).

[34] *Op. cit.*, p. 116.

used to being visible. Perhaps, indeed, it is the very mass of material which is depressing to a prospective student. For the social scientist who wants to get beyond, on the one hand, generalizations about the unreasonableness of the law and, on the other hand, these peripheral touchings at the most obvious points of criminal justice and trial psychology, needs to wade into the lawbooks themselves and into office files, as well as to observe, as James West did, the ceremonial and festive functions of Ozark court sessions. He has to sit in on sessions between lawyer and client, especially lawyer and corporate or governmental client, to see if he can observe ways of thinking that are peculiarly legal. Maybe he will have to make distinctions not only among various kinds of law practice but among various groups of law-school graduates. At the same time he may discover that the first and easiest place to observe these tendencies of the American legal mind in the making is in the classroom, on the law review, and in the social life and the myths of the law students. For surely one mode of beginning any serious investigation of the kinds of problems being discussed is to look at the ways in which, on the day of entry, first-year law students already possess a kind of legal culture and personality and by seeing what happens to this as they go through their rites of passage to the LL.B.

Does this mean, to be concrete, that the sociological investigator has to go to law school himself? The law has been made out as much too esoteric—the investigator can pick up what legal lore he needs with relative ease and speed if he has any kind of flair for technical vocabularies. But knowledge of the law and knowledge of the culture of lawyers are obviously two different things; to gain the latter probably requires participant observation. And it may turn out that the investigator who has the best chance of picking up this culture in all its nuances will be one who is sufficiently familiar with the counters of legal discourse to share already some of the culture of the lawyers among whom he will move. If he knows some, by the usual journalistic rule, he can pretend he knows more (or, sometimes, less), and find out still more. He will know where to look, where to probe. He will not be so taken up with imbibing legal phrases and mechanics that he will assign to the lawyers he is observing as much affect in the use of these phrases as is necessary for him in the original learning process.

An illustration may be drawn from anthropological field work. Sometimes ethnographic reports give the reader the impression that the preliterate tribe spent most of its emotional energies making breadfruit, or casting spells, or hollowing out canoes. All these activities had the same fascination for the anthropologist who had never engaged in them himself as the visiting of factories, nurseries, or prisons, which had been left out of their education in their own countries, had for Western tourists to the Soviet Union. In much the same way, the student of an occupation may be misled by the beat of his own rhythms of attention. His own interest may, without his full awareness, evoke a greater interest among his informants, who can perhaps recapture an earlier enthusiasm for their own shop thereby.

But to put it this way puts the task of participant observation too mechanically—too much as a problem in "rapport" and nondirective interviewing. I am enough of a fly fisherman to believe the legal problems have intrinsic interest; that they are one way of structuring the world—not so bad a way as lawyers in the present mood of defensiveness are often likely to think. The student who wants to see what the function of law is for the lawyer—and hence at least one of its important functions in the society of which lawyers are a substantial part—has to fall for it, just a little bit. Doubtless, he could also learn something if he hated it bitterly. But since there are many things to be studied, anyone omnivorous enough to choose the law and the legal profession might as well have some dessert in a diet that will at best contain a good deal of roughage.

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THE PROFESSIONAL DANCE MUSICIAN AND HIS AUDIENCE

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ABSTRACT

Members of service occupations are subject to the interference of clients at their work. In the meeting of a professional whose self is deeply involved in his work and a more casually involved customer conflict arises from the professional's feeling that outsiders neither are capable nor possess the right to judge their performance. Dance musicians feel themselves to be different from their audiences—people who lack understanding and who should have no control over their work but who in fact exert great control. Musicians feel isolated from society and increase this isolation through a process of self-segregation.

The service occupations are, in general, distinguished by the fact that the worker in them comes into more or less direct and personal contact with the ultimate consumer of the product of his work, the client for whom he performs the service. Consequently, the client is able to direct or attempt to direct the worker at his task and to apply sanctions of various kinds, ranging from informal pressure to the withdrawal of his patronage and the conferring of it on some other of the many people who perform the service.

This contact brings together a person whose full-time activity is centered around the occupation and whose self is to some degree deeply involved in it and another person whose relation to it is much more casual, and it may be inevitable that the two should have widely varying pictures of the way in which the occupational service should be performed. It seems characteristic of such occupations that their members consider the client unable to judge the proper worth of the service and resent bitterly any attempt on his part to exercise control over the work. A good deal of conflict and hostility arises as a result, and methods of defense against outside interference become a preoccupation of the members.

The present paper outlines the dimensions of such an occupational dilemma as observed among professional dance musicians in a large American city. This occupation presents an extremely favorable situation for studying such phenomena, since in it the problem is, to a greater degree than in many occupations, frankly faced and openly discussed. Musicians feel that the only music worth playing is what they call "jazz," a term which can be defined only as that music which is produced without reference to the demands of outsiders. Yet they must endure unceasing interference with their playing by employer and audience. The most distressing problem in the career of the average musician is the necessity of choosing between conventional success and his "artistic" standards. In order to achieve success he finds it necessary to "go commercial," that is, to play in accord with the wishes of the nonmusicians for whom he works; in so doing he sacrifices the respect of other musicians and thus, in most cases, his self-respect. If he remains true to his standards, he is doomed to failure in the larger society. Musicians classify themselves according to the degree to which they give in to outsiders; the continuum ranges from the extreme "jazz" musician to the "commercial" musician.[2]

The discussion will center around the following points: (1) the conceptions which musicians have of themselves and of the nonmusicians for whom they work and the conflict they feel to be inherent in this relation, (2) the basic consensus underlying the reac-

[1] I wish to thank Professor E. C. Hughes and Mr. Dan Lortie, who read and commented on a draft of this paper. Thanks are due Professor Hughes, Professor W. Lloyd Warner, and Dr. Harvey L. Smith for their guidance in the prosecution of the original research on which this paper is based.

[2] A full discussion of this situation may be found in the complete study on which this paper is based: Howard S. Becker, "The Professional Dance Musician in Chicago" (unpublished M.A. thesis, department of sociology, University of Chicago, 1949).

tions of both commercial and jazz musicians to this conflict, and (3) feelings of isolation and the segregating of themselves from audience and community. The analysis is based on materials gathered during eighteen months of interviewing and participant observation. My research was disclosed to few people. In general, I was accepted as just another young piano player by most of the men from whom this material was gathered. The bulk of the material comes from younger men, but enough contact was made with other musicians to permit the analysis of basic occupational problems.

I. MUSICIAN AND "SQUARE"

The whole system of beliefs about what musicians are and what audiences are is summed up in a word used by musicians to refer to outsiders—"square." It is used as a noun and as an adjective, denoting both a kind of person and a quality of behavior and objects. The term refers to the kind of person who is the opposite of all the musician is, or should be, and a way of thinking, feeling, and behaving (with its expression in material objects) which is the opposite of that valued by musicians.

The musician is conceived of by the professional group as an artist who possesses a mysterious artistic gift setting him apart from all other people. Possessing this gift, he should be free from control by outsiders who lack it. The gift is something which cannot be acquired through education; the outsider, therefore, can never become a member of the group. A trombone player said, "You can't teach a guy to have a beat. Either he's got one or he hasn't. If he hasn't got it, you can't teach it to him."

The musician feels that under no circumstances should any outsider be allowed to tell him what to play or how to play it. In fact, the strongest element in the colleague code is the prohibition against a musician criticizing or in any other way trying to put pressure on another musician in the actual playing situation "on the job." Where not even a colleague is permitted to influence the work, it is unthinkable that an outsider should be allowed to do so.

This attitude is generalized into a feeling that musicians are completely different from and better than other kinds of people and accordingly ought not to be subject to the control of outsiders in any branch of life, particularly in their artistic activity. The feeling of being a different kind of person who leads a different kind of life is deep-seated, as the following remarks indicate:

> I'm telling you, musicians are different than other people. They talk different, they act different, they look different. They're just not like other people, that's all. . . . You know it's hard to get out of the music business because you feel so different from others.
>
> Musicians live an exotic life, like in a jungle or something. They start out, they're just ordinary kids from small towns—but once they get into that life they change. It's like a jungle, except that their jungle is a hot, crowded bus. You live that kind of life long enough, you just get to be completely different.
>
> Being a musician was great, I'll never regret it. I'll understand things that squares never will.

An extreme of this view is the belief that only musicians are sensitive and unconventional enough to be able to give real sexual satisfaction to a woman.

Feeling their difference strongly, musicians likewise believe that beings such as they are under no obligation to follow the conventional behavior of the squares. From the idea that no one can tell a musician how to play it follows logically that no one can tell a musician how to do anything. Accordingly, behavior which flouts conventional social norms is greatly admired. Stories reveal this admiration for highly individual, spontaneous, "devil-may-care" activities; many of the most noted jazzmen are renowned as "characters," and their exploits are widely recounted. For example, one well-known jazzman is noted for having jumped on a policeman's horse standing in front of the night club in which he worked and ridden it away. The ordinary musician likes to tell stories of unconventional things he has done:

We played the dance and after the job was over we packed up to get back in this old bus and make it back to Detroit. A little way out of town the car just refused to go. There was plenty of gas; it just wouldn't run. These guys all climbed out and stood around griping. All of a sudden, somebody said, "Let's set it on fire!" So someone got some gas out of the tank and sprinkled it around, touching a match to it and whoosh, it just went up in smoke. What an experience! The car burning up and all these guys standing around hollering and clapping their hands. It was really something.

This is more than idiosyncrasy; it is a primary occupational value, as indicated by the following observation of a young musician: "You know, the biggest heroes in the music business are the biggest characters. The crazier a guy acts, the greater he is, the more everyone likes him."

As they do not wish to be forced to live in terms of social conventions, so musicians do not attempt to force these conventions on others. For example, a musician declared that ethnic discrimination is wrong, since every person is entitled to act and believe as he wants to:

S——, I don't believe in any discrimination like that. People are people, whether they're Dagos or Jews or Irishmen or Polacks or what. Only big squares care what religion they are. It don't mean a f——ing thing to me. Every person's entitled to believe his own way, that's the way I feel about it. Of course, I never go to church myself, but I don't hold it against anybody who does. It's all right if you like that sort of thing.

The same musician classified a friend's sex behavior as wrong, yet defended the individual's right to decide what is right and wrong for himself: "Eddie f——s around too much; he's gonna kill himself or else get killed by some broad. And he's got a nice wife too. He shouldn't treat her like that. But what the f——, that's his business. If that's the way he wants to live, if he's happy that way, then that's the way he oughta do." Musicians will tolerate quite extraordinary behavior in a fellow-musician without making any attempt to punish or restrain. In the following incident the uncontrolled behavior of a drummer loses a job for an orchestra; yet, angry as they are, they lend him money and refrain from punishing him in any way. It would be a breach of custom were anyone to reprimand him.

JERRY: When we got up there, the first thing that happened was that all his drums didn't show up. So the owner drives all around trying to find some drums for him and then the owner smashes a fender while he was doing it. So I knew right away that we were off to a good start. And Jack! Man, the boss is an old Dago, you know, no bulls—— about him, he runs a gambling joint; he don't take any s—— from anyone. So he says to Jack, "What are you gonna do without drums?" Jack says, "Be cool, daddio, everything'll be real gone, you know." I thought the old guy would blow his top. What a way to talk to the boss. Boy, he turned around, there was fire in his eye. I knew we wouldn't last after that. He says to me, "Is that drummer all there?" I said, "I don't know, I never saw him before today." And we just got finished telling him we'd been playing together six months. So that helped, too. Of course, when Jack started playing, that was the end. So loud! And he don't play a beat at all. All he uses the bass drum for is accents. What kind of drumming is that? Otherwise, it was a good little outfit. . . . It was a good job. We could have been there forever. . . . Well, after we played a couple of sets, the boss told us we were through.

BECKER: What happened after you got fired?

JERRY: The boss gave us twenty apiece and told us to go home. So it cost us seventeen dollars for transportation up and back, we made three bucks on the job. Of course, we saw plenty of trees. Three bucks, hell, we didn't even make that. We loaned Jack seven or eight.

The musician thus views himself and his colleagues as people with a special gift which makes them different from nonmusicians and not subject to their control, either in musical performance or in ordinary social behavior.

The square, on the other hand, lacks this special gift and any understanding of the music or way of life of those who possess it. The square is thought of as an ignorant, intolerant person who is to be feared, since he produces the pressures forcing the musician

to play inartistically. The musicians' difficulty lies in the fact that the square is in a position to get his way: if he does not like the kind of music played, he does not pay to hear it a second time.

Not understanding music, the square judges music by standards which are foreign to musicians and not respected by them. A "commercial" saxophonist observed sarcastically:

> It doesn't make any difference what we play, the way we do it. It's so simple that anyone who's been playing longer than a month could handle it. Jack plays a chorus on piano or something, then saxes or something, all unison. It's very easy. But the people don't care. As long as they can hear the drum they're all right. They hear the drum, then they know to put their right foot in front of their left foot and their left foot in front of their right foot. Then if they can hear the melody to whistle to, they're happy. What more could they want?

The following conversation illustrates the same attitude:

> JOE: You'd get off the stand and walk down the aisle, somebody'd say, "Young man, I like your orchestra very much." Just because you played soft and the tenorman doubled fiddle or something like that, the squares liked it. . . .
>
> DICK: It was like that when I worked at the M—— Club. All the kids that I went to high school with used to come out and dig the band. . . . That was one of the worst bands I ever worked on and they all thought it was wonderful.
>
> JOE: Oh, well, they're just a bunch of squares anyhow.

"Squareness" is felt to penetrate every aspect of the square's behavior just as its opposite, "hipness" is evident in everything the musician does. The square seems to do everything wrong and is laughable and ludicrous. Musicians derive a good deal of amusement from sitting in a corner and watching the squares. Everyone has stories to tell about the laughable antics of squares. One man went so far as to suggest that the musicians should change places with the people sitting at the bar of the tavern he worked in; he claimed that they were funnier and more entertaining than he could possibly be. Every item of dress, speech, and behavior which differs from that of the musician is taken as new evidence of the inherent insensitivity and ignorance of the square. Since musicians have an esoteric culture these evidences are many and serve only to fortify their conviction that musicians and squares are two different kinds of people.

But the square is feared as well, since he is thought of as the ultimate source of "commercial" pressure. It is the square's ignorance of music that compels the musician to play what he considers bad music in order to be successful.

> BECKER: How do you feel about the people you play for, the audience?
>
> DAVE: They're a drag.
>
> BECKER: Why do you say that?
>
> DAVE: Well, if you're working on a commercial band, they like it and so you have to play more corn. If you're working on a good band, then they don't like it, and that's a drag. If you're working on a good band and they like it, then that's a drag, too. You hate them anyway, because you know that they don't know what it's all about. They're just a big drag.

This last statement reveals that even those who attempt to avoid being square are still considered so, because they still lack the proper understanding, which only a musician can have—"they don't know what it's all about." The "jazz fan" is thus respected no more than other squares. His liking for jazz is without understanding and he acts just like the other squares; he will request songs and try to influence the musician's playing, just as other squares do.

The musician thus sees himself as a creative artist who should be free from outside control, a person different from and better than those outsiders he calls squares who understand neither his music nor his way of life and yet because of whom he must perform in a manner contrary to his professional ideals.

II. REACTIONS TO THE CONFLICT

We will now consider the attitudes of "commercial" and "jazz" musicians toward the audience, noting both the variation in attitude and the basic consensus underlying

the two sets of feelings. Two themes run through this conflict: (1) the desire of the musician to live in terms of the creative principle, and (2) the recognition of many forces influencing him to abandon that principle. The jazzman tends to emphasize the first, the commercial musician the second; but both recognize and feel the force of each of these guiding influences. Common to the attitudes of both kinds of musician is an intense contempt for and dislike of the square audience whose fault it is that musicians must "go commercial" in order to succeed.

The commercial musician, though he conceives of the audience as squares, chooses to sacrifice self-respect and the respect of other musicians (the rewards of artistic behavior) for the more substantial rewards of steady work, higher income, and the prestige enjoyed by the man who "goes commercial." One commercial musician commented:

> They've got a nice class of people out here, too. Of course, they're squares, I'm not trying to deny that. Sure, they're a bunch of f——ing squares, but who the f—— pays the bills? They pay 'em, so you gotta play what they want. I mean, what the s——, you can't make a living if you don't play for the squares. How many f——ing people you think aren't squares? Out of a hundred people you'd be lucky if 15 per cent weren't squares. I mean, maybe professional people—doctors, lawyers, like that—they might not be square, but the average person is just a big f——ing square. Of course, show people aren't like that. But outside of show people and professional people, everybody's a f——ing square.[3] They don't know anything.
>
> I'll tell you. This is something I learned about three years ago. If you want to make any money you gotta please the squares. They're the ones that pay the bills, and you gotta play for them. A good musician can't get a f——ing job. You gotta play a bunch of s——. But what the f——, let's face it. I want to live good. I want to make some money; I want a car, you know. How long can you fight it? . . .
>
> Don't get me wrong. If you can make money playing jazz, great. But how many guys can do it? . . . If you can play jazz, great, like I said. But if you're on a bad f——ing job, there's no sense fighting it, you gotta be commercial. I mean, the squares are paying your salary, so you might as well get used to it, they're the ones you gotta please.

[3] Most musicians would not admit these exceptions.

It is to be noted that the speaker admits it is more "respectable" to be independent of the squares, and expresses contempt for the audience, whose squareness is made responsible for the whole situation.

These men phrase the problem primarily in economic terms: "I mean, s——, if you're playing for a bunch of squares you're playing for a bunch of squares. What the f—— are you gonna do? You can't push it down their throats. Well, I suppose you can make 'em eat it, but after all, they *are* paying you."

The jazzman feels the need to satisfy the audience just as strongly, although maintaining that one should not give in to it. Jazzmen, like others, appreciate steady jobs and good jobs and know that they must satisfy the audience to get them, as the following conversation between two young jazzmen illustrates:

> CHARLIE: There aren't any jobs where you can blow jazz. You have to play rumbas and pops[4] and everything. You can't get anywhere blowing jazz. Man, I don't want to scuffle all my life.
>
> EDDIE: Well, you want to enjoy yourself, don't you? You won't be happy playing commercial. You know that.
>
> CHARLIE: I guess there's just no way for a cat to be happy. 'Cause it sure is a drag blowing commercial, but it's an awful drag not ever doing anything and playing jazz.
>
> EDDIE: Jesus, why can't you be successful playing jazz? . . . I mean, you could have a great little outfit and still play arrangements, but good ones, you know.
>
> CHARLIE: You could never get a job for a band like that.
>
> EDDIE: Well, you could have a sexy little bitch to stand up in front and sing and shake her ass at the bears.[5] Then you could get a job. And you could still play great when she wasn't singing.
>
> CHARLIE: Well, wasn't that what Q——'s

[4] Popular songs.

[5] Synonym for "squares."

band was like? Did you enjoy that? Did you like the way she sang?

EDDIE: No, man, but we played jazz, you know.

CHARLIE: Did you like the kind of jazz you were playing? It was kind of commercial, wasn't it?

EDDIE: Yeah, but it could have been great.

CHARLIE: Yeah, if it had been great, you wouldn't have kept on working. I guess we'll always just be unhappy. It's just the way things are. You'll always be drug[6] with yourself. . . . There'll never be any kind of a really great job for a musician.

In addition to the pressure to please the audience which emanates from the musician's desire to maximize salary and income, there are more immediate pressures. It is often difficult to maintain an independent attitude. For example:

I worked an Italian wedding on the Southwest Side last night with Johnny Ponzi. We played about half an hour, doing the special arrangements they use, which are pretty uncommercial. Then an old Italian fellow (the father-in-law of the groom, as we later found out) began hollering, "Play some polkas, play some Italian music. Ah, you stink, you're lousy." Johnny always tries to avoid the inevitable on these wedding jobs, putting off playing the folk music as long as he can. I said, "Man, why don't we play some of that stuff now and get it over with?" Tom said, "I'm afraid if we start doing that we'll be doing it all night." Johnny said, "Look, Howard, the groom is a real great guy. He told us to play anything we want and not to pay any attention to what the people say, so don't worry about it. . . ."

The old fellow kept hollering and pretty soon the groom came up and said, "Listen, fellows. I know you don't want to play any of that s—— and I don't want you to, but that's my father-in-law, see. The only thing is, I don't want to embarrass my wife for him, so play some Dago music to keep him quiet, will yuh?" Johnny looked around at us and made a gesture of resignation.

He said, "All right, let's play the *Beer Barrel Polka*." Tom said, "Oh s——! Here we go." We played it and then we played an Italian dance, the *Tarentelle*.

[6] Unhappy.

Sometimes the employer applies pressure which makes even an uncompromising jazzman give in, at least for the duration of the job:

I was playing solo for one night over at the Y—— on ——rd St. What a drag! The second set, I was playing *Sunny Side*, I played the melody for one chorus, then I played a little jazz. All of a sudden the boss leaned over the side of the bar and hollered, "I'll kiss your ass if anybody in this place knows what tune you're playing!" And everybody in the place heard him, too. What a big square! What could I do? I didn't say anything, just kept playing. Sure was a drag.

Somewhat inconsistently, the musician wants to feel that he is reaching the audience and that they are getting some enjoyment from his work, and this leads him to give in to audience demands. One man said:

I enjoy playing more when there's someone to play for. You kind of feel like there isn't much purpose in playing if there's nobody there to hear you. I mean, after all, that's what music's for—for people to hear and get enjoyment from. That's why I don't mind playing corny too much. If anyone enjoys it, then I kind of get a kick out of it. I guess I'm kind of a ham. But I like to make people happy that way.

This statement is somewhat extreme; but most musicians feel it strongly enough to want to avoid the active dislike of the audience: "That's why I like to work with Tommy. At least when you get off the stand, everybody in the place doesn't hate you. It's a drag to work under conditions like that, where everybody in the place just hates the whole band."

III. ISOLATION AND SELF-SEGREGATION

Musicians are hostile to their audiences, being afraid that they must sacrifice their artistic standards to the squares. They exhibit certain patterns of behavior and belief which may be viewed as adjustments to this situation; they will be referred to here as "isolation" and "self-segregation" and are expressed in the actual playing situation and in participation in the social intercourse of the larger community. The primary function

of this behavior is to protect the musician from the interference of the square audience and, by extension, of the conventional society.

The musician is, as a rule, spatially isolated from the audience, being placed on a platform which, being inaccessible to them, provides a physical barrier that prevents any direct interaction. This isolation is welcomed because the audience, being made up of squares, is felt to be potentially dangerous. The musicians fear that direct contact with the audience can lead only to interference with the musical performance. Therefore, it is safer to be isolated and have nothing to do with them. Once, where such physical isolation was not provided, a player commented:

> Another thing about weddings, man. You're right down on the floor, right in the middle of the people. You can't get away from them. It's different if you're playing a dance or in a bar. In a dancehall you're up on a stage where they can't get at you. The same thing in a cocktail lounge, you're up behind the bar. But a wedding—man, you're right in the middle of them.

Musicians, lacking the usually provided physical barriers, often improvise their own and effectively segregate themselves from their audience.

> I had a Jewish wedding job for Sunday night. . . . When I arrived, the rest of the boys were already there. The wedding had taken place late, so that the people were just beginning to eat. We decided, after I had conferred with the groom, to play during dinner. We set up in a far corner of the hall. Jerry pulled the piano around so that it blocked off a small space, which was thus separated from the rest of the people. Tony set up his drums in this space, and Jerry and Johnny stood there while we played. I wanted to move the piano so that the boys could stand out in front of it and be next to the audience, but Jerry said, half-jokingly, "No, man. I have to have some protection from the squares." So we left things as they were. . . .
>
> Jerry had moved around in front of the piano but, again half-humorously, had put two chairs in front of him, which separated him from the audience. When a couple took the chairs to sit on, Jerry set two more in their place. Johnny said, "Man, why don't we sit on those chairs?" Jerry said, "No, man. Just leave them there. That's my barricade to protect me from the squares."

Many musicians almost reflexively avoid establishing contact with members of the audience. When walking among them, they habitually avoid meeting the eyes of squares for fear that this will establish some relationship on the basis of which the square will then request songs or in some other way attempt to influence the musical performance. Some extend their behavior to their ordinary social activity, outside of professional situations. A certain amount of this is inevitable, since the conditions of work—late hours, great geographic mobility, and so on—make social participation outside of the professional group difficult. If one works while others sleep, it is difficult to have ordinary social intercourse with them. This was cited by a musician who had left the profession, in partial explanation of his action: "And it's great to work regular hours, too, where you can see people instead of having to go to work every night." Some younger musicians complain that the hours of work make it hard for them to establish contacts with "nice" girls, since they preclude the conventional date.

But much of this behavior develops out of the hostility toward squares. The attitude is seen in its extreme among the "X—— Avenue Boys," a clique of extreme jazzmen who reject the American culture *in toto*. The quality of their feeling toward the outside world is indicated by one man's private title for his theme song: "If You Don't Like My Queer Ways You Can Kiss My F——ing Ass." The ethnic makeup of the group indicated further that their adoption of these extreme artistic and social attitudes was part of a total rejection of conventional American society. With few exceptions the men came from older, more fully assimilated national groups: Irish, Scandinavian, German, and English. Further, many of them were reputed to come from wealthy families and the higher social classes. In short, their rejection of commercialism in music and squares in social life was part of the casting aside of the total American culture by men who could

enjoy privileged status but who were unable to achieve a satisfactory personal adjustment within it.[7]

Every interest of this group emphasized their isolation from the standards and interests of the conventional society. They associated almost exclusively with other musicians and girls who sang or danced in night clubs in the North Clark Street area of Chicago and had little or no contact with the conventional world. They were described politically thus: "They hate this form of government anyway and think it's real bad." They were unremittingly critical of both business and labor, disillusioned with the economic structure, and completely cynical about the political process and contemporary political parties. Religion and marriage were rejected completely, as were American popular and serious culture, and their reading was confined solely to the more esoteric *avant garde* writers and philosophers. In art and symphonic music they were interested also in only the most esoteric developments. In every case they were quick to point out that their interests were not those of the conventional society and that they were thereby differentiated from it. It is reasonable to assume that the primary function of these interests was to make this differentiation unmistakably clear.

Although isolation and self-segregation found their most extreme development among the "X—— Avenue Boys," they were manifested by less deviant musicians as well. The feeling of being isolated from the rest of the society was often quite strong; the following conversation, which took place between two young jazzmen, illustrates two reactions to the sense of isolation.

EDDIE: You know, man, I hate people. I can't stand to be around squares. They drag me so much I just can't stand them.

CHARLIE: You shouldn't be like that, man. Don't let them drag you. Just laugh at them. That's what I do. Just laugh at everything they do. That's the only way you'll be able to stand it.

[7] Professor David Riesman first called my attention to these implications of the data.

A young Jewish musician, who definitely identified himself with the Jewish community, nevertheless felt this professional isolation strongly enough to make the following statements.

You know, a little knowledge is a dangerous thing. That's what happened to me when I first started playing. I just felt like I knew too much. I sort of saw, or felt, that all my friends from the neighborhood were real square and stupid. . . .

You know, it's funny. When you sit on that stand up there, you feel so different from others. Like I can even understand how Gentiles feel toward Jews. You see these people come up and they look Jewish, or they have a little bit of an accent or something, and they ask for a rumba or some damn thing like that, and I just feel, "What damn squares, these Jews," just like I was a *goy* myself. That's what I mean when I say you learn too much being a musician. I mean, you see so many things and get such a broad outlook on life that the average person just doesn't have.

On another occasion the same man remarked:

DICK: You know, since I've been out of work I've actually gotten so that I can talk to some of these guys in the neighborhood.

BECKER: You mean you had trouble talking to them before?

DICK: Well, I'd just stand around and not know what to say. It still sobers me up to talk to those guys. Everything they say seems real silly and uninteresting.

The process of self-segregation is evident in certain symbolic expressions, particularly in the use of an occupational slang which readily identifies the man who can use it properly as someone who is not square and as quickly reveals as an outsider the person who uses it incorrectly or not at all. Some words have grown up to refer to unique professional problems and attitudes of musicians, typical of them being the term "square." Such words enable musicians to discuss problems and activities for which ordinary language provides no adequate terminology. There are, however, many words which are merely substitutes for the more common expressions without adding any

new meaning. For example, the following are synonyms for money: "loot," "gold," "geetz," and "bread." Jobs are referred to as "gigs." There are innumerable synonyms for marijuana, the most common being "gauge," "pot," "charge," "tea," and "s——."[8]

The function of such behavior is pointed out by a young musician who was quitting the business:

> I'm glad I'm getting out of the business, though. I'm getting sick of being around musicians. There's so much ritual and ceremony junk. They have to talk a special language, dress different, and wear a different kind of glasses. And it just doesn't mean a damn thing except "we're different."

IV. CONCLUSION

This paper has explored certain dimensions of the relationship between dance musicians and their audience, emphasizing the hostility which arises out of the interaction of professional and layman in the working situation. Attention has also been paid to the way in which musicians feel themselves isolated from the larger society and how they maintain that isolation through various modes of self-segregation.

It may be suggested that similar conflicts are to be found in other service occupations and that research in such areas could profitably focus on such matters as the professional's conception of his client, the manner in which the client impinges on (or, from the professional's point of view, interferes with) his work, the effects of such conflicts on professional organization, with particular reference to the defensive tactics employed by the profession, and the relation of such dilemmas to the individual's participation in the life of the larger society.

CHICAGO

[8] These words will probably be out of date soon after this is written; some already are. They change as musicians feel that they have gained currency among outsiders.

THE PEOPLE OF FRILOT COVE: A STUDY OF RACIAL HYBRIDS

J. HARDY JONES, JR., AND VERNON J. PARENTON

ABSTRACT

Frilot Cove is a color-conscious, semi-isolated rural community of 302 persons with an ante bellum cultural background, who, though they approximate Nordic and Mediterranean types, are classified as Negroes. Criteria of upper-class status are light skin, income, and family background. Discrimination by whites draws them to the Negro, but their concern is not with their personal, but with their group, situation.

This paper summarizes certain findings of a more comprehensive study[1] which analyzed some sociologically important elements of a hybrid racial community[2] of St. Landry Parish, Louisiana. The purpose of that study was to analyze social organization and social change in a semi-isolated hybrid rural community: its historical origin; its population characteristics; its social, cultural, and economic characteristics; and the attitudes of its inhabitants to race. The principal sources of data were schedules, interviews, informal conversation, personal observations, attitude inventories, written materials obtained directly from community members, microfilm copies of old United States census records, and pertinent published materials.

The history of this community, Frilot Cove, is part of the long and interesting history of the state of Louisiana. The first explorers in Louisiana were the Spaniards, who were seeking riches; but they failed to establish themselves permanently in the country of the great Mississippi. France was the first to succeed in establishing colonies. Through the efforts of such men as De la Salle, D'Iberville, and De Bienville, Louisiana became an important part of the New World. Although Louisiana was returned to Spain for about forty years (prior to 1803, when the territory became a part of the United States), the French culture was predominant and is still much in evidence in the southern parts of the state.

In 1765 a military and trading post was established at Opelousas. The fertile prairie land surrounding the post soon attracted many settlers. In 1807, St. Landry Parish was formed and Opelousas became the seat of parish government. According to the United States marshal of the Western District, which included St. Landry Parish, there were 532 free colored persons and 4,680 white persons in this area in 1840. The census shows that there were among the free colored only thirty-three males to fifty-nine females in the twenty-four- to thirty-six-year age group. On the other hand, in the white group from twenty to forty years of age there were 835 males to 295 females—an extreme shortage of females. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that some of the white men took their wives from the free colored class.

By the end of the nineteenth century the parish had a population of 52,170 inhabitants, slightly over half of whom were counted as Negroes. This increase of the Negro population came about largely as a result of the many cotton plantations throughout the area.

Among these Negroes were many mulattoes, primarily the descendants of white men and colored women. Of the parents of these people, many were "free men of color" during ante bellum days and owned planta-

[1] See Joseph Hardy Jones, Jr., "The People of Frilot Cove: A Study of a Racial Hybrid Community in Rural South Central Louisiana" (unpublished Master's thesis, Louisiana State University, August, 1950; prepared under the direction of Vernon J. Parenton as a project of the Institute of Population Research).

[2] The term "community" as used in this paper refers to a territorial group which can include all aspects of social life. In Frilot Cove, the nature of the area of common residence largely necessitates a common social life.

tions and slaves themselves. After the Civil War, the great majority were forced to relinquish their superior position and become a part of the "black masses." Although this brought about some solidarity of interest and feeling, many of the descendants of the "free color caste" withdrew to themselves. Such was the origin of the Frilot Cove community.

The history of Frilot Cove proper dates back to before the middle of the nineteenth century, when several of the *gens de couleur* "people of color" established a settlement about eight miles directly northwest of Opelousas on Bayou Grand Louis. According to a native son of the community, Frilot Cove was originally settled around 1832 by four French settlers: Pierre Elisio Frilot, Edouard Fusilier, Philogène Auzenne, and Phillipe Frilot. These four were men of schooling; they spoke pure French, and all their correspondence and speeches were in French. It was their aim and purpose to make Frilot Cove the ideal community, and soon after it was settled it became known throughout St. Landry and the surrounding parishes as an outstanding settlement, often arousing envy which possibly operated against the best interests of the community.[3] The present inhabitants of the community agree that these four men were the original settlers; however, according to the census of 1860 two of them would have been less than five years of age in 1832. On the other hand, there is no doubt that the community was settled before the middle of the nineteenth century.

The oldest member of Frilot Cove is a son of one of the original founders. According to him, the original settlers were *gens de couleur*—progeny of French men who had taken quadroon women for their wives. The inhabitants generally agree that the four original settlers were all white men; however, the census lists them as mulattoes. The natives never refer to the ancestry of the earliest women of the community; it appears that it was through the maternal line that the inhabitants became people of color. It is not certain just when the mixture of the races began, but obviously there was considerable French ancestry. The predominant culture of the community has always been French, and it is only the present generation that speaks English in family conversation.

The people are fair, straight-haired, and generally handsome. They are taller than either the whites or the Negroes of the area, many of the men being over six feet tall. Several are blond and blue-eyed. In general, they approximate Nordic and Mediterranean physical types. Whatever part of their ancestry is Negro is biologically insignificant; the social consequences are definitely otherwise.

The present inhabitants have intermarried with mulattoes from various communities throughout the state. Several of those who have married into the community have considerable Spanish ancestry. This is often evident in their offspring. However, the people seem to have lost none of their fair color through the years. Not one native has married a dark person and remained in Frilot Cove, for community mores would not tolerate such a union.

In the summer of 1949, Frilot Cove had a population of 302 inhabitants and a density of one hundred and thirty-seven persons per square mile (the community's area is about two square miles). In the United States census all the inhabitants are listed as Negroes and classified as rural-farm residents. Of the 302, 257 are natives of the community; of the remainder, 31 are dark tenants who live on places belonging to the natives, and 14 are mulattoes who live in or adjacent to the community and participate in some of its activities. Very young persons are scarce, and there is an overconcentration of those up to the age of twenty-five, an extreme scarcity from the ages of twenty-five to thirty-five, a concentration in the thirty-five- to fifty-five-year age groups, an even greater concentration in the ages from forty to fifty, and, finally, a scarcity of old people.

The sex ratio for the community is 86.1,

[3] Gustav Auzenne, Jr., "Frilot Cove: Neglected Community" (unpublished narrative, November, 1944), p. 2.

which is low. The scarcity of males is most obvious in the age groups from five to twenty years. At the age of fourteen, there are nine girls and only one boy.

In 1949, the fertility ratio of the native population of Frilot Cove was 310, which was considerably lower than the ratio for 1940 of 584 in St. Landry Parish and of 386 in Louisiana. The trend toward smaller families appears to be due to the improvement of the level of living, more knowledge and practice of birth control, and a realization of the problems facing the youth of the community.

Although it was not possible to determine the mortality rate for Frilot Cove, the number of deaths has plainly decreased in recent years. This is largely due to the current practice of having medical attention at childbirth, instead of the once important "midwife." The scarcity of old people in the community also considerably decreased the death rate.

Primarily because of the ever increasing population in Frilot Cove and the desire of many of the natives to avoid racial discrimination, there is a gradual migration away from the community. It is common for the men to move with their families to such distant places as California or Michigan. The only migration into the community is of girls from near by who have married local boys. This gain is just about balanced by the marriage of local girls to mulatto boys living elsewhere in the parish and state.

Historically, the culture of the natives is French. All but one family have French names, and most of them speak French. Only during the last generation has the English language become popular. Many of the older inhabitants, however, continue to prefer the language, the folkways, and the mores of their forefathers.

There are two classes of people in the community: the mulattoes, who own the land; and the darker tenants, who are sharecroppers. Between them there is a definite class boundary. The dark ones may stay in Frilot Cove only a year or two or may make it their permanent home. The latter group has the greater prestige. Although the mulattoes form a closely knit group, they are differentiated into a small upper class, a larger middle class, and a small lower class. Class distinctions are based primarily on economic status, family background, and skin color. Because of the relatively small number of inhabitants and the restrictions as to whom they associate with on the outside, the mulattoes mix freely with one another on all social occasions.

All members of the community are Catholics and are justly proud of the new brick church which was dedicated on Thanksgiving Day in 1948. The Cahtolic church has a great influence on the lives of the people, especially now that the community has its own church and a practically full-time priest.

Since World War II, almost every house has been rebuilt or remodeled extensively, and there are many handsome houses built by local men. The beautiful new brick church was built largely by Frilot Cove labor. In addition, there are a school, two stores, a syrup-mill, and a cotton gin. Evidence of the relatively high level of living is seen in the houses: over 36 per cent of the houses are heated with butane gas heaters, about 70 per cent have mechanical refrigerators, over 43 per cent have butane gas stoves for cooking, 72 per cent have electricity, over 84 per cent contain screened windows, and all have glass windows.

During Sunday Mass, thirteen automobiles, seven trucks, seven buggies, and several saddle horses were lined up on the road beside the church. Most families keep a bicycle for running short errands about the settlement.

There is only one telephone. Although it is in the home of one family, it is used by all. Various people contribute to the telephone bill. The most common type of communication is simply the carrying of "commissions" (messages) in person. After church service on Sunday morning is the popular time for delivering messages and invitations, since everyone is certain to be there. Through the mail (R.F.D.) they receive newspapers and

magazines in addition to their business and personal correspondence. They have radios.

The only organizations are the Knights of Peter Claver, which serves the same purpose for Negro Catholics as does the Knights of Columbus for whites; the Farmer's Butchery, a summer beef club organized so that by the exchange of meat on "killing" days an entire beef can be eaten before the meat can spoil; and an organization for raising and spending money for the school. Women are excluded from the first two.

In the four-room schoolhouse nine grades are taught by four teachers. The educational program is better than it has ever been before, and now the people are eager for a high school. Some of the students attend Holy Ghost High School in Opelousas, which, however, entails expenditure for board and lodging.

The economy of Frilot Cove is primarily agricultural. All are engaged in farming, whatever else they may do. The average farmer in the community has about thirty acres of land, which is used primarily for growing cotton, sweet potatoes, corn, sugar cane, and garden vegetables. From all sources of income, the average native farmer in Frilot Cove earned about $3,000 in 1949. Cotton remains the primary cash crop, but the sweet potato is becoming increasingly important.

The family is a stable institution in Frilot Cove and the greatest single influence upon the lives of the youth of the community. To the writers' knowledge, there has been only one separation among married persons during the present generation. There appear to be three primary reasons for the stability of the families: the importance of the family as an economic unit, the influence of the Catholic church, and the limited possibilities of finding suitable marriage partners all contribute to family solidarity.

Baseball is the most popular sport in Frilot Cove. Those who do not play are usually enthusiastic spectators. Dancing is also popular among all ages. Mulatto friends from the surrounding areas are always invited to the dances. A new recreation is the "moving-picture show" each Sunday night at the schoolhouse. Other common pastimes are visiting, parties, hunting and fishing, and listening to the radio.

The people are filled with group pride. As usual, their minority status engenders a marked degree of co-operation and social cohesion. They say: "The people here always help each other in times of sickness or other trouble" and "Our people have never had any trouble with the law."

The attitudes of the people toward those of darker color fall into distinct categories: those which inhere in their status as Negroes and those which come from the contrast in color.

Since they are classed as Negro, they are a minority group. In many ways they themselves play the same role as their darker fellows. They have been unable to vote since Reconstruction. Their fight for education is the same as that of Negroes all over the South. Even though they remain apart from the rest of society to a large degree, they suffer in many ways the handicaps of Negroes. This has created a bond between them and the darker ones. The concern is with their common group situation and does not extend to Negroes as individuals.

Frilot Cove people manifest ambivalent attitudes: they are jealous and resentful of the superior role of white people. To the extent that they identify themselves with the disadvantaged dark Negro, they resent the white group which discriminates against all Negroes. But, just as there is a deep prejudice against any form of social equality with the "blacks," so is there a deeper desire to be identified with white people.

The natives are cool to all outsiders, regardless of race or color. The presence of unknown persons is a matter of considerable concern. When "blacks" from outside come to visit the dark families of Frilot Cove, they go straight to the tenant dwelling, then straight out of the community. If the stranger is a light Negro boy who is out "girl-hunting," his chances of success in Frilot Cove are practically nil. The white stranger is believed to be "after something";

otherwise he would not be there. The natives are reserved and aloof until they are satisfied as to the white man's intentions. Once a person is accepted, however, they show a deep and sincere capacity for reciprocating friendship.

The youth of Frilot Cove, as revealed by attitude inventories, are characteristically desirous of being good and of doing good unto others. They long for education and are ambitious to leave the farm to improve themselves. As they become older and more familiar with life outside the community, the young people usually acquire a deeper appreciation for Frilot Cove. Although many choose to live elsewhere, many others still believe they can find happiness at home.

The people of Frilot Cove are proud, industrious, respectable, and ambitious. Living in an area where the Negro has made slow progress, they have struggled to maintain a reasonably high level of living and to acquire the better things in life. Through the years they have drifted in the dilemma of race, never being accepted as white yet never submitting to the role of the Negro.

There have been many expressions of opinion as to what course such people should assume in their relations with their fellowmen. Responsible leaders say that the people have found the solution to their problem in segregation. They believe that the only answer is for the mulattoes to live apart from both the white and the Negro larger societies and to associate with people of their "own kind." This is primarily what they and many others have done. It falls short, of course, of the democratic way of life.

There are probably many white people who would be ready and willing to accept such people on the whites' level, but few of them live in this area. Many of the lighter people have become adjusted to associating with dark people, and many have never known anything else.

Those Frilot Cove youths who enrol in Negro colleges (primarily in New Orleans and Scotlandville) make friends with the darker students and accept them as individuals on their own merits.

Inasmuch as the community school is a Negro public school, the dark students, as well as the light ones, attend. The teachers of the school encourage better relations between the two groups, often assigning the dark students important parts on school programs; mutual respect is growing.

The association of the youth with darker young people will have considerable influence on future relationships. As the Negro population as a whole moves out of rigid segregation and assumes a higher place in the society of this country, it is possible that oncoming generations of Frilot Cove will accept the Negroes more readily than did their forefathers.

It is also likely that as Negro people are granted suffrage and have more voice in the government they will assume a higher rank in the minds of white people. Under these circumstances, such people as those of Frilot Cove may well again assume the higher status in the population as a whole enjoyed by their forefathers and may serve to help bridge the gap which has long existed between the whites and the Negroes.

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ANTIAUTHORITARIAN ATTITUDES IN THE EASTERN EUROPEAN *SHTETEL* COMMUNITY

THEODORE BIENENSTOK[1]

ABSTRACT

Development of attitudes toward authority is an aspect of the preparation of individuals for adult roles. The process of socialization in the eastern European *shtetel* community is analyzed to show the factors and values in early family training that appear to be conducive to antiauthoritarian patterns of behavior in adult life. Some factors are: early development of independent thinking, early assumption of responsibility for one's own actions, and the conviction that every claim to authority may be challenged and critically appraised in the light of the norms of the group.

In recent years attitudes of obedience and submission to authority have become the subject of intensive scientific investigations by research workers in various social-science disciplines. Much of this research represents an effort to understand the social and personal conditions which give rise to authoritarian beliefs and practices. The present paper will attempt to throw a different light on these problems by examining a body of data from the small Jewish community in eastern Europe, commonly known as the *shtetel*,[2] in order to determine how nonauthoritarian—or shall one say "antiauthoritarian"—attitudes, traditional and forceful in that culture, are formed and perpetuated. The study demonstrates the cultural mechanisms which sustain the moral "autonomy" of the individual and foster his critical reaction to, and his independence of, authority.

It is hypothesized, in contemporary sociopsychological theory, that attitudes toward authority originate and evolve in the course of child-training in the setting of family life. In this intimate circle the growing individual learns for the first time the meaning of authority. Here he is confronted with persons who, by virtue of their dominant position, claim the right to command and to punish him. To gain security and protection, the child is compelled to comply with the wishes of these persons, to defer to their judgment, and to submit to their decisions. These initial experiences in authority relations leave a lasting imprint upon his character. Modes of conduct developed in the relationship toward parents tend to be transferred later to other authorities and frequently serve as models to which the adult recurs or regresses in similar situations. One must therefore look to the early family life of the Jewish child for clues to emotional and intellectual reaction patterns of the *shtetel* Jew to authority.

In the *shtetel*, children are wanted and and welcomed by both parents. According to the biblical injunction, procreation is a sacred duty and a "blessed deed" (*mitzvah*). The begetting of children enhances social status and marks the final attainment of social adulthood. To be considered a full-fledged member of the community, one must assume the parental role. A barren woman is pitied and commiserated with. She may be divorced by her husband on no further grounds than that she has not fulfilled her destiny by becoming a mother. Life without family and children, the *shtetel* Jew believes, is without sense and purpose, meaningless and wasted, as if spent in solitude.

[1] The author acknowledges the assistance of the Columbia University Research Project in Contemporary Cultures and his indebtedness to members of the group engaged in the study of the eastern European Jewish culture for stimulating and valuable suggestions.

[2] An analysis of the cultural, economic, and social background of authority relations in the *shtetel* may be found in Theodore Bienenstok, "Social Life and Authority in the East European Jewish *shtetel* Community," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, VI (autumn, 1950), 238–54.

It is not surprising, then, that for emotional as well as social reasons Jewish families manifest an intense desire for offspring. Though babies of either sex are greeted with joy, the greatest interest is focused upon the male child. It is the male child, in the patriarchal Jewish framework, who will perpetuate the family line. It is the male who will cultivate the religious traditions and pay homage to his father's memory after his death by reciting the first daily, then yearly, mourning prayer, *Kaddish.*

The *shtetel* child's earliest years are marked by warmth and affectionate care. The infant is petted, kissed, and cuddled by mother, siblings, grandparents—in fact, by any relative within whose reach it happens to be. It is rocked in its cradle, carried in its mother's arms, and fed whenever it cries. Constantly watched over and handled with tender care, the baby occupies the center of the family stage. If at all possible, its wants and needs are instantly satisfied. The child is made to feel a welcome member of the group. Within the confines of the parental home it is offered love, protection, and complete security.

With children of both sexes during infancy and early childhood the mother is the parent most intimately in contact. She is for them the emotionally significant adult. Under her vigilant eye and with her help, the baby learns to walk and talk. The mother's songs, lullabies, words of endearment, and admonition guide and direct the child toward the speedy acquisition of speech. It is, perhaps, not without reason that the *shtetel* Jew refers to the Yiddish language as *mamalushen* (the "mother-tongue").

The mother is responsible not only for the feeding, clothing, and safety of the small child but for the early ritualistic training as well, which is almost entirely under her supervision. She teaches the boy his morning and evening prayers, reminds him to wash his hands before eating and to recite the appropriate blessing over food.

The mother is also the first disciplinarian. On the whole, her discipline is lax, perfunctory, and capricious. It consists of much verbal reprimanding, sporadic scolding, and chiding. Also, in the poorer working families, so prevalent among the destitute Jewish population of eastern Europe, the harassed mother may frequently intersperse her reproof with curses and swearing, to give release to her pent-up feelings of frustration. To keep the child out of mischief, she may may even occasionally resort to spanking. But punishment is hardly ever consistent. It often depends on chance or on the mood of the overworked and hard-pressed mother. Corporal punishment is more an expression of the mother's own distress than a formal disciplinary measure.

Hence even severe chastisement is not likely to be taken too literally, either by mother or by child. When the child breaks into tears, the mother admits defeat and will usually give in. She will try to soothe things by a kiss or a hug. Her sentimental indulgence lessens the effectiveness of seemingly strong disciplinary actions. Similarly disturbing to authoritarian attitudes is the interference of tolerant and softhearted grandparents, members of the extended family, or close friends.

While Jewish families in the *shtetel* vary considerably as to the degree of discipline—some placing more emphasis upon obedience than others—even an excessive strictness or a most severe punishment rarely means or implies the threat of withdrawal of love. Under no circumstances is the child completely cut off from the parent; it is never rejected. Informants like to dwell upon the "unconditional parental love," regarded as a primary feature of Jewish family life.[3] To quote a characteristic statement: "The love of Jewish parents for their children is absolute. A child is everything. This is, by the way, how I feel toward my children."[4]

The sense of security imparted by such

[3] Cf. Erich Fromm, "Individual and Social Origins of Neurosis," *American Sociological Review,* IX (1949), 380–88.

[4] Unless otherwise specified, all quotations are from interviews in the files of the Columbia University Research Project in Contemporary Cultures and, as far as possible, in the informants' own words.

childhood relationships is retained in other authority situations. Restrictions imposed in family, school, or religious life are not conceived of as menacing or overpowering. Punishment inflicted by authority may at times be harsh, even unreasonable, but it never involves, or is thought of as involving, final rejection. Control, the *shtetel* Jew believes, must always be accompanied by kindly solicitude. Consequently, both behavior patterns—control *and* solicitude—are confidently expected from authority. Just as wrongdoing and misconduct can never deprive the child of parental affection, so the adult Jew feels ultimately entitled to indulgence, whatever may be his transgressions against his community, his fellow-Jews, or his God.

With the mother dominating the scene in the first few years of life, the father has practically nothing to do with the child's early training. In very orthodox families, especially those of *Hassidim* (the mystically pious), the father remains entirely in the background, a remote and reserved figure. Normally, the father is away from the household, earning a living. At night he may study the Law at home or in the synagogue. A *Hassidic* father may be absent for days or weeks on a pilgrimage to the *Zaddik* ("saint") of some distant locality. Thus his contact with his children is only sporadic. But his usual aloofness will give way to more tender behavior when the child becomes ill. Then he freely demonstrates his concern and anxiety. Another typical attitude, reserved primarily for the male child and rather clearly combining emotional and didactic intent, is indicated in the following recollection of an informant: "Before going to his business, father would carry my little brother on his lap. The baby was playing with his beard, while father would study the Holy Scriptures."

The father's role in the upbringing of children is intelligible only in the light of the basic cultural assumption of the *shtetel*, that the young will develop appropriate attitudes and acquire belief in the traditional value-system through direct participation, observation, and imitation. There is normally little direct, formal and systematic inculcation of rules of conduct in the *shtetel* family. The Jewish atmosphere at home is regarded as sufficient for the transmission of the cultural heritage from generation to generation. This reliance on informal training is clearly brought out in a well-known *Hassidic* legend. A man came to his *Zaddik* and asked how to bring up his sons to become good Jews. The *Zaddik* answered: "The only way is for you yourself to study and become well versed in the Torah.[5] Do not teach your children through words, teach them by your example." Another typical observation is: "I cannot say my parents brought us up. As a matter of fact, they did not. They just lived with us. But they were living examples of Jewish orthodoxy, and hoped that children would learn by imitation. That is the way the child learns the difference between right and wrong. We learned more from seeing our parents live like good Jews than through formal education."

Like all status positions in the *shtetel*, the paternal role is defined essentially in terms of its duties and responsibilities. The father's authority rests upon the quality of his intellect, upon his moral character and his ability to guide and inspire the child. Authority in the *shtetel* is not a thing which one possesses and enjoys but a burden which is intrusted to the individual with a certain confidence regarding its use. Dr. Epstein correctly notes:

> Parents do not derive their authority because they are stronger or older or possessors of material goods. Nor do they deserve particular reverence because they happen to be the originators of their children's life. On the contrary, the fact of their physical and material advantages over the children imposes on them

[5] "Torah is the most comprehensive name for Divine Revelation. Besides Law, Torah has the wider meaning of all teaching revealed through priests, prophets and sages, and the more restricted meaning of the Pentateuch" (*Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, X, 267–73).

many responsibilities, on account of which alone they are invested with authority.[6]

Being a male and head of the family, the father is accountable before God and the community for the Jewish character of his household. His traditional role is primarily cultic and religious, since socioreligious activities are the crucial functions of the male member of the group. Indeed, masculine dominance, if any, is limited to this sphere of life. Hence a Jew may be gentle or assertive, bold or pliant, physically strong or frail, a good or bad provider for his family, without losing the prerogatives of the male. The ascription of male status depends upon the discharge of specific socioreligious duties, not on biological traits or character attributes.

This explains why a Jewish father can hardly ever compromise his status. Under all circumstances he remains the titular head of the family, and his predominant position will never be questioned. Whether he deserves it or not, deference is due him from all members of the family. His is essentially a traditional and ritualistic authority, which, in the last analysis, may not be measured in terms of superior physical power or economic services to his children.

Foremost among the father's obligations is to lead his children toward the traditional Jewish way of life. A solemn blessing uttered at the birth of a son enjoins the father to raise the child "for the study of the Torah, for marriage, and for good deeds." Thus he must send the boy to the *cheder* (Hebrew school) at the age of four, supervise his progress in the study of the Law by periodic examinations, and impart to him the basic tenets of Jewish morals and ethics. The responsibility of the father for his son ends, in the religious realm, when the boy reaches his thirteenth birthday and becomes *bar-mitzvah* ("son of the Commandment"), undergoing a symbolic confirmation of his earlier acceptance into the Jewish faith by circumcision at the eighth day after birth. Henceforth the boy himself is accountable for his sins of commission and omission. However, to achieve full male status he must marry and beget children. Only then is his father completely free of responsibility for the son.

More limited, but in reality often considerably more troublesome, is the father's duty to his daughter. He must find a suitable husband for her and provide her with a dowry. The securing of a mate is a matter of deep concern to both parents, for continued possession of an unmarried daughter is held in disfavor by the group. Anna Yezierska quotes these typical words of her mother: "Girls have to get married. People point their fingers on me—a daughter, twenty-five years old, and not married yet."[7]

In contrast to the rather distant character of father-daughter relationships, in which the prescribed behavior is one of avoidance, the association of father and son is usually intimate. A Jewish father needs a son. The boy is his spiritual heir, an extension of his own self. Without a son, life is empty, all labor is in vain, all energy is poured into the void; for there is then no one to whom family traditions and one's own unfinished work can be handed down, to be continued in posterity.

The solidarity of the father-son relationship is securely anchored in manifold performances. At an early age the son is taken by his father to the synagogue and introduced to the social and religious life of the community. As the boy grows older and his participation in the culture is intensified, father and son increasingly share religious and cultic activities. They pronounce the same prayers at the same time, they perform the same ritualistic acts, they are even dressed identically. They proceed along parallel lines in the same direction, the older man showing the way and the younger following on the traced-out path. Only the disparity of age and the varying relationship

[6] Rabbi Isidore Epstein, *The Jewish Way of Life* (London: E. Goldston, 1946), p. 198.

[7] Anna Yezierska, *Bread Givers* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1925), pp. 12–13.

to the mother separate them. Once married, the son meets the father on an entirely equal plane.

Normally, economic factors do not interfere with this basic identification. In the *shtetel*, material considerations play a secondary role in the status arrangements of a traditional family unit. Women are often the breadwinners, freeing men for the study of the Law and Jewish lore; the son is often not dependent economically upon his father. But not even a rich father can impose his will by the threat of withholding economic assets from his son, for such an act would inevitably be censured in the community. Socially and culturally, father and son are considered part of each other. The older man cannot abuse his superior power without injury to himself.

In other Western cultures the male achieves the stature of an autonomous personality by overthrowing the father or becoming independent of the father. In *shtetel* life such stature is reached almost automatically when the son himself becomes a father. It is probably for this reason that opposition to, or rebellion against, the father's wishes is seldom contemplated in the traditional community structure. But under conditions of acculturation the son's rebellion becomes a much more common occurrence. In such cases the revolt against the father is accompanied by a total or partial rejection of the cultural and religious values for which he stands. Such dissidence is usually the first step on the road which leads to the son's breaking with the Jewish past.

While abiding by parental standards, in so far as these represent the moral beliefs of the group, is a filial obligation, the mere obligation itself does not entitle the male parent to be excessively harsh in exacting compliance with his wishes. A Jewish father seldom asserts his authority by saying, "Do it because I say so" or "Do it because I command you to do it." He is not likely to issue orders which must be obeyed without question. He is seldom self-assertive or belligerent; nor is disregard of his desires felt to be a slur upon his authority. In many situations he even expects disagreement with his views and opinions. Thus a noted rabbi writes:

> If I had a son who every time he opened his mouth should say "Father, you are right" . . . I should be tempted to despise him. I would have my son stand on his own feet, not mine . . . and see with his own eyes and hear with his own ears, nerving me with occasional dissent rather than unnerving me with ceaseless assent.[8]

Whenever the Jewish father demands unhesitating acquiescence, it is always to be for the sake of preserving the traditional way of life and not to uphold his authority. Only this precondition gives him the right to inspect and assess the child's conduct and to punish him. But physical coercion is not the primary instrument of parental training. Generally, the father gives preference to nonrepressive methods and prefers persuasion to coercion. Evidence of this is found in the following account of an informant:

> Great stress was laid at home on morals, good behavior and respect for other people. All this was done by an imperceptible process, by the way our parents treated us We were never treated like children, but rather like grown-ups. My father would point out things to us, using parables, stories from the Talmud and Hassidic legends. These always stressed decent behavior, that is, not to tell lies, not to gossip, and not to be sceptical. . . . My father's main emphasis was on high moral character. He would say, for instance, "It makes no difference what you do, but if it is worth while doing, do it the best you can."

Thus, as a rule, the father is kind and understanding. Yet he may become a stern disciplinarian when the child violates fundamental principles. One informant reports the following incident from his childhood: "When my father beat me for playing hookey from the *cheder*, he would say, 'You'll become a scholar, even if I have to kill you.' " Corporal punishment will sometimes be administered by parental surrogates. A typical instance is quoted by Morris Cohen in his autobiography:

[8] Rabbi Stephen Wise, *Child versus Parent: Some Chapters on the Irrepressible Conflict in the Home* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1922), p. 64.

My first offense occurred the first week I spent in Neshwies. I took an apple from the pantry without asking permission, probably under the impression that such permission would not be granted. When this was discovered my grandfather took down the Bible and sternly showed me the passage "Thou shalt not steal." That made a profound impression upon me. Months later I found on the floor a thin ivory tube for holding needles and could not resist the temptation to put it into my pocket. . . . I was loath to part with it, when my grandfather missed it. Ultimately he found it in my pocket. I received a whipping and reluctantly recognized that it was due to me.[9]

It will be noted that corporal punishment was used as a last resort and after preliminary warning, not as a primary disciplinary method. Furthermore, the child was being exhorted to obey not the father's or his surrogate's mere personal command but the written word of the Bible.

For himself, the father requires merely deference, *derekh eretz* (literally: "the way of the world"), formal respect for his person. A traditional attitude, it is often extended to the objects used by the father. The child will seldom touch his father's chair, books, or table-cover. Long after the father's death his customary place at the table will be set and left unoccupied.

Throughout his life, particularly in his old age, the father must be honored by his children. Though he may no longer be able to provide for either them or himself, he must not be treated with disdain or indifference or made to feel unwanted in the home, now completely supported by the grown-up son or daughter. No matter what the father's actual contribution to the livelihood may be, whether he lives in his own house or stays with his married children, he is always entitled to courtesy and the deference due to the head of the family.

The ritual of *derekh eretz*, calling, as it does, for a display of respect and, particularly, temperance of speech, applies equally to both parents, father and mother alike enjoying positions of honor. They are equal partners in the rearing of children, sharing similar duties and responsibilities. In their joint dominion over the household, the father may command more authority and higher prestige, but he would never attempt to assert his superiority over his wife.

Since both parents are normally committed to the same ultimate goals in the training of children, clashes between them on the question of authority are conspicuously absent in the *shtetel* family. Power relations between husband and wife are usually a function of their respective personality traits and are not predetermined. This situation is reassuring to the child. Inasmuch as the masculine role is conceived of as being essentially ritualistic and does not presuppose a distinctive set of moral values or behavioral qualities, the child does not owe sole devotion to the parent of the same sex. Consequently, there is seldom the danger of divided allegiance, which might arouse in him the fear of falling out of favor with the parent of the opposite sex. Love for, and identification with, the mother can be readily accepted by the child's ego, for a woman is not considered weak or contemptible in the *shtetel* but simply debilitated in the religious area of life. Hence the values which the mother may represent in a particular family need not be feared or rejected as unworthy, and there is no need for a compensatory display of self-assertion or aggressiveness on the part of the male child. In general, the roles of mother and father are to such an extent complementary, and their respective authorities to such a degree interchangeable, that identification with both parents and the incorporation of their separate traits and distinct virtues into the child's own personality are frequently accomplished without friction. The conception of parents as a dichotomous unity of two individuals complementing each other is so strong in the *shtetel* culture that the Yiddish term denoting the parents is *Tata-Mama*—literally, "father-mother."

As a rule, affectionate identification with parental standards is confidently expected in a traditional family. This simply means

[9] Morris R. Cohen, *A Dreamer's Journey* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1949), p. 36.

living up to parental expectations by becoming a good Jew. "I think that when a child is not a good Jew he hurts the father more than he does by disobeying him," is the typical comment of many informants. But this filial piety does not include an unquestioning acceptance of all paternal decisions. It lies in the very nature of the prescribed *derekh eretz* that this may be accompanied by a tactful disregard of the father's wishes when they differ from the reasonable judgment of the son. The basic assumption of the *shtetel* culture is that authoritative decisions must be reasonable and therefore are open to discussion and argument. Within the limits of due respect, one may argue, remonstrate, and try to persuade father, mother, teacher—in fact, all authorities. Even the ultimate authority of the Torah, though submitted to unhesitatingly, is explained and justified by its reasonableness or, ultimately, on the ground of hidden meanings of the "Written Word" which are beyond the understanding of mortals.

In contrast with early childhood, when the emotional attachment to parents is counted upon to control the child, in later years rational thought and explanation are relied upon to induce him to accept discipline. Accordingly, much effort is expended in the Jewish family on explaining to children why they cannot do certain things and why certain traditional ways should be strictly observed. This is vividly illustrated in the following conversation between a mother and her small son:

> The night before Passover my mother said to me:
>
> "Go, my son, to Berel the tailor. His wife killed today a turkey; ask him for two feathers. Your father will need them. He is now at the rabbi's home, selling him the leaven."
>
> "What leaven do we have? The rolls you have baked will be consumed tomorrow and what remains will be given to the maid (who is not Jewish)."
>
> "All leaven vessels, that are in this room, all the bread and beer you see over there, all this is leaven and must be sold to the rabbi. All Jews are doing it; they all sell their leaven to the rabbi."
>
> "But why does the rabbi need so much leaven? And where will he get the money to buy leaven from the whole town?"
>
> "The rabbi does not buy it for himself; he sells the leaven to a non-Jew. He is not more than an intermediary and every Jew pays him for his efforts."
>
> "Is then the non-Jew so rich as to be able to buy so much leaven? What will he do with it?"
>
> "The non-Jew does not pay any money and does not get anything. The point is that the leaven must become his property through the holidays and after that will again become ours."
>
> "In this case what do we need the rabbi and the non-Jew for?"
>
> "I like to explain it to you but I don't know how to answer your question. I am not learned. Ask your father; he knows everything."[10]

The raising of questions and the demanding of logical justification for rules, norms, and prohibitions are welcomed by adults as an indication of the child's intellectual precocity. They encourage his casual inquiries and show admiration for his penetrating mind. The child's concern about the truth, sufficiency, and reasonableness of his knowledge is not made ridiculous by useless and misleading explications. Both in the family and later in school life a serious effort is made to satisfy and to foster his intellectual exploration. In answer to his dialectical challenge, the elders will advance logical reasons and supply moral or social grounds for traditionally held beliefs and principles. Should, however, the child's question defy—openly or by implication—the basic tenets of the Law, he will be instantly and severely rebuked and left without an answer.

From these experiences the small boy learns that he can attract attention and gain prestige by asking searching and incisive questions but that in these he must not overstep certain well-defined limits:

> When I asked my *rebbe* [teacher] why Laban is called a son of Nahor (Genesis 29:5) when he had previously been referred to as a grandson, my grandfather boasted about it all over town, even in my own hearing.[11]

[10] A. Hurwitz, *Memoirs* (in Yiddish) (New York: Posy-Shoulson Press, 1935).

[11] Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

Challenging of facts thus becomes an allowable method of self-assertion and a gratifying display of one's own superior intellectual endowment. A question ceases to be a simple demand for information: the child may use it as a means to put authority and the opinions of others to the test.

Concomitant with the repute and importance that accrue to the child from limited antiauthoritarian behavior of this type is his growing ability to determine for himself the true meaning of things and events; and this, in turn, helps him to establish a standard of control for knowledge in relative independence from authority. This process seems to be of such significance for the group that the culture provides for it a ceremonial and, admittedly, a partly didactic expression, in requiring the youngest son of the family to ask the four ritual questions during the festival meal of Passover.

However, the asking of questions has also its unpleasant aspect. It is associated in the boy's mind with the traditional Sabbath examination of his progress in the study of the Law. In this instance, questions are asked by grown-ups, that is: father, teacher, or some erudite member of the family, who already knows the answers. Here interrogation is not in the nature of a free exchange of intellectual values but a prerogative of superior status. It is perhaps for this reason that the *shtetel* Jew, as an adult, tends to parry a question by asking another question. Before replying to the inquirer he must assure himself that he is not being examined, ridiculed, or put in a subordinate position. Lourie rightly concludes from this behavior, that the *shtetel* Jew "seems always on guard against other people's alleged claim to superiority, particularly if they happen to be his fellow-Jews."[12]

Attitudes of diffidence toward authority outside the family are nourished by other childhood experiences. Very early, the mother implores a misbehaving child: "Don't do this to me. People will spit in my eyes that I have such a child"; or "People are taking my eyes out, because of your conduct. I would be better for me to be dead and buried." Constant use of the rhetorical appeal, "What will people say?" makes it increasingly clear to the child that parents are neither omnipotent nor omniscient but are themselves afraid of the censure of the community.

Social reality in the *shtetel*, with its lack of privacy and its intensive gregariousness, makes the behavior of every person subject to comment, gossip, and evaluation. An individual's merits are seldom praised, but he will be mercilessly condemned if he deviates from the accepted norms of conduct. Since the sphere of prescribed action is uniformly delineated for every Jew by the written word of the Torah, as interpreted by the rabbis over the centuries, its precepts may always be used as a yardstick to assess and adjudge the way of life followed by any member of the group.

In these circumstances the child quickly comes to understand that authority is really not of the person but of the matter. He realizes that he must repress his unseemly wishes and desires, not for fear of losing parental love and protection, which are given unconditionally, but to spare the parent embarrassment and shame in the eyes of the community. In consequence, the child does not so much submit to the discipline imposed by his father and, later in life, by other authorities as surrender a part of his individuality to the pressure of the group and, ultimately, to the values for which it stands.

The process of socialization in the *shtetel* community stimulates the formation of individualistic behavior patterns in the human carrier of the culture and opens certain sanctioned channels for the intellectual expression of these individualistic tendencies. From the moment of birth, the child is treated as a distinct individual and is accepted as a valuable addition to the group membership. He is consistently trained to mature thinking and acting and is energetically hurried along the path to adulthood. He must become an active partici-

[12] Anton Lourie, "The Jew as a Psychological Type," *American Imago*, VI (June, 1949), 118–55.

pant in social life as soon as possible, in his own right and on his own responsibility.

In guiding and directing the child toward this goal, the parents use relatively little coercion and seldom offer material rewards or praise for good behavior and accomplishment. The individual is guided, not forced or bribed, to social maturity. He is conditioned to dominate his impulses as a part of his own social obligations and independently of human authority. He learns to measure the correctness of his conduct against the impersonal rules of the God-given Law, not against the will or decision of another person. That is to say, authority in the Jewish community is largely internalized, remaining fluid or becoming rigid (as in Hassidism), according to the individual.

Gradually, by imperceptible stages, the child develops the ability to dissociate authority from the person who wields it. He knows from childhood that every claim to authority may be challenged and critically appraised in the light of moral and ethical norms. Authority will therefore be accepted only if its holder incorporates in himself the virtues admired by the group and if his actions reflect in an exemplary way its ideal values. The entire community, the main source of authority, passes final judgment upon each individual's merits. From the group imposing restrictive discipline the individual may expect prestige and esteem, his only rewards. The result of this ambivalent cultural conditioning is the often noted contradiction between the pronounced individualism of the adult *shtetel* Jew and his strict conformity in everyday life to traditional Jewish beliefs and customs.

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RUMOR AND PUBLIC OPINION

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ABSTRACT

Rumor is a collective effort to interpret a problematic and affectively evocative situation. A case study of rumor demonstrates that when a public is keenly interested, rumer tends to be elaborated and diversified, contrary to the expectations and assumptions of Allport and Postman, who generalize on the basis of laboratory experimentation.

I

"Rumor," in general usage, refers to an unverified account or explanation of events, circulating from person to person and pertaining to an object, event, or issue of public concern. Whether, beginning with such a definition, rumors can be treated as a single and separate generic class is problematic. There are significant differences among rumors of various types: retrospective rumors focused upon the implications of past events, in contrast with prospective or predictive rumors anticipating the future; rumors planted and systematically transmitted to serve the ends of special groups, as compared with those which arise, apparently spontaneously, under conditions of social unrest; rumors which represent extreme flights of imaginative fantasy, as opposed to those which carry a rational, newslike quality. Because of this wide variation, attention must be given to the definition and classification of rumors and to their position in the field of collective behavior.[1] In particular, the objective analysis of rumor is contingent upon the systematic treatment of various public opinion processes.

Our present concern is with rumors which appear to arise spontaneously after a public has been formed through common interest in an issue or event.[2] Rumors of this type can be considered the product of collective efforts to interpret a problematic situation, when the public views the situation affectively and when authoritative information is lacking.

"Public opinion," in contrast to more static concepts like "culture," designates temporary and fluctuating attitudes and beliefs resulting from collective efforts to interpret constantly emerging new situations. A group of people develops an interest in an event or issue, reciprocally communicates attitudes and beliefs pertaining to it, and interprets these in terms of the existing cultural context and their specialized frames of reference. This occurs within a social organization and is dependent upon the leadership, group affiliations, and channels of communication within the society.[3]

Because of the constant flow of new events and issues, institutionalized channels have developed in our society for the communication of new attitudes and beliefs. Communications of broad social significance are usually transmitted, at least in part, by mass media. Communications significant to a specific group or organization are common-

[1] For a very thorough analysis of rumor as a collective process see Tamotsu Shibutani, "The Circulation of Rumors as a Form of Collective Behavior" (unpublished doctoral diss., University of Chicago, 1940).

[2] When there is general social unrest, rumors pertaining to a wide variety of issues or rumors defining fictitious issues may emerge. In this case the rumor itself serves as the event which produces a public.

[3] For a discussion of the significant characteristics of public opinion and of the methodological implications see Herbert Blumer, "Public Opinion and Public Opinion Polling," *American Sociological Review*, XIII (1948), 542–54; Alfred McClung Lee, "Public Opinion in Relation to Culture," *Psychiatry*, VIII (1945), 49–61; and Carroll D. Clark, "The Concept of the Public," *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, XIII (1933), 1–18.

ly transmitted in the form of official statements or are passed down, more informally, with the explicit understanding that there is some kind of authoritative sanction. Public opinion is always more than an automatic response to authoritative opinion. Even when no conflicting authoritative opinion is presented, issues are discussed informally and are related to the specialized attitudes and beliefs of particular groups.

Rumor "opinion" differs significantly from other forms of public opinion, in that it is not verified through customary channels. The common-sense assumption that rumor is abnormal or pathological reflects the fact that the persons involved are normally expected or accustomed to rely upon authority or upon a different kind of authority. A social setting conducive to rumor occurs when a public is interested and concerned about a past or anticipated event, when authoritative information and explanation are lacking, and when social controls relevant to the situation are external to most members of the public.[4]

Under these conditions there is greater recourse to informal discussion, in the course of which the interest of individuals tends to be intensified. The public may be extended to include persons who originally were neither interested in, nor informed about, the situation. As persons move from one discussion group to another, speculation tends to be passed as rumor; and rumor comes to be represented as fact, often supported by citing supposedly authoritative sources.

Typically, the rumor public is more emotional than other publics. At times it borders incipiently on crowd behavior. Rumor objects tend to be affectively evocative—fascinating, weird, bizarre. Recurrently, in American society at least, issues which involve arson, murder, and sex deviation serve as rumor topics. To the extent that a public reacts affectively to an issue, rational controls are released, and speculation and imagination are evoked. Goldhamer has suggested that affect is more easily displaced on persons than on nonhuman objects.[5] Rumor seems more likely to occur when public interest focuses on a person, although groups tagged with affect-laden stereotypes seem to serve nearly as well.

In the early stages of the process, members of a rumor public vary greatly in attitudes toward the object, issue, or event, according to the intensity and the kind of interest, concern, or anxiety. This variation is probably greater than in most other publics. The communication of rumor tends to reduce the divergence in attitudes and to produce a common definition of the situation and a common feeling or mood. Rumor is one means by which a collectivity, albeit a temporary and unstable collectivity, emerges from an aggregate.

II

The work of Allport and Postman represents one of the most comprehensive attempts to examine rumor objectively.[6] Taking methodological cues from psychological experiments on memory and recall, these investigators designed a series of carefully controlled experiments, using chains of six or seven selected subjects. A visual stimulus, in the form of a picture of a suggestive social scene, was presented to the first subject, who passed on his impressions of it to the second, who subsequently passed on his impressions of the first subject's report to the third, and so on. Conclusions about the nature of rumor were derived by comparing the "terminal report" with the initial stimulus.

Allport and Postman summarize their conclusions under the concepts *leveling*, *sharpening*, and *assimilation*. "Leveling" refers to the tendency of a rumor, as it travels, to "grow shorter, more concise, more easily

[4] For a more detailed discussion of this aspect of rumor see Leon Festinger *et al.*, "A Study of Rumor: Its Origin and Spread," *Human Relations*, I (1948), 464–86.

[5] Herbert Goldhamer, "Public Opinion and Personality," *American Journal of Sociology*, LV (1950), 346–54.

[6] Gordon W. Allport and Leo Postman, *The Psychology of Rumor* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1947).

grasped and told. In successive versions fewer words are used and fewer details are mentioned."[7] "Sharpening" is defined as "the selective perception, retention, and reporting of a limited number of details from larger context."[8] And "assimilation" "has to do with the powerful attractive force exerted upon rumor by the intellectual and emotional context existing in the listener's mind."[9]

These concepts are not offered as suggestive hypotheses but as concrete and explicit generalizations. For instance, Allport and Postman state: "What is seen or heard *must* [*sic*] be simplified in accordance with the economizing process of memory."[10] "It is often assumed that rumors become embroidered in the talking or that they become enlarged like a rolling snowball. This is a misconception."[11] "Stereotyping is a result of undue simplification in the interest of economizing mental effort."[12]

The Allport-Postman approach is different from that which deals with rumor as a form of public opinion and with public opinion as a complex collective process. They assume that the social context in which rumors occur can be reduced to a single chain of subjects; that, by implication, the wide circulation of rumor is nothing more than the adding-together of such chains; and that rumor can be explained, at least in part, by reference to uniform and pervasive psychological mechanisms like "the economizing process of memory."

Moreover, and perhaps more important, Allport and Postman proceed on the assumption that rumor basically results from distortion in perception and in *unilateral* verbal communication. Thus in the course of their experiments they completely rule out changes in meaning and in motivation which occur in the give and take of informal discussion. They also overlook the possibility that the same individual, transmitting rumor to a succession of persons, may communicate a different version in each instance, not just because of faulty memory, but because of differences in his relationship with them.

It is superficially evident that persons who develop and transmit rumors are not passively reacting to a stimulus, as Allport and Postman imply, but are acting in a situation that is problematic and affectively evocative to them. Public expectations, fears, anxieties, hostilities, and aspirations are often clearly manifest in rumors. Their development and transmission involve interpretation, discussion, speculation, and creative imagination.

Similarly, simple observation discloses that communication is a complicated time-space network, relating persons who are receiving, discussing, interpreting, forgetting, and transmitting attitudes and beliefs in a variety of social situations. The rapidity and complex nature of the process make rumor a difficult subject for objective examination. It is very unlikely that the methodological problems can be solved by applying the orthodox procedures of simplification and control employed in experimental psychology. Methodological contingencies lift the object of investigation out of its context so completely that the findings no longer pertain to rumor but to simple perception, memory, and recall. Because Allport and Postman designed their experimental situation like a classroom, their conclusions—leveling, sharpening, and assimilation—are similar to those of educational psychologists about retention in formal education.

Since Allport and Postman summarize their conclusions rather precisely under the concepts of leveling, sharpening, and assimilation, it becomes possible specifically to test these concepts, to determine whether conclusions derived from their approach are meaningful and explanatory when applied to empirical cases—to "natural" rather than to experimental situations. A set of rumors investigated by the writers is presented here as an empirical test of the Allport-Postman approach and as a general case study of rumor.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 75.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 86.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 100.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 147.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 153.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 103.

III

Rumors were circulated in a small midwestern city during a period of public concern about an unsolved crime—the rape and murder of a fifteen-year-old girl. The rumors, or set of rumors, had many variations, but a common theme: that the householder who had employed the victim as a baby sitter for the evening had returned home without his wife and murdered the girl. Although there was no authoritative verification at the time or subsequently, the rumors circulated throughout the community, resulting in considerable excitement. Two weeks intervened between the occurrence of the crime and the circulation of these rumors. During the first two days, press and radio devoted themselves to reporting all possible details of the murder and to reviewing similar incidents in the preceding few years in the same residential neighborhood.

Later, a number of events served to stimulate interest in the case and speculation about the identity of the murderer. The police appealed, through press and radio, for any type of information that might be relevant. Citizens were requested to report to the police any male who had scratches or cuts on his face or hands. A campaign was conducted to raise a reward for information leading to the apprehension of the murderer. The National Guard was called out to screen the area for possible clues. In a neighborhood near the place of the murder the police chased and exchanged shots with a prowler, but failed to apprehend him. Police cars constantly patrolled all streets in the vicinity.

Various activities expressed the special concern of particular groups and, being noted by others, served to intensify general public interest. Large numbers of residents drove past the scene of the crime. Others devoted themselves to gathering information about the family of the girl and the family which had employed her as a baby sitter. Measures were taken to safeguard homes against intruders. Girls and young women were warned against being alone after dark. The rape-murder case became a common topic of conversation wherever persons gathered and associated.

Almost immediately after the crime, rumors began to circulate about the identity of the murderer. These rumors (or speculations) were widely varied, scattered, and of short duration. It was suggested or speculated that the murderer was a Negro; a high-school student; a cab driver, and a feeble-minded boy.

There were also rumors about the inefficiency and corruptness of the police. The issue of police competence persisted as a general topic of public discussion during and after the period when the baby sitter's employer was rumored to be the murderer. The latter, whom we shall refer to as "Mr. X," was alleged to have left a party which he and his wife were attending, returned to their home, entered the house, raped and murdered the girl, and subsequently returned to the party after changing his clothes. In general, this was the common element in the rumors which circulated for three or four days.

The numerous variations which developed from this central theme indicate interpretation, speculation, and creative imagination on the part of members of the public in the direction of co-ordinating the story with previous conceptions of the murder, of attributing stereotyped sex-criminal characteristics to Mr. X, of constructing a basis for sympathizing with his wife, of supplying authentic verification, and of generally molding a sensational account.

The writers, both residents of the community, observed as carefully as possible the communication of this particular set of rumors and assembled all possible information on the preceding events. About one hundred university students, residing in various parts of the community, were asked to set down in writing any rumor or any information heard during the previous week concerning the rape-murder case.[13] The assortment of

[13] This does not, of course, represent a sampling of rumors that were current at that time; not all

rumors collected by this procedure presents a configuration having a basic theme but a wide variety of detailed interpretations, some of which are contradictory in ideational content.

MR. X'S ABSENCE FROM THE PARTY

"Mr. X left the party for two hours, from 9:30 to 11:30."

Variously reported as ½ hour, 1½ hours, from 11:00 to 12:30, and from 11:00 to 12:00.

"When Mr. X returned to the party he had completely changed clothes, had scratches on his face."

Variously reported as scratches on his back and on his chest.

"It is said that X left the party for about two hours. He said he was going out for more liquor, but instead returned home and completely surprised the young girl."

Also reported that he said he had been filling out an income tax form during his absence.

"When Mr. X came back to the party, he had blood and mud on his shoes."

"Mr. X had left the party, taken a bus, done the killing, and returned to the party."

THE DETECTION AND ARREST OF MR. X

"Mr. X was picked up and questioned all day."

"Mr. X is being held in Jackson City" (30 miles distant).

"Blood hounds followed the trail three times to where Mr. X was playing cards, but because of political reasons no arrests were made on this clue."

"Mr. X has confessed to the crime in Jackson City."

"When questioned by the police, X gave several stories as to where he was during his absence."

"X has been held in the local jail for questioning. He has been there two days. He can't account for the two hours he was absent from the party."

"X has signed a confession. He moved immediately to California and then his conscience got the better of him and he sent the signed confession to the local police."

"The police and the FBI have been trailing him since the day of the funeral."

"I've heard that he is now being held for questioning and that the police are trying to beat it [confession] out of him."

"Mr. X is in the penitentiary."

"The police picked him up last night and rushed him off to Jackson City. They are afraid to keep him here."

"Mr. X is being held in Jackson City for questioning and various tests, i.e., the lie detector."

"Mr. X is not being held; in fact, they believe he may be in California."

"Mr. X is hiding out with his family in Utah."

"X is being held for the murder; he was taken into custody in Minnesota."

"The police questioned him several times and he gave no satisfactory answer as to where he had been" [during his absence from the party].

EVIDENCE CONCERNING THE ATTACK

"He . . . entered the front door; that's why the porch light was on, because Miss B had recognized him and let him enter. He put the sawhorse by the window and broke the window to make it look as if the murderer had entered that way."

"In the house there were no fingerprints except those of the X family."

"The cord that was around Miss B's neck had been in a very dark part of a closet and wouldn't have been found if he [the attacker] hadn't already known where it was. Later I heard the window had been broken from the inside."

"Mud tracks led into the living room showing the front door had been used."

"The latch on the window he was supposed to have entered was broken from the inside."

"He went into the front door of his home, then staged the window scene."

"There were no scratches on the piano in front of the window, so he came in the front door."

"When he and his wife arrived home that evening, he would not let his wife go into the house but insisted on going in himself and then came out and told what he had seen."

"The window was too small for a man to crawl through."

"When his little boy was asked if he had been scared that night, he had said, 'No, my daddy was here.' "

"When the X child was questioned as to what he saw or heard the night of the murder,

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rumors that were circulating in the community are necessarily represented. Virtual duplicates of those given here are not included.

he said, 'I saw a man who looked like daddy.' "

"The police have found the blood-soaked clothes he wore when he killed her."

"The clothes he had been wearing were found in the basement."

"The clothes he had been wearing were found in the car."

"He has blonde hair like that found at the scene of the crime."

"He undressed in the bathroom, so his wife could not see the scratches on his body."

"He entered the front door, and the window was smashed in the struggle. His footprints match those found."

EVIDENCE SUPPLIED BY INDIVIDUALS

"The information about the absence of Mr. X was supplied by a couple who were at the party on the night of the murder."

"Mr. X, who hired the babysitter, was turned in by his wife because he left the party one and one half hours at the time the murder was committed."

"Mr. X was turned in by his wife. She missed him for an hour at the time of the crime. She found some blood-soaked clothes of his in the basement."

"Mrs. X furnished the lead which led to his arrest; she has declared her intention 'never to live with him again' as a result of previous marital disagreements."

"Mrs. X spied on him while he was undressing in the bathroom and observed scratches upon his body. This she reported to the police."

"His wife has left him; she knew the truth all along."

"Either his wife or his father-in-law has reported him."

"His mother turned him in to the police, saying that he was an habitual sexual pervert, and that he had 'finally gone too far.' "

"Some one at the party sent a letter to the police reporting Mr. X's absence."

REACTIONS OF MRS. X

"His wife is covering up for him, but has gone to California to have her second child."

"The day of the funeral he took his wife to her home in Minnesota. From there she called her priest in Canton and asked him to help her. It is doubtful whether Mrs. X or the priest turned in X to the police. As a result of the shock of finding the murdered girl, Mrs. X lost a child."

"Mr. X had his wife leave town until it all blows over.

"Mrs. X has gone to her home in North Dakota."

Also reported as Wisconsin, Texas, and Illinois.

"His wife is having a nervous breakdown."

"Mrs. X is four months pregnant and has lost her child."[14]

"Mrs. X has gone insane."

"Mrs. X is in California, where she had a baby which was born dead, due to the effects of this case on her physiological well-being."

"His wife and child went to her mother's home in Wisconsin. It supposedly caused her to have a miscarriage."

"It was said that Mrs. X was pregnant, and that she lost consciousness when her husband was arrested. She is reported to be in a hospital, having been in a coma for ten days or so."

IMAGES OF MR. X

"I have heard that he was a known sex pervert from youth."

"He is an exceptionally intelligent man, a C.P.A., and talented in music."

"Miss K, aunt of the slain girl, went to school with Mr. X and she said that he was a queer-acting fellow."

"His wife reported that he had become 'woman crazy' during the past six months."

"Mr. X had at one time been in an insane asylum."

"Mr. X and his wife had not been getting along lately."

"Mr. X was said to be a no-good drunkard and carouser about town."

"Mr. X had been shell-shocked during the war, and insanity spells were not uncommon for him."

"The marriage of Mr. and Mrs. X has been 'on the rocks' for a year. She has filed suit now."

"Mr. X has been under suspicion for the Ferguson case five years ago."

"They [Mr. and Mrs. X] are sexually incompatible."

"There is a connection between him and the Ferguson murder a few years ago."

"He often left parties and returned later, so no one thought his behavior strange."

"He was drunk and unable to account for himself for these hours."

[14] The information that Mrs. X was pregnant was correct. However, she was duly delivered several months later.

IV

It is probable that the central theme—that Mr. X had raped and murdered the girl during his absence from a party—developed in the course of speculations about the identity of the attacker. Since this theme appeared first, it is almost certain that the rumor did not emerge in full form. Among the elaborations, versions which tended to co-ordinate the story with previous conceptions of the murder seem to have followed the central theme almost immediately.

It was not, however, a simple case of one wave of elaboration spreading throughout the community, to be followed by another wave. Many persons did not hear the original version until it had been elaborated considerably. There is no reason to believe that each specialized version originated independently and ran its course in isolation from the others.[15] There must have been additions to the rumor as it was passed from person to person, discussed in a variety of social situations, and interpreted by individuals with special interests or preconceptions.

Whether this rumor "snowballed" in the process of transmission depends upon the perspective used in interpretation. "Snowballing" suggests increasing enlargement and implies that details are retained as new ideas are superimposed. Viewing the entire phenomenon as a *Gestalt* of interrelated rumors, probably derived from a common origin and differentiated into a profusion of details, the phenomenon does appear to have grown like a snowball. Certainly, there was an accumulation of details; whether any were completely lost in the course of transmission and elaboration is not known.

If one views each of the particular rumors as having an independent origin and a separate "career," then the case for leveling as opposed to snowballing can be supported very effectively, largely because it is logically impossible for an independent, particularistic rumor to snowball. In our opinion, such a frame of reference limits the possibility of securing information that would shed light on the nature of rumor—if rumor is fundamentally an aspect of public opinion and if communication in a public follows multilateral associational channels.

Apparently, something similar to what Allport and Postman call "assimilation" does occur. The stereotyping of Mr. X as the type of man who would commit such a crime; the portrayal of Mrs. X as reacting as a woman faced with such a situation might be expected to react; the alleged behavior of the police in apprehending and questioning Mr. X—all might be considered expressions of cultural preconceptions assimilated into the central theme, making the entire configuration more impressive and sensational but not necessarily more "coherent, plausible, and well-rounded."[16]

Assimilation is not simply "the powerful attractive force exerted upon rumor by the intellectual and emotional context in the listener's mind."[17] The listener-interpreter-communicator is motivated in a social situation. From the latent residue of attitudes and beliefs in his memory, he consciously or unconsciously selects those which are appropriate in the situation as he defines it.[18] The variety of such situations which occur in a public almost necessitates changes in meaning and emphasis.

The setting in which the rumors used in this report occurred was very different from

[15] It also seems improbable that the central theme could have originated with the perceptual experience of an event, because of the time lapse between the murder and the rumors. Allport and Postman's position is that "most rumors start as a report of an actual episode—that is to say, with someone's perceptual experience of an event . . ." (*op. cit.*, p. 116).

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 101.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 100.

[18] "An opinion, in the instance of a person, is the product of: the specific 'point' eliciting the opinion; the person's cultural background, as it relates to the 'point' and as it is weighted by the current situation, including especially vivid recent incidents bearing upon the 'point'; and his individual experiences, to the extent that they differ from the usual experiences of his group and society" (Lee, *op. cit.*, p. 315).

an artificially constructed experimental situation. The rape and murder were real, not fictitious, events. The public was composed of girls and women concerned about their personal safety; of sympathetic friends, relatives, and neighbors; of young men who had searched for clues with the National Guard; and of a great mass of persons who took a vicarious interest in the whole range of activities.[19] Where a public is composed of people with a variety of interests—and nearly every public is—any event or situation is likely to be diversely defined and interpreted.

There is no evidence in the present study of a general "economizing process of memory." It seems more likely that persons with very little interest forget details, while those who are keenly interested remember details, at least details which they consider crucial.

Allport and Postman generalize that proper names and titles tend to be omitted in the transmission of rumor. "In virtually all our experiments names of places and persons either dropped out or were distorted beyond recognition."[20] There is no evidence of wholesale omissions of proper names and titles in the rumors examined for this report. In fact, nearly all respondents stated specifically the names of the alleged attacker and the victim, and in a great many cases mentioned the place where Mr. and Mrs. X were spending the evening.

There may be a tendency to omit names and titles in certain types of rumors in which the basic content is not affected; in others, the effectiveness of the rumor seems to depend on their retention. If persons are intensely interested and emotionally aroused, they recall certain items with clarity and accuracy; they may even take items from other experiences and, with varying degrees of accuracy, apply them to the one at hand. There was, for instance, a tendency among some persons to incorporate into the rumor information taken from the original press and radio version of the murder.

A portion of the distortion may be explained by the fact that a person, in the role of transmitter, is likely to have more personal interest in a rumor than he had in the role of receiver. Inside information bearing on an issue of public concern places a person temporarily in a position of prestige; and the prestige-position of the transmitter is more secure if the story can be made to sound authentic. The transmitter is sufficiently motivated to forget details that make the story dubious, to emphasize details that make it plausible, and to introduce new corroborating details.

The major limitation in the experimental study of rumor and of other forms of collective behavior lies in the failure to produce, or even to simulate, affectively toned motivational states comparable to those which occur in real life. This is true both of the small discussion group and of the public.[21]

The study of rumor in uncontrolled situations manifestly presents serious methodological difficulties. Rumor appears as an ephemeral, elusive phenomenon which cannot be fruitfully approached in historical perspective. To wait until interest has waned is to lose a large part of the basic information and to run the risk of ex post facto rationalization.

The essential characteristics of rumor are such as to require, at this stage at least, careful on-the-spot observation, preferably by a team of investigators. Although the ideational content of rumor is the easiest information to obtain and is superficially the most objective, it is not necessarily the most sociologically relevant. In the systematic investigation of rumor, attention should be given to such problems as the composition

[19] The police department's call to citizens to report any male with scratches or cuts on his face or hands made all men and older boys potential suspects and tended to intensify anxiety, especially after reports were circulated that innocent persons had been arrested and subjected to questioning.

[20] Allport and Postman, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

[21] Allport and Postman are ambiguous on this issue. They say that "indoor" rumors "may not be as lively or as emotionally toned, but they are cut from the same psychological cloth" (*ibid.*, p. 65).

of the public, the establishment of cultural beliefs and attitudes through rumor communication,[22] role behavior in groups where rumor is duscussed, and personality characteristics of persons who specialize in rumor transmission.

It is particularly important that the emergence and communication of rumor be treated as a process. Consideration should be given to the question of whether there is a typical rumor cycle involving, perhaps, the formation of a public through common interest in an issue or event; relatively unfocused discussion gradually defining objects of interest; growing concern and increased discussion; the emergence of rumor; the growth of a rumor public and the proliferation of rumor; the dissolution of the rumor public; and the reorganization of public attitudes and beliefs.

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[22] Of more than academic importance is the problem as to whether beliefs and attitudes established during a period of keen interest are effectively displaced by refutation, which is ordinarily accompanied by declining interest.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION IN TWO PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES

EUGENE E. DOLL

ABSTRACT

Historic societies can be correctly understood only when the various aspects of society are regarded as mutually interacting, any one of them rising to a position of dominance at a given time and place. The two eighteenth-century Pennsylvania German communities herewith analyzed illustrate the organization of the totality of social and economic life in terms of religious values. Frontier economic conditions were essentially the same in both settlements. The similarities and differences in the religious credos are reflected in parallel similarities and divergences in the organization of social and economic life.

In 1867 Karl Marx stated that the mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political, and spiritual processes of life. In so doing, he was but giving voice to a materialistic interpretation of social and cultural phenomena which found increasing favor throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The notion of the central, or even the *determining*, position of economic organization in the total sociocultural complex appeared most strongly among the evolutionary anthropologists and among historians of the economic school. At the same time it led to an increasing tendency among social scientists generally to interpret the "higher" aspects of society and culture in economic terms.

Undoubtedly the economic determinists have discovered and suggested much of value in the study of human societies. On the other hand, it is important to recognize that their point of view is not universally applicable and to realize that a number of historic societies cannot be understood when approached in these terms. The two communities herewith presented, for example, can be properly understood only when one grasps the central and dominant position of prime values within the respective sociocultural systems. For in these societies it is the religious values which have permeated the whole system and determined the other aspects of cultural, social, and economic organization. Once this is understood, the two societies unfold as masterpieces of consistent organization and internal harmony, in which every other aspect of cultural, social, and economic life is a meaningful and appropriate expression of the prime values. To those who fail to grasp this essential point, however, these societies seem but exotic oddments of random borrowing and arbitrary invention.

The two communities which so strikingly illustrate the dominance of prime values are the eighteenth-century Pennsylvania German settlements at Ephrata and Bethlehem. Both were founded by religious zealots actively interested in furthering the Kingdom of Heaven.

Ephrata derived historically from the Anabaptist movement. It was founded by Johann Conrad Beissel, a German immigrant familiar with various of the unorthodox religious movements then current in Germany. In Pennsylvania, Beissel soon established himself as a leader among the Dunkers but shortly broke with others of this sect over the observance of the Seventh Day and the superiority of celibacy to the married state. Retiring into the wilderness as a hermit, Beissel was presently joined by numbers of his former associates and other enthusiasts, who, under his guidance, established the community of Seventh-Day German Baptists at Ephrata.

Bethlehem stemmed ultimately from the labors of John Hus. The Unitas Fratrum, a church claiming apostolic succession, appeared under his leadership in Bohemia a full century before the churches of the Refor-

mation. In the early eighteenth century, under renewed persecution, most of the remnant of the Unitas sought refuge on the Saxon estate of Ludwig Nikolaus, Count von Zinzendorf. Zinzendorf soon found the tenets of the Unitas peculiarly congenial to his own, and under his leadership the flagging denomination experienced a notable renewal of strength and vigor. Stressing the importance of Christian unity, it received numerous accessions from among the Lutherans and the Reformed and took a special interest in missionary work of all sorts. Meanwhile Zinzendorf, himself fearing persecution, undertook to establish a haven in the British colonies where the Brethren would be safe from persecution and free to organize their own communities in their own way.

RELIGIOUS BASES

In Germany the religious revolt had produced four major lines of development—the Lutheran and Reformed orthodoxies, Anabaptism, Pietism, and a renewed Mysticism. Both Ephrata and Bethlehem show mixtures of these four basic strains in varying degrees. Beissel was primarily a mystic within the Anabaptist fold, strongly influenced by Pietism. Zinzendorf was a Pietist of the Lutheran tradition, showing both Mystical and Anabaptist tendencies. Each had as his chief aim the deepening of the personal religious experience. Each used as a means the organization of everyday life about a religious credo. Each, beginning with Spener's concept of *ecclesioliae in ecclesia*, ended as the leader of a community of spiritually "awakened" individuals. Each, versed in mystical concepts and symbols, sought through symbolism closer union with God and believed himself intimately and directly inspired by the Divine.

Yet, despite certain superficial resemblances, the two communities differed widely. Ephrata, following the ascetic ideal, sought primarily the union of the individual soul with God. To attain such union, Beissel advocated ascetic practices which, by mortifying the flesh and purifying the soul, would open the way for direct communion with the Divine. Only the man who had freed himself from the world and the flesh attained the heavenly wisdom and mystical union. Such a one stood directly under God's government and inspiration. In this atmosphere of austere simplicity the primitive church served as a useful model. The historical connection with the Dunkers pointed to the Bible as a congenial sourcebook of ideas and practices. It was natural that theosophical doctrine and direct divine inspiration should also figure prominently.

The enthusiasts at Bethlehem also sought union with the Divine—but with them the emphasis fell upon God as manifest in Christ. As might be expected in an intellectual tradition stemming from Hus and Luther, the ideal was Christocentric, the goal the multiplication and development of Christlike personalities. From Christ as Savior came an emphasis upon the salvation of corrupt nature, from Christ as Master a vital concern with works as the fruit of faith. Worship centered about Christ as the symbol of Christian life. As it was Christ who brought to man the means to a new life, the way to salvation lay in wholehearted acceptance, earnest emulation, and vigorous service rather than in austere asceticism. The new life was not one of denial but of realization—an active life for Christ.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

In their withdrawal from the world the enthusiasts at Ephrata constituted a community unto themselves. Vigorously conscious of their status as citizens of God's kingdom, they recognized no higher authority on earth. Owing allegiance to a higher king, they resented any attempt of the civil authority to exert its power over them. In their disputes over taxation they finally yielded in a practical sense, on the ground that the Egyptian hermits before them had paid taxes, but in principle they maintained the position that the final decision was from their own hearts, not from civil law. Whenever they permitted interference from civil authority, it was because of their belief in nonresistance rather than from their acqui-

escence in the power of civil authority. In the religious sphere their insistence upon their own point of view was so final that they seceded from the Dunker denomination and were a major stumbling block in Zinzendorf's efforts to unite the multifarious Christian denominations of Pennsylvania into one higher Congregation of God in the Spirit.

Although the superiority of celibacy was one of Beissel's chief tenets, he soon realized that such a status was not for all. Hence he avoided the pitfall of many similar groups by organizing his followers into three autonomous orders—the Brotherhood, the Sisterhood, and the congregation of married couples, or Householders.[1] The wisdom of such provision is shown by the frequency with which individual members of the community shifted their membership from one group to another, while remaining within the settlement. Beissel himself stood as superintendent of all three groups. The Brotherhood and the Sisterhood owed obedience to a prior and prioress, respectively. These two leaders, each assisted by lesser officials, wielded strong authority within their own groups so long as they remained in power. Their discipline was stringent, at times even tyrannical; at one time an alliance between prior and prioress succeeded in temporarily deposing even Beissel himself. Yet the persistence of congregational tradition is evident from the holding of numerous councils on disputed issues and in the ultimate deposition of several priors and prioresses by members of the two solitary orders. Despite the strong prestige and authority attaching to the hierarchical offices, it seems safe to say that, in the main, power was a function of personality rather than office. The congregation of Householders, although at times under the supervision of various of the Brethren, was never placed under any hierarchical rule.

In contrast to the secluded community at Ephrata, the settlement at Bethlehem was one focus of activity within a great sociореligious framework. All Moravian churches and communities were members of the Unitas, a "Unity of the Brethren," with a centralized administration culminating on Count Zinzendorf's estate in Germany. The complexion of this organization was somewhat complicated by two peculiar aspects of Moravianism—the interest in church unity and the diaspora, a missionary movement which sought to renew the spirit of churches of all denominations. As a result of these two movements a number of Lutheran and Reformed congregations were added to the original Hussite group, while the English congregations of the Unitas were affiliated, by act of Parliament, with the Anglican church. At the same time, Zinzendorf's adherents included clergymen who officially retained their Lutheran or Reformed affiliations. Some of these men, working under his auspices, established on the American frontier congregations whose relationship to the strictly Moravian churches was never clearly defined. Finally, there were the missions to heathen peoples, scattered from Greenland to South Africa. For years it was these missionary activities which furnished the driving force of Moravianism.

Of the strictly Moravian churches there were also several types. There were the congregations of Lancaster and Philadelphia—religious bodies without the social organization typical of the exclusive Moravian communities. At the other extreme were Herrnhut and Herrnhaag, in Germany, and Bethlehem, in America—rigidly controlled economies intimately concerned with the extension of the missionary field. These communities, organized upon a communal basis, were centers of influence and administration. Administratively dependent upon Bethlehem and economically complementary to it were the "patriarchal," or agricultural, economies

[1] One of the historical problems at Ephrata is determining the extent to which the settlement was the spontaneous outgrowth of its central principle and the extent to which it was a reproduction of Roman Catholic convents. While every aspect of the settlement can be explained in terms of its mystical goal, it is interesting to note the following parallels with Roman convents; celibacy, the novitiate, the third order, the singing school, the writing school, the academic school, the hierarchy, the garb, poverty, and the almonry.

on the near-by Barony of Nazareth. More loosely affiliated was Lititz, an exclusive Moravian village which avoided the more rigid aspects of the social and economic organization of the economies. All these enterprises were subject to supervision from Germany during Zinzendorf's lifetime.

Moravian social organization was distinctly experimental in character; hence a precise definition of terms and the presentation of an abstract social structure is extremely difficult. Every social idea was formulated with certain religious ends in view; it was then tested in operation and modified from time to time, so as to make it serve its purpose more successfully. As viewed through the decades the whole structure seems to have been in a state of constant flux, in which social functions and responsibilities were continually shifting to meet the demands of a changing situation. In the main, the Moravian system of government was presbyterian in organization, with control vested in a hierarchy of governing boards; but during the eighteenth century the superior energy and talents of such men as Zinzendorf, Spangenberg, and Cammerhof gave rise to several leaders who personally dominated the organization.

The local system of government was made up of elders, colleges, and specialized functionaries.

The general organization and offices embodied a few rudimental ideas which, with all the changes of form and name in subsequent years, lay at the roots of the elaborate system that was eventually established. The patriarchal idea of the Eldership was attached to the control of things. The name Elder was used for both the executive and the pastoral head. There was an Elder of the whole congregation and one for each of its special divisions. Women were chosen as general and special Eldresses of the female membership. But, at the same time, the principle of conferential government and collegiate administration, with both ordained and unordained men and also women participating was established. The various deliberative and administrative bodies were called conferences.

The word Helper was associated with Elder in connection with such bodies, and the term Helper's Conference came into vogue. Along with these terms the German words Vorsteher and Diener were brought into use from the beginning. They corresponded, in the application made of them, to the English terms Warden and Steward. The boards in charge of this class of duties were composed of men and women jointly.[2]

There were also watchers or inspectors who had the right to "admonish every board, functionary and private person."[3] Among the specialized functionaries were such officials as the *Gemeinrichter*, the sacristan, economic superintendents, and choral officials. Bishops have been characteristic of the church from its inception, but this office is a recognition of spiritual pre-eminence rather than a source of ecclesiastical power.

By far the most interesting aspect of Moravian social organization is the choir. During the period of the Economy it was the focus of religious, economic, educational, and social activity—for a time even overshadowing the family itself as the primary unit of the social structure. In developing it, the Moravians, probably unconsciously, utilized the ancient and fundamental principle of age grading—that of the common interests of those of like age and sex. Although the family continued as an institution and marriage was venerated and recommended, the new social institution for a time usurped most of the functions of the old.

According to the ideal which seems most frequently to have dominated Zinzendorf's thinking, eleven separate groupings were called for, including eight for children and young people, plus three for adults. The eight included the following (1) the Choir of Infants in Arms, (2) Choir of Little Children, (3) Choir of Boys, (4) Choir of Girls, (5) Choir of Older Boys, (6) Choir of Older Girls, (7) Choir of Young Men, (8) Choir of Young Women. To these were added for adults, (1) Choir of Married People, (2) Widow's Choir, (3) Widower's Choir.[4]

[2] Joseph M. Levering, *A History of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania*. . . (Bethlehem: Times Publishing Co., 1903), p. 138.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 139.

[4] Henry H. Meyer, *Child Nature and Nurture According to Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1928), pp. 112–13.

The motives behind this division were not only ascetic, that "much danger is avoided," but also "that one can work more easily with such; the workers are of their own kind, and, because they have similar concerns, will speak more intimately with one another." The likeness of sex, age, and circumstances also brings about a mutuality of the peculiar religious and moral tasks. . . .[5]

Organized for religious and economic purposes, the choirs soon became the fundamental social groups of the community. It was with his choir that the individual identified himself most intimately: his activities were ordered in accordance with his choral affiliation, and his membership in this group was expressed and acknowledged by an elaborate system of symbols, ceremonies, and social controls.

THE RELIGIOUS CULTS

Religious worship at Ephrata had two salient purposes—spiritual communion and praise. The members of the solitary orders were expected to observe private hours of meditation during which the soul examined itself and communed with God. Written statements of these periods were handed to the officials and read before the congregation. So penetrating were some of these *lectiones* that Beissel ordered an anthology of them published. These individual observances were supplemented by watch services of song and prayer held at stated intervals during the day. The midnight meeting was announced to each of the solitary orders by tolling a bell, which was also the signal for familial devotions in the surrounding households. Love feasts and *pedelavia* were held by the orders separately, by mixed groups assembled by invitation, or by the community as a whole. At mixed meetings the sexes were segregated in carrying out the ceremonies.

The service of common worship was held on the seventh day. A rather full contemporary account of one of these bears out the observations of other travelers as to their informality. The chapel was provided with a sanctuary and with special seating arrangements for the officials and the single sisters—the latter sitting behind a screen, as in biblical Jewish temples. Yet the service seems to have had no set ritual. Its most striking aspect was the singing of hymns by the members of the choir—a musical feat which drew distinguished guests and favorable comment from Philadelphia itself. The sermons were extemporaneous, resembling those of a Friends' meeting both in spontaneity and in the assurance of divine inspiration.

At Bethlehem also religious devotions began with the individual, but throughout the chain of religious observances the influence of the choir is notable. In place of the written *lectiones* of Ephrata we find the *Sprechen*, private conferences in which the individual and his choral leader discussed the state of his soul. The daily worship centered about meetings of the choir; members of each choir sat together at common services and exercised common functions at festivals. This physical association was strengthened by the common religious ideology and symbolism of the group. The worship—and therefore the daily life of each choir—centered about that aspect of Christ which was peculiarly appropriate to it. The worship services of the choir were designed to depict that aspect of Christ as a model and to instil in its members a realization of his presence. It was this realization of Christ in the choir that served as the leitmotiv of the life of the individual and guided him in all his actions. From time to time a sermon appropriate to the choir would be given by one of the religious leaders.

The common services centered about a simple realization of the presence of Christ. Theological sermonizing was expressly avoided, and the hymn became the central feature in worship. Many services consisted chiefly of "hymn-sermons" in which "selected stanzas" were "interspersed with prayer, testimony, or address."[6] Such services cen-

[5] O. Uttendörfer, *Das Erziehungswesen Zinzendorfs und der Brüdergemeine in seinen Anfängen* ("Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica," Vol. LI [Berlin: Weidmann, 1912]), pp. 144–45.

[6] Jacob J. Sessler, *Communal Pietism among Early American Moravians* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1933).

tered about a single religious theme, which was then elaborated by means of appropriate hymn stanzas, quotations from Bible and liturgy, and brief expository remarks. The Moravian passion for music and the lack of interest in the sermon led to the construction of numerous liturgical services. These consisted largely of litanies concerned with various christological themes or constructed for the several choral groups. The Lutheran liturgy was used as a point of departure for the Great Church Litany, which was chanted by the entire congregation every Sunday, but it was soon modified almost beyond recognition by Moravian experimentation—for the Moravian leaders eliminated all parts which they deemed useless or troublesome and added such biblical quotations and fragments from their hymns as were calculated to make the service more meaningful. In addition to daily and weekly services, the Moravians observed a large number of festivals—some observed by the choirs separately, some by the congregation as a whole, and some by a given choir in conjunction with the general congregation. The love feast, foot-washing, and the kiss of peace are prominent.

EDUCATION

The educational ventures at Ephrata were of two major types. The calligraphic school and the singing school were intended primarily for members of the solitary orders; conceived as means of discipline, they lifted the students to a higher spiritual plane and were the means of producing artistic masterpieces which would redound to the glory of God. The schools for children were educational in a more literal sense; they consisted of a daily school intended for the secular instruction of children of the congregation, a Sabbath school conducted for poor children of the vicinity, and a secondary boarding school which is said to have attracted students from Philadelphia and Baltimore. The calligraphic and singing schools were conducted with a strong mystical bent. Beissel, one of the first American composers, worked out, on a spiritual basis, his own systems of harmony and vocal training. He prescribed a precise diet for each type of voice and kept his singers under rigorous spiritual discipline. Accounts by visitors vouch for the unusual and peculiarly etherial quality of the music of the Cloisters. In the calligraphic school each brother or sister was instructed to work under divine inspiration, so that the finished piece of *Fraktur* might be an expression of the spirit of God working through his personality. The children's schools were pioneer ventures in the locality. The Ephrata *Schulbüchlein*, a second edition of which was issued in 1786, was one of the early American textbooks; manuscript records of the academy have established higher mathematics as one of the subjects of instruction there. The records of the Sabbath school are so fragmentary that its character has never been definitely established. It is known only that it was intended for both sacred and secular instruction of the underprivileged and that it was held weekly.

The educational system of the Moravians was one of their most remarkable achievements. Their tradition was a distinctly European one, stemming from two main sources—the educational writings of the Moravian bishop, Comenius, and the practical Pietistic experiment at Halle-an-der-Saale. Aoth Zinzendorf and Spangenberg were educators far in advance of their time, forerunners of Herbart and Froebel. A few quotations from Zinzendorf's writings will illustrate his comprehension of modern educational principles:

> Little children do not know the meaning of proof.[7]

> The classification of children by years has been made because we have observed that during each succeeding year of a person's life something transpires within that person.[8]

> The Boys' Choir and the Girls' Choir are two entirely different groups and require entirely different pedagogical methods. They have distinct modes of thought growing out of differences of

[7] Quoted in Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

[8] *Herrnhut Diarium*, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 158.

soul. . . . As soon as the characteristics of young manhood and young womanhood appear these necessitate a further change in pedagogical method of teaching. . . .[9]

Likewise, Spangenberg, in his *Etwas von der Pflege des Leibes für Kinder*, shows an appreciation of child mentality unusual for his age and considerable skill in painlessly presenting important precepts in a literary form suitable for children.

From the beginning the education of children was one of the major concerns of the Moravians in Pennsylvania—both because this was one of the most telling ways of winning souls to Christ and because the frontier environment had made for a serious dearth of educational facilities. This educational program was conducted with a strong religious bent; among the Moravians themselves it was viewed as a means of "preparing . . . the brethren . . . as teachers for further service of the Lord in the Church, and, especially, among the heathen."[10] The exigencies of the frontier and the strong opposition of many inhabitants of other denominations made for some instability with regard to individual Moravian educational institution; hence the locations and formal organization of the several schools were subject to frequent change, although the ideal was always maintained. Eventually the educational projects of the Brethren were localized at Bethlehem and Nazareth, whither they drew scholars not only from Pennsylvania but also from the mission field.

Little is known as to the specific curriculums of these schools in the early days other than that they were pioneer institutions in the serious education of women and in industrial education. One author has suggested that the curriculum at Bethlehem during the Colonial period was unequaled outside New England. Another notes that in Germany the single brethren received instruction in medicine, writing, geography, and linguistics as preparation for their missionary work. Until 1807 higher education was offered only in the German centers of the Unitas.

[9] Herrnhut Archive Records, R4C1, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 169.

[10] William N. Schwarze, *History of the Moravian College and Theological Seminary* (Bethlehem: Times Publishing Co., 1910).

ECONOMIC LIFE

The divergent ideologies of Ephrata and Bethlehem led also to differing economic developments. Both communities were pioneers in economic enterprise in the wilderness; both, by their industrial enterprises, helped to open up the surrounding countryside for settlement. Both, for religious reasons, developed extensive communal features far beyond those ordinarily dictated by the exigencies of colonizing the wilderness. But whereas the workers of Bethlehem gloried in their full coffers dedicated to the service of the Lord, the more contemplative mystics of Ephrata came to view worldly enterprise as distraction from their primary occupation of fellowship with the Divine.

Economic enterprise at Ephrata was concerned solely with supplying the material necessities of life. Even these needs were held to an austere level, so that the striving after creature comforts might not distract the mind from loftier pursuits, the softening effects of luxuries corrode the will of the spirit, or the superfluity of wealth reawaken worldly acquisitiveness. Production was intended, however, not only to cover the needs of the members of the community but also to support their charitable enterprises—hospitality to the stranger, asylum to the needy, education to the ignorant, and ministration to the sick and unfortunate. All these enterprises fell within the scope of the Christian duties of worthy ascetics. Another external enterprise was the printing press of the Brotherhood, the earliest in that section of the country and one of the most active in the province. This also was religious in orientation.

As befitted an inferior cultural interest, economic life was never very highly organized at Ephrata—except during the brief ascendancy of Prior Onesimus, who for a time turned the quiet retreat into a small industrial center. In the early days contributions to the common coffer were on a volun-

tary basis: the various members made gifts of land, labor, money, produce—sometimes even their entire fortunes—as they felt impelled. Beissel himself managed these funds, keeping the settlement in a holy poverty by charitable works. As the Solitary spent a large part of their time in holy exercises and spiritual ministrations, the Householders assumed the major share of their upkeep. The heavy farming was in the hands of the Brotherhood and the Household Fathers.

With the stricter organization of the two celibate orders the planning and supervision of economic life also became more rigorous. As these grew in numbers, many feared lest the new members fall into habits of idleness; moreover, the contributions of the Householders no longer sufficed for the upkeep of the convents. At the same time it was deemed desirable to effect an economic separation between the Brotherhood and the Sisterhood, so that for a time the Sisters even chopped their own firewood and the Brethren washed their own clothes. Both the prior and the prioress were desirous of establishing the conventual orders upon a sound economic basis. The Brethren laid out extensive orchards. Within the convent they labored at various handicrafts, such as shoemaking, tailoring, weaving cloth and stockings, "partly for the use of the Cloisters and partly for sale, so as to enable them to purchase other necessaries."[11] Others discharged the domestic chores. The Sisters busied themselves with spinning, sewing, quilting, embroidering, canning, the preparation of household remedies, and the manufacture of sulphur matchsticks, wax tapers, paper lanterns, and artificial flowers. In accordance with their mission of charity they visited the surrounding countryside nursing the sick and comforting the afflicted.

The industrial enterprises at Ephrata included a gristmill, a sawmill, a paper-mill, a barkmill, a flaxseed-oil mill, and a fulling-mill. The Brethren also set up a tannery, wove linen and woolen cloth, and owned and operated the printing press. At one time these enterprises were of such importance that the community had commercial agents in Philadelphia and bid fair to become one of the industrial centers of the province. Beissel, however, ordered the community to turn from these worldly preoccupations and again seek God in the quiet of the wilderness. It is possible that considerations of personal prestige, as well as religious motives, influenced him in taking this step, inasmuch as the industrial enterprises were under the management of his ambitious rival, Prior Onesimus. At Beissel's bidding the mills ceased to operate on a commercial scale, although they continued to supply the needs of the settlement and a few local patrons.

The settlement at Bethlehem exalted manual labor and gloried in its prosperity—for work was worhip, the service of the Lord. The Moravians had responsibilities far beyond their own needs, for their scattered congregations supported an extensive mission work in all quarters of the globe; moreover, the Unity of the Brethren constituted an international economic unit in itself, in which the more prosperous congregations had to contribute to the needs of the less fortunate and make good the debts of the whole.

Bethlehem was founded as a headquarters for missionary endeavor and as the administrative center of the American province of the Unitas. In order to carry forward these concerns, a General Economy was instituted in 1744. The members of the Economy dedicated all their labor to the Lord—or, more immediately, to the Unitas. In return the Unitas undertook to feed, house, and clothe them and to educate their children. There was, strictly speaking, no community of goods. Those entering the General Economy placed their money in the general funds, whence they could withdraw it, without interest, at any time they chose to leave. Many made outright gifts and donations. The Unitas, its initial capital supplied by donations from Zinzendorf and others, owned the lands, the buildings, and the industries

[11] Israel Acrelius, *A History of New Sweden; or the Settlements on the Delaware River*, trans. Wm. M. Reynolds ("Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania," Vol. XI [Philadelphia, 1874]).

outright. It transported the immigrants from Europe at its own expense; since many of these were victims of persecution, few owned much in the way of chattels.

The Unitas received the labor of all members of the General Economy—who conceived it as a token of Grace that they might thus "do all for His sake."[12] The General Economy supervised the economic affairs of Bethlehem and the neighboring agricultural settlements at Nazareth; in addition, it supported extensive missionary enterprises and served as a headquarters for missionary endeavor. The organization of the Economy followed the same pattern as the organization of social life—a hierarchy of conferences and supervisors. Production was divided into four departments—farming, trades, business, and construction. At the head of each of these stood a supervisor. These four men and the supervisor of the Economy constituted a board which superintended the whole. The supervisors of the departments presided over conferences of foremen, who in turn oversaw the work of smaller divisions. The work of the women was similarly organized. Thus the General Economy was made up of a number of individual economies, all co-ordinated by the hierarchy of conferences and supervisors, a steward, and an accountant. These functions of supervision were superimposed upon a basically choral system of production and distribution. It was primarily to the choir that the individual donated his services; from it he received the necessities of life. Similarly, the distribution of work and the organization of the individual economies proceeded along choral lines.

This efficient form of organization and the predominance of artisans among the early immigrants fostered the rapid development of Bethlehem as a center of trade and commerce. A report dated ten years after the founding of the settlement lists forty trades, including tanning, textile industries, wagonmaking, blacksmithing, tinsmithing, turning, leather-working, shoemaking, tailoring, lacemaking, masonry, carpentry, potterymaking, clockmaking, baking, brewing, bookbinding, and cabinet-making. By 1759 two hatters, three storekeepers, three innkeepers, two nurses, two bookkeepers, six secretaries, a tobacco manufacturer, and twenty-two teachers were upon the scene. In addition to these trades and professions, the community had already seen the erection of a gristmill in 1743, a sawmill in 1744, a linseed-oil mill in 1745, and was soon to possess a barkmill and a fulling-mill. Meanwhile, the training of missionaries, the founding of new settlements, and the assistance of any part of the Unitas which was in financial distress—all made heavy demands upon Bethlehem, the financial hub of the enterprises in the New World.

[12] The "Brotherly Agreement," as given in Sessler, *op. cit.*, trans. W. N. Schwarze, p. 230.

CONCLUSION

Such were the salient characteristics of two Pennsylvania German communal religious experiments. Each founded upon a religious idea a unique social order and an economic order peculiar to itself. Each brought the Peace of God closer to the human heart, and each contributed all out of proportion to its size to the advancement and development of Colonial Pennsylvania.

In neither, it must be granted, did the social forms described above outlive the generation of the founders. At Bethlehem the Economy was abrogated at the end of seventeen years; at Ephrata most of the distinctive forms of communal life seem to have passed away by the 1780's, although both the solitary orders were still in existence at that date.

Do we come, then, finally, to the triumph of the economic determinist? Was it impossible for such communities to maintain themselves in the face of surrounding economic developments? The economic elements are not necessarily determining. There is ample evidence that the competing interest of family life was a far more disruptive influence in both communities; nor can one ignore the cooling of religious zeal with the dying-out of the generation of converts. In

any event, Ephrata and Bethlehem stand as undeniable examples of the actual organization of the totality of social and economic life about religious values. In each the social system constructed endured about a generation. Neither can be properly understood as a social or a historical phenomenon unless the centrality of religious values be grasped. Each suggests—at the very least—that we do well to conceive of the various aspects of society as mutually interacting, realizing that from time to time any one of them may rise to a position of temporary dominance.

PHILADELPHIA

RELIGIOUS TRAINING IN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC FAMILY

JOHN L. THOMAS, S.J.

ABSTRACT

Although it is generally assumed that the religious function of the modern home is on the decline, there are few empirical studies to support the contention. The present study is an attempt to investigate the amount of instruction and training which the preschool Catholic child receives in the home. A marked gap between "traditional expectations" and actual practice was discovered. Considerable differences are found, too, between rural and urban families in various regions. Since adequate comparative data are lacking, no hypothesis concerning "trends" can safely be advanced for the group studied.

Persons professionally concerned in the promotion of organized religion agree that one of the most important functions of the family is the inculcation of Christian ideals and practices in the rising generation. In the *Final Report* of the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy, it is stated that "the primary responsibility in the religious development of the child rests upon parents in the family. It is in this intimate and personal group that the attitudes of the child are first formed—attitudes that in the view of many psychologists profoundly affect the adult life of the growing person."[1] On the other hand, it is generally assumed that the contemporary family is declining as a religious institution.[2] Since the religious functioning of the family is affected by trends in religion as well as by trends in the family, this decline is considered an urban, rather than a rural, phenomenon and one which affects the various religious sects differently.

The factual basis for these hypotheses is somewhat meager. The source most frequently cited is an investigation of the declining religious function of the family conducted in 1930 under the auspices of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. Family participation in four religious practices was studied. Samples were taken of school children in rural areas, in villages, and in cities of various sizes. It was found that about one in eight white American-born school children of the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades participated in family prayers. Little difference in the practice of this custom was noted between the city and the country. Church attendance was the only activity participated in by more than half the families (85 per cent of the rural and 40 per cent of the urban). The percentage of rural and urban families reading the Bible together was 22 and 10, respectively; the percentage saying grace before meals was 38 and 30, respectively. Acting on the assumption that decreases in a function can be measured by comparing the prevalence of an activity in the city with its prevalence in the country, since the country preceded the city in point of time, some writers, on the basis of the White House study, advanced the hypothesis that there has been a decided decline in at least three religious practices.[3] These data are for families rather than for individuals.

It is not an easy task to ascertain the nature or the extent of the religious training which American families now give their children.[4] Religious training implies a knowledge of a set of dogmas and practices. It is the basic orientation of life toward the su-

[1] White House Conference on Children in a Democracy, *Final Report* ("Children's Bureau Publications," No. 272 [Washington, 1942]), p. 185.

[2] William Ogburn and Clark Tibbitts, "The Family and Its Functions," in *Recent Social Trends in the United States: Report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1933), p. 674.

[3] Ernest W. Burgess and Harvey J. Locke, *The Family* (New York: American Book Co., 1945), pp. 509–10.

[4] Robert Weaver, "Youth and Religion," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, CCXXXVI (November, 1944), 156.

pernatural. In practice, it is the interpretation and ordering of actions in terms of an absolute set of moral values. Obviously, it is difficult to measure child training in such a subject. However, it seems that some valid conclusions can be drawn from a study of the dogmas and practices which the child is taught at home. Granting that knowledge of dogma and prayer is not the whole of religious training, nevertheless, in a highly institutionalized religion such as the Roman Catholic, understanding of dogma and practice in prayer generally constitute a considerable part of this training.

The present study is an investigation of of some aspects of the religious training which Roman Catholic children receive at home. Since the Roman Catholic church in the United States has established an extensive system of parochial schools, where children are formally instructed and trained in religion, it is difficult to distinguish the role of the family in the religious training from that of the school. The writer attempted to avoid this difficulty by confining his study to an investigation of the religious training which the child receives *before* he enters the parochial school. This, however, reveals much more than the role which the family plays in the religious training of the preschool child; it throws considerable light on the religious function of the family throughout the child's entire life. It should be remembered that Roman Catholic parents are urged to start religious training and instruction "from the cradle."[5] It is unlikely that a family which has neglected its obligations to the child *before* school will assume them after he has been put into the very efficient hands of the parochial schoolteacher. Hence the study of the religious training of the preschool child throws considerable light on religious home training.

Full investigation of this highly important problem involves the following questions: (1) What formal religious instruction and training do parents give their preschool children? Judged on the basis of traditional expectation, what items are stressed or neglected in this training? (2) Are there regional differences in the preschool religious training of children? (3) Do rural and urban families differ in the amount of religious instruction and training given the child in the home?

Taking up the first set of questions, our problem was to formulate a list of items which would enable us to measure the religious training of the preschool child. After considerable discussion, experienced and competent first-grade teachers, representing six different religious teaching congregations, chose ten items. Their selection was based on the following considerations: (1) the items were such that the child could learn them rather easily if given some assistance by the parent; (2) this knowledge was in conformity with traditional expectations, that is, it was generally assumed that the child was so instructed by parents. Ten items were selected and were grouped under two headings: knowledge of prayers and knowledge of dogmas.

Under the first heading information was sought on the child's knowledge of the following prayers: (1) the Sign of the Cross, (2) the Lord's Prayer, (3) the "Hail Mary" —the traditional prayer of the Roman Catholic church to the Blessed Mother, (4) the prayer for grace at meals, (5) the prayer to the Guardian Angel—this is a traditional childhood devotion in the church. Under the heading of dogma, the child's knowledge of the following items was tested: (1) the story of the Creation, (2) the story of Adam and Eve, (3) the story of Christmas—the birthday of Christ as distinguished from Santa Claus and the giving of gifts, (4) the presence of Christ in the church—the belief of the real presence of Christ in the Host preserved on the altar, (5) the story of the Crucifix. No profound theological explanation of these dogmas was expected of the child, but he was supposed to be generally acquainted with them.

[5] Cf. Pius XII, "Guiding Christ's Little Ones," *Family Digest*, VI (February, 1951), 1–9; Catholic Bishops of the United States, "The Child: Citizen of Two Worlds," *Catholic Mind*, XLIX (February, 1951), 137–44.

Over five hundred sisters, teaching the first grade and representing a large number of religious teaching congregations, agreed to co-operate in the study. The majority of them were contacted by a letter in which the purpose of the study was explained, and they were asked to secure the information on the ten items in the questionnaire at the opening of the fall term of 1950. Although this entailed considerable additional work, many of them had informed us that they made a rough check of the religious training of their new students anyway, so that the securing of the additional detailed information we were seeking did not represent too great a burden. The present study is based on the returns from 446 schools located in 33 different states. The number of children examined was a little over sixteen thousand. Actually, we received returns on several thousand more, but these were either in kindergartens or in mixed classes, that is, classes in which part of the children had attended some type of kindergarten and, consequently, had been subjected to a certain amount of religious training away from home.

TABLE 1

PERCENTAGE OF PRESCHOOL CHILDREN RECEIVING RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION AT HOME

Item	Percentage
Knows prayers:	
1. The Sign of the Cross	52.9
2. The Lord's Prayer	23.2
3. The "Hail Mary"	33.0
4. Grace at meals	14.1
5. Prayer to Guardian Angel	15.5
Understands dogma:	
1. Story of Creation	24.9
2. Story of Adam and Eve	13.1
3. Meaning of Christmas	34.2
4. Presence of Christ in church	33.0
5. Story of the Crucifix	30.6

Table 1 gives the results for the group as a whole. The data found in this table will be most meaningful if considered as presenting a pattern. One may quibble about this or that particular item employed in the study, but the over-all picture presents a fairly uniform pattern. With the exception of the item dealing with the Sign of the Cross, one-third or less of the children showed the expected amount of home training. In other words, the formal religious instruction and training which the majority of Roman Catholic families give their preschool children seems very inadequate when judged by traditional expectations. Unfortunately, we do not possess adequate information on the religious home training of children in the past: very possibly, a considerable gap has always existed between traditional expectations and actual practice. Consequently, the data presented in Table 1 should be considered as a fairly adequate picture of the difference between expectation and practice today; whether conditions were different a generation or two ago can only be surmised. However, it is of some interest to indicate a few of the more surprising deviations from the expected, as revealed by our data. For example, the customary childhood prayer to the Guardian Angel is evidently not taught in most of the homes. The small percentage of those who knew the prayer for grace at meals indicates that this traditional practice is most honored in the breach, although an alternate explanation may be that grace is recited by one of the parents while the child remains at attention. The lack of knowledge displayed by two-thirds of the children in regard to items 3, 4, and 5, listed under dogma, was also unexpected. The story of Christmas is one which children grasp very readily, and the ritual of the church on this feast is so elaborate that it is difficult to understand how they could forget the story, provided that the parents had made some effort to explain it. However, as one teacher remarked, "No matter how I put the question, the same answer came back: Christmas meant only Santa and gifts!" The realization of the real presence of Christ on the altar seems rather easy for the child: the reason he is expected to be on his good behavior in church is because it is the "house of God,"

and the reverent behavior of the faithful during Mass could hardly escape his attention. But it seems that parents do not take their young children to church, or, if they do, they do not explain their actions. The Crucifix is the most universal of Roman Catholic symbols. The failure of over two-thirds of the children to know its meaning suggests that it is not a prominent symbol in the modern Catholic home.

Obviously, one cannot conclude on the basis of our data that two-third of the Catholic families in this country are giving their children no religious training. One may conclude, however, that they are not training and instructing them according to traditional expectations. Further, given the nature of Catholic belief and practice, it is difficult to understand how parents can give their children very extensive religious training if they neglect the basic items specified in our questionnaire. As one first-grade teacher remarked, "In regard to religious training, we have to start right from the beginning. It seems that modern parents are too busy to instruct their little ones!"

Our second problem was to investigate regional differences. In a country as large and religiously diversified as our own, sectional differences were to be expected. The country was divided into regions according to the sixfold division advocated by Odum.[6] Since we are not interested in comparing knowledge of individual items, we have used a twofold classification, combining the five items dealing with knowledge of prayers under one heading and the five dealing with understanding of dogma under a second. Table 2 gives the percentages by region. The Northwest and the Southeast differ significantly from the general average for the five items combined under the heading "Knows Prayers." Considering our present scant knowledge of the Roman Catholic populations of these regions, it would be hazardous to venture an explanation. However, we might point out that a relatively high percentage of the Roman Catholic population in the Northwest is rural, and, as we shall see, rural families tend to give their children more religious instruction than do urban. This probably accounts for the difference. A tentative explanation for the relatively poor showing of the Southeast is that the Roman Catholic population there is only a small percentage of the total—a circumstance leading to a very high rate of mixed marriage. Studies of mixed marriage lead us to expect less religious training of offspring.[7] For the five items combined under the heading, "Understands Dogma," the Southwest and Far West also differed significantly from the general average. We do know something about the Roman Catholic population in the Southwest: a good percentage of the schools studied had a considerable number of Spanish or Mexican children. Their teachers pointed out that these bilingual children are retarded to some extent in their knowledge of prayers but show better than average understanding of fundamental religious dogmas.

TABLE 2

PERCENTAGE OF PRESCHOOL CHILDREN RECEIVING RELIGIOUS TRAINING AT HOME, BY REGION

Region	Knows Prayers (5 Items)	Understands Dogma (5 Items)
Northwest (2,490 children)	34.9	33.0
Southwest (751 children)	27.2	38.8
Middle states (6,641 children)	27.6	27.8
Northeast (2,201 children)	26.4	27.1
Far West (2,644 children)	25.2	20.1
Southeast (1,374 children)	23.1	20.1
General average	27.7	27.2

The third problem was whether urban and rural families differ in the amount of religious training given the child at home. The children in our sample were fairly repre-

[6] Howard W. Odum, *Southern Regions of the United States* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936), pp. 5–7.

[7] Judson T. Landis, "Marriages of Mixed and Non-mixed Religious Faith," *American Sociological Review*, XIV (June, 1949), 401–6; Murray H. Leiffer, "Interfaith Marriages in the U.S.A.," *Lumen Vitae*, IV (July–September, 1949), 447–51.

sentative of the Roman Catholic population as a whole, since 17.5 per cent were rural and 82.5 per cent were urban. According to the best available data, the Roman Catholic population in this country is 19.4 per cent rural and 80.6 per cent urban.[8] Table 3 gives

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE OF PRESCHOOL CHILDREN FROM RURAL AND URBAN FAMILIES RECEIVING RELIGIOUS TRAINING IN THE HOME

Item	Rural (2,816)	Urban (13,285)
Knows prayers:		
1. The Sign of the Cross	61.8	51.3
2. The Lord's Prayer	27.7	22.4
3. The "Hail Mary"	39.2	31.9
4. Grace at meals	17.5	13.5
5. Prayer to Guardian Angel	18.0	15.1
Understands dogma:		
1. Story of Creation	29.1	24.1
2. Story of Adam and Eve	12.9	12.2
3. The meaning of Christmas	32.8	34.7
4. Presence of Christ in church	36.7	32.3
5. The story of the Crucifix	34.6	29.8

the percentages for the rural and urban children for the country as a whole. Considered as a group, the rural children differ significantly from the urban in their knowledge of prayers. In their understanding of dogma the rural children also display superior home training, with the exception of items 2 and 3, where the differences are not significant. However, this over-all picture of urban and rural differences is deceptive. If we break down the data into regions, it becomes apparent at once that the urban-rural relation is not uniform throughout the country. Table 4 gives the percentages for urban and rural children by region. It appears that the religious training received at home by urban children in the Southwest, Northeast, and Southeast is equal to, or superior to, that received by rural children in these same areas. It would be interesting to speculate on the reasons for these regional differences,

[8] *A Survey of Catholic Weakness* (Des Moines: National Catholic Rural Life Conference, 1948), pp. 10–11.

but our present inadequate knowledge of their religious characteristics would render any explanation dubious. However, Table 4 does show that generalizations about urban-rural differences in the religious training of children cannot be made without taking regional differences into consideration.

Returning to the questions posed earlier in the paper, we may summarize our findings as follows:

1. The religious training of the preschool child at home as measured by the ten items employed in the present study falls far short of traditional expectations.

2. Regional differences in religious home training are apparent. It is probable that di-

TABLE 4

PERCENTAGE OF URBAN AND RURAL PRESCHOOL CHILDREN RECEIVING RELIGIOUS TRAINING AT HOME, BY REGION

Region	Knows Prayers (5 Items)	Understands Dogma (5 Items)
Northwest:		
Urban (1,954)	32.4	32.0
Rural (536)	44.3	36.3
Southwest:		
Urban (494)	25.3	40.5
Rural (257)	22.9	36.6
Middle states:		
Urban (5,53c)	26.1	27.2
Rural (1,111)	35.2	30.5
Northeast:		
Urban (1,963)	27.3	28.1
Rural (238)	19.6	20.2
Far West:		
Urban (2,237)	23 9	19.4
Rural (407)	32 1	23.8
Southeast:		
Urban (1,107)	23.2	19.5
Rural (267)	22.6	22.0

verse ethnic backgrounds and the relative scarcity of the Roman Catholic population account for a considerable amount of the deviation from the general average.

3. There is evidence that urban and rural

families differ in the amount of religious training given the preschool child. Nevertheless, the pattern is not uniform throughout the country: regional differences must be considered if any meaningful comparisons are to be made.

In conclusion, therefore, it can be stated that this project has made some small beginning in studying the important function of the family in the religious training of the child. There is room for a great deal more research. Our study is open to the criticism that we have stressed formal knowledge at the expense of motivation and religious "outlook." On the other hand, given the organized character of Roman Catholic belief and practice, it seems legitimate to conclude that where there is no formal knowledge there is little religious training.

ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

MY SIX CONVICTS

May 17, 1951

To the Editor:

Lest your readers be completely misled by the review of *My Six Convicts* in the May, 1951, issue of the *Journal* [pp. 617–18], they should know the facts regarding this book.

Although the book is being sold to an unsuspecting public as Dr. Wilson's experiences during three years of employment as a psychologist at the Fort Leavenworth Penitentiary, actually none of the incidents described in it has any basis in fact or record. I need not devote any of my time or the space of your journal to refute point by point the fictionalized account which Dr. Wilson has cloaked with such thin academic pretensions. I was, however, dismayed at the serious but naïve treatment given such an obvious piece of Hollywood fabrication in a scientific journal.

Between 1930 and 1940, the Fort Leavenworth institution was used by the Bureau of Prisons chiefly for the detention and care of narcotic addicts. Dr. Wilson was employed by the United States Health Service as an assistant psychologist from October, 1931, to June, 1933, a period of twenty months and not three years. The impression given in the book of extensive psychological research in narcotic addiction is as erroneous as the rest of the book is fictional. The figures given in the book regarding the extent of drug importation and distribution in this country are equally contrary to fact. The six characters, the smuggling into the institution of prostitutes, the murders, the suicide, the riot and escape are all motion-picture lore and did not occur at Fort Leavenworth during Dr. Wilson's short period of employment or since. And Dr. Wilson could not possibly have examined or tested Al Capone as he states, since Capone was never at that institution.

The public is deserving of a good book about prisons, but it must be an honest portrayal if it is to have any value for popular enlightenment on modern penology. The public gets most of its information about these institutions from radio thrillers and screen melodramas. Unfortunately, *My Six Convicts* falls into this category and is not deserving of the academic consideration suggested by your reviewer.

Sincerely,

JAMES B. BENNETT
Director

United States Department of Justice
Bureau of Prisons
Washington, D.C.

POLITICS AND REGIONALISM

May 14, 1951

To the Editor:

In your issue of May, 1951 [p. 599] Werner J. Cahnman in his review of my *Geo-economic Regionalism and World Federation* alleges that my "disregard for political reality is a decisive fault." My reply is that geo-economic reality is much more fundamental and enduring than ephemeral political reality, such as the disintegrating "British Commonwealth of Nations" which he mentions. He accuses me of advocating "regional sovereignty" instead of national sovereignty, whereas not only the title but the entire contents of my book demonstrate that I am proposing the sovereignty of a world federation of regions and not of each individual region. He asserts that I manifest "subconscious Yankee imperialism," whatever that may mean, whereas neither Temperate North America, the region in which I would include the United States, nor any other region would be able to exploit backward areas under the federal authority to

grant temporary mandates to regional governments which I advocate.

Mr. Cahnman's guess as to the likelihood of the success of my "blueprint of a better world-to-be" may be as good as mine. But he displays the inability of many people to think in terms of regions instead of nations as the member units of a world organization.

MAURICE PARMELEE

Hull House
Chicago

NEWS AND NOTES

American Association of University Women.—Twenty-five fellowships are offered for 1952–53 to American women for advanced study or research. Applications must reach the office of the American Association of University Women by December 15, 1951, and should be addressed to the Secretary, Committee on Fellowship Awards, American Association of University Women, 1634 Eye Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

American Studies Association.—The American Studies Association held its first meeting in the Library of Congress on March 22, to make plans for encouraging the study of American civilization. The interdisciplinary sponsoring committee attending the session consisted of thirteen members, representing various departments of education—history, philosophy, English and drama, and music. Professor Carl Bode, of the English department and American Civilization program at the University of Maryland, chaired the meeting. In the course of the meetings, three additional members were elected to the sponsoring committee. Of interest to sociologists is the election of Dorothy Thomas, of the department of sociology at the University of Pennsylvania.

According to the constitution now adopted, membership in the American Studies Association will be open to individuals, organizations, and institutions. Information may be had from Professor Carl Bode, Department of English, University of Maryland.

Boston University.—A new program in criminology and the correctional treatment of offenders is offered by the department of sociology and anthropology in co-operation with the Institute of Public Service, beginning with the academic year 1951–52. The program is under the supervision of Albert Morris, chairman of the department of sociology and anthropology.

Committee for the Scientific Study of Religion.—At the spring meeting of the Committee for the Social Scientific Study of Religion at Harvard University in April, it was decided to change the name to the Committee for the Scientific Study of Religion. Talcott Parsons, of the department of social relations at Harvard, was elected chairman. Other officers are Prentiss Pemberton, of Andover-Newton Seminary, vice-chairman, and J. Paul Williams, Mount Holyoke College, secretary-treasurer.

The next meeting is to be held at Harvard on November 3. Those interested should write the secretary-treasurer. Social scientists who may have research of an empirical nature in the field of religion to report at the next meeting should write Professor Parsons before October 1 about the possibility of a place on the program.

Dartmouth College.—The following are at present members of the department of sociology: Rees Bowen, Michael Choukas, H. Wentworth Eldredge, Ralph Holben, Robert A. McKennan, Francis Merrill, George F. Theriault, Elmer Harp, Jr., and Robert Gutman. Professor Michael Choukas is chairman.

Three former members of the department hold the rank of professor emeritus: John Mecklin, Erville B. Woods, and McQuilkin DeGrange. Professor DeGrange retired from his teaching duties and was appointed professor emeritus in June, 1950.

The department of sociology, in collaboration with the department of psychology,

has inaugurated for advanced students a seminar concerned with problems common to sociology and psychology. Robert Gutman, of the department of sociology, and Albert Hastorf, of the department of psychology, led the seminar during the past academic year.

Eastern Sociological Society.—The tentative program, to be held at Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania, on April 5-6, 1952, is as follows: Saturday, April 5, 10:00 A.M.-12 M., contributed research papers; 1:30-4:30 P.M., (1) "Interrelations of Sociology and Economics," (2) "Buyers and Sellers in the Research Market"; 4:30 P.M., annual business meeting; 7:00 P.M., annual dinner: (1) presidential address, (2) invited speaker. Sunday, April 6, 10:00 A.M.-12 M., (1) "Recent Developments in American Social Structure," (2) "Sociological Implications of Volume II of the Kinsey Report"; 1:30-3:30, (1) "Recent Advances in Methodology."

The president of the society, Professor Jessie Bernard, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania, will be pleased to receive suggestions for speakers from members of the society. All other queries relative to the meeting may be addressed to the secretary, Dr. Bernhard J. Stern, Columbia University, New York 27, N.Y.

Fulbright Awards for 1952-53.—Awards effective for the academic year beginning autumn, 1952, are offered for Europe and the Near East. Over two hundred awards are planned to be given to scholars in education, the humanities, the natural sciences, and the social sciences. Applications must be mailed not later than October 15, 1951, to Executive Secretary, Committee on International Exchange of Persons, Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, 2101 Constitution Avenue, Washington, D.C.

Michigan State College.—Charles P. Loomis, head of the department of sociology and anthropology, has been selected to direct a nation-wide study of adult-education activities among rural people. The project, undertaken by the Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities, was announced Friday by R. F. Poole, president of Clemson Agricultural College, South Carolina, and president of the association. The work will be financed by the Ford Foundation.

Dr. Loomis, who also directs the social research service at Michigan State College, is at present on leave, directing a rural social study in Costa Rica. This project is designed to develop basic information for the improvement of rural conditions in that country. He is expected to return to the United States shortly and will be given additional leave to direct the new program. The study will include activities of farm organizations, local civic and community groups, and those conducted through or with the aid of educational institutions.

University of Minnesota.—Arnold M. Rose received a Fulbright Award for research in France for the forthcoming academic year.

National Association for Mental Health.—The Fourth International Congress on Mental Health will be held in Mexico City, December 11-19, 1951, under the joint sponsorship of the World Federation for Mental Health, Liga Mexicana de Salud Mental, and the Regional Office for the Americas of World Health Organization. Dr. Alfonso Millan, Gomez Farias 56, Mexico D.F., Mexico, president-elect of the World Federation, is chairman of the Mexican Organizing Committee for the Congress.

University of North Carolina.—Frank LeBar has been named assistant professor and John J. Honigman associate professor, both on the anthropological staff. They have also been appointed research associates in the Institute for Research in Social Science. Dr. LeBar, in addition to offering courses on Oceania, primitive technology, and Southeast Asia, is serving as field director of a cultural study of the Veterans Administration's psychiatric hospital at Roanoke, Virginia. Dr. Honigman is offering courses

in general anthropology, primitive religion, and field methods and will devote about half his time to collaboration in a research project concerned with the cultural organization of United States Air Force bases.

The staff in anthropology now includes John Gillin, professor and research professor; Guy B. Johnson, professor and research professor of anthropology and sociology; John J. Honigman, associate professor and research associate; Frank LeBar, assistant professor and research associate; Joffre Coe, instructor and director of the laboratory of anthropology and archeology.

Nuffield Foundation.—The Nuffield Foundation has now completed its fifth year. Grants in continuation of the past program include, in addition to generous awards for the physical and biological sciences, a subsidy for an inquiry into the budgets of young childless couples, married couples having their first child, and married couples having their second. Research is also being instituted, in collaboration with the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations, on the development of various patterns of family life and the contribution of individuals and the community to them.

Ohio University.—John E. Owen taught courses in juvenile delinquency and social disorganization in the summer session at Stephen F. Austin State College, Nacogdoches, Texas. He has received an appointment from the Department of State to serve as visiting professor of sociology at the University of Helsinki, Finland, during the academic year 1951–52 and will offer courses in problems of human ecology, measurement of social attitudes, and contemporary trends in American sociology.

Ohio State University.—Raymond F. Sletto, chairman of the department of sociology, has been elected president of the Columbus chapter of the American Statistical Association for the coming year.

John F. Koty, of the American College, Athens, Greece, was a visiting lecturer at Ohio State University for the summer session. A Fulbright scholar, Dr. Koty spent the greater part of this year in the United States at Boston University.

Warren E. James, assistant in the department, will join the staff of the department of sociology and anthropology of Cornell University as instructor in the fall. In addition to graduate work and teaching at Ohio State, Mr. James was formerly executive secretary of the Ohio Commission on Alcoholism during 1950. He will offer courses in criminology and social problems at Cornell.

Ohio Valley Sociological Society.—The thirteenth annual meeting was held at Indiana University, Bloomington, in April. Approximately two hundred sociologists from the colleges and universities of Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, Kentucky, West Virginia, and Pennsylvania attended. Officers elected for the coming year are: president, William Form, Michigan State College; vice-president, Clifford Kirkpatrick, Indiana University; secretary-treasurer, Stuart N. Adams, College of Wooster; and Brewton Berry, Ohio State University, editor of the *Ohio Valley Sociologist.*

The next annual meeting will be held at Michigan State College on April 25 and 26, 1952.

Pomona College.—A research staff of six has launched an intensive two-year survey of the California old age pension system under a $52,000 donation of the Haynes Foundation. The committee for research is composed of two economists, two political scientists, and two sociologists; and all have as consultant Edwin K. Witte, chairman of the department of economics at the University of Wisconsin.

Careful search of published materials and government documents will be made, as well as an original statistical investigation on the economic and sociological effects of the old age pension law, involving direct contact with individuals receiving aid. The study will investigate the backgrounds of the law, analyze it in its present form, compare it with that of other states, and study its soundness economically, sociologically,

and administratively. The finished report, with conclusions and practical recommendations, is projected for publication by the summer of 1953.

Other members of the research staff are Ray E. Baber, chairman of the department of sociology; John A. Vieg, chairman of the department of government; Luther J. Lee, Jr., associate professor of government; Alvin H. Scaff, assistant professor of sociology; and Louis B. Perry, assistant professor of economics.

Princeton University.—Wilbert E. Moore has been promoted to the rank of professor.

Marion J. Levy, Jr., has been made associate professor.

Melvin M. Tumin has been named to a special preceptorship, which provides that for one year of a three-year term he will be on salaried leave for research and that each year he will have a small drawing account for research expenses.

Duncan MacRae has resigned to accept a research position at Harvard.

George W. Barclay has been appointed instructor in sociology and research assistant of the Office of Population Research.

Harold Garfinkel, instructor in sociology, will devote half-time during 1951–52 to the Organizational Behavior Project. This project is an interdisciplinary research planning operation, which is the initial program at Princeton for use of the Ford Foundation grant for the behavioral sciences. The planning team comprises men from political science, economics, psychology, sociology, history, and mathematics. Professor Moore serves as director. Single copies of the first progress report are available on request as long as a limited supply lasts.

Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations.—The United States Office of Education, in co-operation with the Department of State, announces the availability of fellowships to United States graduate students as provided under the Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations.

Two graduate students are exchanged each year between the United States and each of the republics signatory to the convention. The participating countries, other than the United States, are as follows: Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, and Venezuela. During the next academic year the following countries probably will receive students from the United States: Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, and Venezuela.

Graduate students in the United States should have the following qualifications before applying for these fellowships: United States citizenship, a Bachelor's degree or its equivalent, *the initiation or completion of some graduate study*, a satisfactory knowledge of the language of the country to which the student wishes to go, good health, moral character, intellectual ability, and a suitable plan of study or a research topic which has been approved by the students' advisers or supervising professors. Students under thirty-five years of age and veterans will be given preference. Currently controversial research projects which would preclude the possibility of a successful investigation should not be selected by the applicant.

Transportation to and from the receiving country is paid by the United States government. The receiving government pays tuition and a monthly maintenance allowance. In some cases a small sum is allotted for books and incidental expenses. It may be necessary for the student to supplement his maintenance allowance from other sources to meet the cost-of-living expenses.

Students desirous of making application should write to the Division of International Educational Relations, American Republics Section, United States Office of Education, Washington 25, D.C. As soon as a sufficient number of well-qualified candi-

dates have made application, the United States selection committee will prepare panels made up of the name of five students for presentation to each currently participating government, which, in turn, will choose two from the five for one-year fellowships. It should be pointed out that several months are required before governments receiving panels are able to make selections. Applications must be received by the Office of Education not later than January 15, 1952.

Statistical Review.—A new quarterly appeared in March, 1951, in Yugoslavia. Its name in English is the *Statistical Review.* Although printed in the Yugoslav language, each article is summarized in English and French. The *Review* is edited by an editorial board composed of leading Yugoslav statisticians and is an official publication of the Federal Bureau of Statistics of the Presidency of the Yugoslav government.

Tulane University.—Foundation and other outside aid for the social sciences have made it possible to expand appreciably the graduate program. The department of sociology and anthropology is now in a position to offer the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. It is the intention of the department permanently to limit the enrolment of graduate students to the number which can be given individual attention in their professional development. Offerings in the basic fields of sociology are provided. Urbanism and urbanization will be the unifying themes of the new program.

Members of the instructional staff are: Warren Breed, Roy G. Francis, Harlan W. Gilmore, Arden King, William L. Kolb, Forrest E. LaViolette, Robert Lystad, John Rohrer, Ruth Samuels, Robert Stone, Robert Wauchope, and Logan Wilson. All but two of these staff members hold professorial rank and will participate in the graduate program.

Departmental research assistantships, ranging in value from $1,000 to $1,500 annually, plus tuition, depending upon the qualifications of the applicant, are available. Additional research assistantships will be announced by the Urban Life Research Institute. There are also university fellowships and scholarships.

University of Washington.—Norman S. Hayner has been appointed a member of the Washington State Board of Prison Terms and Paroles. He has been granted a leave of absence from the university.

Ruth Inglis, former associate professor in the department, was visiting professor during the spring quarter.

Joseph Klapper has resigned to accept a position with the State Department.

George A. Lundberg received the University of Minnesota's Outstanding Achievement Award at the centennial celebration in April.

The department has concluded several government research contracts, chiefly involving S. C. Dodd and the Public Opinion Laboratory and Delbert C. Miller in industrial sociology. L. L. Thurstone, of the University of Chicago, is serving as consultant.

Paul Neurath, of Queens College, taught in the summer session.

Washington University.—Walter B. Bodenhafer, who has been a member of this department since 1920, becomes professor emeritus at the end of the current academic year. He will, however, continue to teach during the fall semester.

University of Wisconsin.—Burton R. Fisher, program director, Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, has been appointed to a professorship of sociology, beginning with the academic year 1951–52. Although formally a member of the department of sociology and anthropology, his responsibilities will be to the division of social studies. He will be in charge of the program of teaching and research in the field of public opinion and will probably also teach some basic courses in social psychology.

BOOK REVIEWS

Bonds of Organization: An Appraisal of Corporate Human Relations. By E. WIGHT BAKKE. New York: Harper & Bros., 1950. Pp. xii+239. $4.00.

This is one of a series of projected reports on the study of human relations in the Southern New England Telephone Company and the Connecticut Union of Telephone Workers conducted by the staff of the Labor Management Center at Yale University in collaboration with the company and the union. This is the "first of a series of studies to be made in a number of organizations, a series which will extend over many years" (p. 5). Since I shall be somewhat critical of the report, it is important that I should state at the outset that I believe that this long-run research project is of very great importance; that it merits generous support; that the companies and unions that collaborate will profit greatly therefrom; that it should produce increased understanding of "why people behave as they do." Particularly important is the emphasis on the necessary "partnership" between the company, the union, and the university.

My doubts are related to the possibility of communicating the results in books and reports. That there will develop greater understanding in some people and that they will develop understanding in others are certain. The communication of understanding orally and by personal influence may be slow, but it is effective. Mass communication by books is tempting (and there are important academic pressures forcing it), but it may well prove relatively ineffective. If such communication is to have some effect, I believe that it should attempt to describe the society being investigated and to give the reader some vicarious experience of the research. It calls for some of the skill of the artist, for imagination as much as for analytical ability. I feel that I could have learned more about the "bonds of organization" in these two "societies" and in general if there had been more description of the societies and less development of categories and statistical testing of the strength of the "bonds." I felt, perhaps a little unfairly, that there were no people in these societies. Along with this goes a worry on my part (perhaps unreasonable) that it is dangerous to enter on these studies with too definite a set of hypotheses to test or too clearly defined a set of categories. We are still, I think, in greater need of what Professor Homans calls "experiments for light" than of "experiments for proof." Again I realize the pressures exerted on all social scientists to be respectably scientific. And I realize that as an economist I may be considered incompetent to appraise the possibilities. But enough has been said for readers of this review to understand the bias of the reviewer and so to know what weight to place on his criticisms and judgments.

After a brief chapter describing the "research partnership," five chapters deal successively with the five "bonds of organization" or "elements of the social system" which are selected as particularly important. "They are important elements for they weld men together as partners in production (Functional Specifications); as directors and directed, as representatives and represented (Status System); as givers and receivers of information (Communication System); as agents of reward and penalty (Reward and Penalty System); and as sharers of a conception of organization as a whole (Organizational Charter)" (p. 8). Each of these five chapters is in two parts: the first describes what is meant by this "bond" and contains much suggestive discussion of its nature; the second attempts "a preliminary evaluation of the bond in terms of its contribution to the goal realization of these individuals." I found the second part of each chapter disappointing. The charts give a suggestion of measurement and appraisal which carry no conviction. I found it hard to see the connection between some of the questions and the "bond" that was tested. And I found it hard to believe that one could test each bond separately; surely, this is a case of complete interdependence between the bonds. One cannot loosen one "string" without loosening them all.

A final chapter, "What of It?" explains

more fully the methodological position of the author and his colleagues. As was stated earlier, the book is an early product of a research project intended to extend over many years. The successive steps planned are listed:

(1) Determination of the nature of the problem.
(2) Development of a framework for classifying the determinants of human behaviour.
(3) Definition in realistic terms of the character of these determinants.
(4) Formulation of hypotheses concerning the casual [*sic*] relations between observed behaviour and these determinants as described.
(5) Progressive testing and reformulation of these hypotheses carried on in the "laboratories" of industrial business, and union operations.
(6) Rephrasing of these hypotheses with reference to behaviour in other areas.

This study "assumes the progress made in taking Steps 1 and 2," progress reported in successive editions of *Adaptive Human Behaviour*. It is, then, to be thought of as beginning Step 3. In the final report we are promised a contribution to Step 4, the formulation of hypotheses. The center then plans to move to the next "laboratory," and Step 5. May they continue with enthusiasm, and may they find more collaborators as co-operative as this company and union! We know that we shall benefit from their studies: but let us not pretend that we expect a final result when at last all is made clear. The social sciences are not like that.

The last twenty pages contain some valuable "comments on generalizations made by our colleagues and practical men who are also trying to understand the structure and dynamics of human relations" (p. 190). Particularly important are the comments on the relation of the formal and informal structures of society:

> These conclusions point to a heavy and difficult task for management and leadership charged with responsibility for the rational development of organizational structure to better attain the aims of the organization . . . it would appear that they can *initiate* but not *make* changes. Once initiated the change takes its course through the behaviour of all affected, is modified by that behaviour, and, as actually experienced, has become the creation of all of them [p. 195].

V. W. BLADEN

University of Toronto

The "Why" of Man's Experience. By HADLEY CANTRIL. New York: Macmillan Co., 1950. Pp. xiv+198. $2.75.

Personality: A Systematic Theoretical and Factual Study. By RAYMOND B. CATTELL. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1950. Pp. xii+689. $5.50.

In spite of the current popularity of interdisciplinary investigations and attempts at integration, social psychologists trained in different disciplines still find one another in foreign universes of discourse. The difficulty in part arises from the fact that students begin with different images of the nature of man and, accordingly, with different convictions as to how this subject matter is to be investigated. Hence those trained in psychology often emphasize measurement; those in psychiatry, the depth interview; and those in sociology, the analysis of the collective setting. These two volumes—each a generalized formulation of the nature of man and human behavior by an eminent psychologist—point to the extent of the divergence, methodological and substantive, which characterizes current writing in social psychology.

Sociologists have long agreed that Cantril is one of the more "reasonable" of the psychologists, and his successive publications have found him moving to positions increasingly congenial to students of society. In this volume, which represents a significant departure from the approach outlined in *The Psychology of Social Movements* (1941), he has moved even farther in this direction, placing emphasis upon (1) individual behavior as a process of transactions of a participant in social action, (2) the meaningful environment as functional to ongoing action, (3) the social framework of the behavioral processes, and (4) the principle of emergence. This is a revolt against the analysis of the individual as if he lived in isolation from his fellow-men.

Cantril finds that the outstanding characteristic of man is his ceaseless striving and that the most generalized objective of this endeavor is the "enhancement of the value attributes of experience." Here he is referring not so much to the organization of behavior as to the *quality* of experience, which makes some instance of behavior "worth while." Thus he points to the difference between the consumption of a tasty delicacy and just any food which may be nutritionally equivalent. These achievements can occur only in a social context, for "the process of living is a constant flow of transactions in which an individual participates and from which he derives all his experiences."

Much of what Cantril has written is not new to sociologists familiar with the writings of G. H. Mead and particularly of John Dewey. However, while Cantril continually points to the social nature of man, there are certain differences, sometimes only in emphasis. First, in seeking to enhance the value attribute of experience, man creates the meaningful environment in which he acts. Like Mead, Cantril points to the selective nature of perception and the fact that meanings arise from past experience; but, unlike Mead, he does not emphasize that meanings are necessarily social, involving the anticipated actions of others. Moreover, in his treatment of the consequences of action, Cantril, like Dewey, points to the reaffirmation of perspectives in successful action. Unlike Dewey, however, he says little of joint action of a plurality of actors, made possible by *shared* perspectives, which are sustained and reaffirmed in social interaction. In the third place, like Mead, Cantril discusses the perception of the self in a social context but says little of the maintenance of self-conceptions in social interaction.

In spite of his frequent quotations from Dewey, the author sometimes slips back into his previous conceptual framework, which is probably more popular in the social sciences today. Thus he declares that the individual, with certain inherited capacities and socialized characteristics, channelizes his behavior through playing socially defined roles. All behavior, then, becomes an expression of a normative framework. For the pragmatists, however, the behavior of the individual is to be viewed as an aspect of the group action in which the actor is participating. This collective action is regarded as being built up in interaction, the organization and execution of joint action depending in part upon the nature of the historical situation and the personalities of the actors themselves. The concerted action is *facilitated* by the normative framework but is not entirely dependent upon it. The framework itself does not *determine* the line of activity. Although Cantril refers to himself as a "neo-pragmatist," he is not, of course, obligated to follow Dewey and Mead; and sociologists generally will probably be pleased with this work.

The avowed objective of Cattell's *Personality* —at once an advanced text and a systematic treatise—is "to treat personality study by the same scientific standards as are maintained in experimental psychology and to integrate it it with research and systematic psychological concepts." Cattell declares that the distinctive features of his volume are the emphasis upon factor analysis as the basic tool for personality study; the treatment of motivation in terms of the concept of the *erg;* and the discussion of adjustive mechanisms in terms of the six "dynamic crossroads."

Cattell works with a comprehensive conception of personality. "Personality is that which permits a prediction of what a person will do in a given situation." He includes all behavior—overt and covert—from a man's religious views to the way in which he digests his food. The author is already known for his view that personality, thus conceived, can best be studied through the application of factor analysis, and the initial portion of this volume is a condensation of the position previously developed in the *Description and Measurement of Personality* (1946). In contrast to Cantril, he predicates the entire enterprise upon the premise—never explicitly stated—that human behavior is an expression of the internal makeup of the individual, which can be measured as a combination of traits. The social context is mentioned only in reference to its role in molding traits.

Because of the complexity of factor analysis and the enormous range of traits correlated, one can readily appreciate the staggering labor that must have gone into the compilation. However, a careful examination of the procedure, especially in the gathering of the original data, leads one to question the validity of the product. The traits—which are initially measured through a wide variety of tests, scales, and observations in situations that may not be comparable—are organized in terms of trait-names, such as "austere," "arrogant," "energetic," "sociable," "aloof," "carefree," etc. There are no clearly stated indexes for the identification of such traits as arrogance and no assurance that all instances entering the computations as arrogance are of the same generic category. Hence the precision of the mathematical calculations is unfortunately not matched by equal precision in the original observations. Without in any way deprecating the great value of factor analysis as a tool, one can raise the question of whether more fruitful results might not have been achieved had the author not been dazzled by its potentialities and so put it to such uncritical use.

Although the author is careful to cite the limited evidence wherever it is relevant, the

volume is essentially speculative. Even a casual perusal of the volume will show that Cattell has borrowed much from the formal declarations of Freud and McDougall. He devotes considerable space to the promotion of his concept of the "erg," to replace terms such as "instinct," "drive," "need," and "tension." However, his protests to the contrary notwithstanding, the referent of the concept of the erg appears identical to McDougall's "instinct," with its three component processes. The six "dynamic crossroads" turn out to be nothing more than a thoughtful classification of the adjustive mechanisms following blockages, with which psychiatrists have long been concerned. One odd feature of Cattell's discussion of the interruption of activity is the complete failure to mention reflective thought.

Both Cantril and Cattell are much concerned about being "scientific." Yet Cantril does not hesitate to cite illustrations from novels, poems, literary biographies, and casual observations from daily life. Cattell, on the other hand, confines his attention to systematic investigations, preferably quantitative, although he does admit clinical evidence. These authors represent opposing sides in one of the current issues on methodology: problem-orientation versus technique-orientation. Cantril insists upon the central importance of problem formulation and uses all sources and techniques that facilitate seeking solutions. On the other hand, much of Cattell's work is avowedly organized around a technique.

It is probable that Cattell's volume will be better received, since many social scientists, impressed by the spectacular success of the physical sciences, apparently believe that the essence of science lies in its instruments and procedures. Hence they have identified science with techniques that have been successful in physics, such as quantification and experimentation, forgetting that the unity of science lies in a common *method* (reflective process), while *techniques* differ from field to field, depending on the character of the subject. This means-orientation has unfortunately produced technicians who have become a class of high priests, authorities on procedure and protocol, who have discouraged working on problems that could not be handled through orthodox procedures. Hence important problems are often left to wild speculation and unwarranted extensions of the limited findings of some well-conducted study. While no social scientist can deny the ultimate necessity of rigorous demonstration, the current emphasis upon techniques has discouraged social psychologists from developing more meaningful propositions to test.

If scientific knowledge is to be regarded as a body of *demonstrated* propositions about the generic nature of some class of phenomena, then Cattell's volume, despite its imposing appearance, is no more or no less scientific than that of Cantril. Each scholar in his own way is seeking knowledge about man, one through means that are currently more popular among his colleagues.

TAMOTSU SHIBUTANI

University of California, Berkeley

Social Pressures in Informal Groups. By LEON FESTINGER, STANLEY SCHACHTER, and KURT BACK. New York: Harper & Bros., 1950. Pp. x+240. $3.00.

This book describes the results of a field study conducted in a student veterans' housing project at Massachussetts Institute of Technology, in which the dynamics of community social life were investigated with special reference to friendships and the formation of small face-to-face groups. The authors' major concern was to show the effect of membership in this community and various subsections of it upon the attitudes and behavior of the residents. Group opinions and activities relating to the tenants' organization were studied.

The theme of the work is set by the major hypothesis, namely, that there is an inverse relationship between distance and friendship. The authors have set forth three major variables considered to be interrelated: "physical and functional" distance and their respective roles in determining "passive contacts" among residents. "Physical distance" refers to linear distance, as, for example, the distance between any two apartments in the project. Positional relationships and "features of design," as among a group of houses, are termed "functional distance." By "passive contacts" is meant those casual meetings between residents in their day-to-day movements within the community. Briefly, the major findings of the study are these: physical and functional distances determine the patterns and frequencies of passive contacts; passive contacts determine the formation of friendships; out of these combinations of friendships, small subgroups develop; each of

these subgroups, through participating in the activities of the community as a whole, tend, nevertheless, to develop distinctive uniformities in attitudes and behavior; and, finally, the greater the uniformity of these subgroups, the less the tendency toward deviate behavior.

Two principal techniques were employed in the investigation: the interview and the index of sociometric choice. The latter was developed by the authors specifically for the purpose of inquiring into the relationships between friendships and the two ecological variables, physical and functional distance. The usual Moreno type of questionnaire on friendships was administered, to determine not only who expressed preferences for whom but, more especially, the choices in relation to their ecological variables and subgroup membership. Sample interviews were then undertaken to broaden the scope of these results and to get further insight into the channels of communication between the residents. Two chapters concerning the application of research to community housing are appended.

In so far as our knowledge of the dynamics of the social process is still in a crude state, any attempted contribution in this area should be gratefully welcomed, and, as such, the authors' work deserves commendation. However, the work done by others in a given field, especially in one that is still new, should always be given special consideration when new findings develop. The present authors' neglect of the possible relevance of the findings of others as those findings bear upon their work is inexcusable. One looks in vain in the present study for the contributions of Warner and his associates at Chicago on the nature of class and group hierarchies within communities and the effect of the latter upon the formation of intergroup and interclique tensions.

Supposedly, the book is concerned with "social pressures," or so the title would indicate. Are we to assume that tensions develop only, or mainly arise, out of the two ecological variables cited because the authors neglect to mention the tension-creating situations resulting from group hierarchies? Again, no reference is made to the ecological concepts developed by such writers as Burgess, Wirth, and others. One would expect at least an acknowledgment of the relevance of the work of others in the field.

There are several grossly inadequate features in this little book. The reviewer is forced to conclude that as an account of a project in social psychological research it might profitably be used by instructors in social science methodology as an example of how not to write a book. The major concepts are not rigorously defined. After a vague definition, they are then used inconsistently throughout the rest of the work. "Informal groups," for example, a major concern of the work, is nowhere defined. True, some "talking around" the subject about "social groups" and "face-to-face groups" in a very general way occurs in the opening chapter. But after this curtsy is made to scientific rigor, the authors seem to feel free to use their terms loosely and inconsistently throughout the rest of the monograph. For example: "Small social groups occupy a strategic position as determiners of the behavior and attitudes of their members" (p. 3). "The small face-to-face social groups which formed were, to a large extent, determined by the fact that a number of people lived in the same apartment building or in the same court" (p. 10). Indeed, the Index in a book on informal groups does not even refer to its central concept!

Furthermore, the relationships between the concepts used are frequently unclear, the relevance of some of the concepts for the conclusions are questionable; and one is left, finally, with the impression that an unreasonable amount of material is introduced for the sake of discussion.

Something approaching circular reasoning manifests itself in so many places that one hardly knows which examples to select for illustration here. Let one suffice: "When a cohesive group does exist, and when its realm of concern extends over the area of behavior in which we have discovered uniformity among the members of the group, then the degree of uniformity must be related to the degree of cohesiveness of the group, if a group standard is operative" (p. 99).

Probably the most serious criticism that one may level at the present work is the fact that it neglects or minimizes entirely the fact that all the members of the community under study are integral parts of the American social system. Certainly, one would expect to find uniformities in the behavior patterns of this community—not just because they are members of the community but more especially because they are members of the wider community of culture values. Or are we to assume that, by implication, this M.I.T. community exists in a special social vacuum? Furthermore, the differences among the subgroups that were found may just as well have been related to other variables as

to those of an ecological nature, that is, to different religious affiliations, to social-class background, to geographic origin, to political ideologies, and so forth. With none of these factors did the authors concern themselves!

The major merit of the book is its subject. The treatment, however, is far from adequate.

SUSAN ANN ARNE

University of Minnesota

Elementary Curriculum in Intergroup Relations: Case Studies in Instruction. By HILDA TABA, ELIZABETH HALL BRADY, and JOHN T. ROBINSON. ("Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools, Work in Progress Series.") Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1950. Pp. xiii+248. $2.50.

This is the fifth title in the American Council's current "Work in Progress Series" on education in "human relations." The authors regard the book as a report on a series of more or less successful experiments and one which can be of use to elementary teachers and curriculum planners. That audience will certainly find it stimulating and helpful. An introductory chapter attempts to define in general terms the needs in intergroup education; the bulk of the volume is an annotated and more or less classified account of the classroom planning and execution of a great variety of specific projects undertaken in more than a score of co-operating schools. A summary chapter lists "Curriculum Principles" believed implicit in the most successful projects; and a final chapter describes and assesses a variety of working arrangements through which groups of teachers or faculties have developed concrete programs in this field. The authors are sensitive throughout to the importance of the teacher's own feelings, level of understanding and initiative, and consequent potentiality for growth.

Although the reading of this book will doubtless broaden the horizons of many teachers, a sociological reviewer is bound to raise some additional questions about it. In the first place, what do the authors mean by the phrase "intergroup education"? As they use it, it seems to include any and all school procedures which contribute to developing in the pupil the *habit* of responding to a stranger as an equal and of seeking to understand sympathetically why he acts as he does. The projects reported grow out of certain assumptions which are stated in the first chapter, notably: (1) that "funds of facts alone do not deepen understanding or create acceptance" (p. 4); (2) that the attitudes, concepts, and habits of action involved in familial or classroom relations are "essentially similar" to those involved in, e.g., Negro-white relations (p. 2); (3) that "better" interpersonal relations "prepare" a child for good relations in "wider and more diverse" intergroup contexts (pp. 2–3); and (4) that the "extension" of "understanding and acceptance" to unfamiliar groups must proceed by "relating" what children already feel and know to what is "new and strange" (p. 4).

Thus the great majority of the projects are concerned simply with the face-to-face world that elementary-school children actually inhabit. The authors criticize the moralistic and "Pollyanna" approaches which have characterized most traditional school units on the family and have hindered not only children's understanding of their own problems but also appropriate generalization. Some of the projects reported on family relations suggest that very young children can acquire not only a vivid but a fairly *systematic* awareness of several sorts of conditions that preshape interpersonal relations. To a lesser extent, this is true of some of the projects focused on interpersonal relations in the schoolroom. The latter, however, seem often to rely on sheer magic—i.e., on the assumption that, if classroom social structure is so manipulated that youngsters in fact get along well together, they automatically learn something significant about human relations. For example, several teachers used sociometric devices to manipulate seating arrangements and "committee" memberships and sometimes got markedly increased participation and markedly diminished conflict. Exactly this sort of before-and-after contrast, *taken as a datum*, might well be ideal material for learning about what conditions interpersonal relations; but it is not exploited. Perhaps the extreme in this sort of "thinking" is represented by the case of a mother who was induced to install a basketball hoop in her basement so that her awkward daughter could gain self-confidence in school gym periods. Who learned what in this "project"?

The reported attempts at "extension" to large-group relations of concepts learned in interpersonal relations were not notably successful, as the authors clearly recognize. Some of the projects concerned groups (like Arabs and

Baffin Islanders) whose conduct was not perceived as affecting "us" and whose "relations" with "us" were simply those of difference, not those of interaction. Here, as might be expected, the emotional identification believed essential did not appear. In cases of group interaction, as the authors point out, children followed the lead of adult political leaders into misleading analogies, e.g., when they reduced the Good Neighbor Policy to the level of a back-fence relationship. On the other hand, the authors never make explicit the contrast between these two very different kinds of intergroup "relationships."

More important, the authors never do see clearly the respects in which inter*group* relations must differ from inter*personal* relations. Indeed, their only recipe for dealing with conflicts between groups seems to be to *re-structure* the situation so that the relationships are between individuals as such. One such attempt, reported apparently with approval by the authors, set this reviewer's hair on end. A sixth grade composed chiefly of Mexican-American children "recently moved into the city from surrounding rural areas" showed anxiety about going on to a junior high school in which 80 per cent of the children would be "Anglos" of higher economic status. Yet "the teachers and the principal thought that the major problem was facing a group whose behavior and ways of doing things children did not understand" (p. 168). So they carefully answered the patently irrational anti-Semitic form which some of the children's hostility was taking and arranged a series of interschool visits, in which the children were carefully mixed with "Anglo" sixth-graders. We are not told how these projects "took" or how these kids made out when they went to junior high, and we must hope that they were shrewd enough not to be badly misled. When "understanding" is divorced from sophistication about group solidarity and power and deference relations and from discussion of substantive value conflicts on their merits, the youngster or group who "understands" is all too likely to be a fall guy for the one who does not. "Understanding and acceptance" do not resolve all conflicts even between individuals; and at the intergroup level the inadequacy of this formula is even more apparent.

These comments may justify the judgment that the appropriate role of the elementary school in intergroup education needs some further thought. The authors of this book repeatedly regret the narrowness of children's experiences with cultural differences. This parochialism is a practical problem, in so far as groups of youngsters *who will subsequently matter to each other as groups* are segregated—whether the groups be Negroes and whites, well-to-do and poor, or Russians and Americans. Studies of adults suggest strongly that, *if* relations between groups can be re-structured so that they become relations between persons within an inclusive group (as in integrated housing projects and work teams), the special problems of culturally defined group conflict tend to take care of themselves, i.e., to become standard problems of interpersonal relations. But such re-structuring is not simply a function of the predispositions of individuals: that is why the case of the Mexican-American sixth grade is such a fraud.

Where children from different populations go to school together, differences can be dealt with as complementary individual differences.

An indicated line of development is a clear-headed definition of the tasks of intergroup education at the primary level. In the reviewer's opinion, this would involve, first, frank recognition that relations between groups cannot be reduced to interpersonal relations. As the authors mention, today's children are very early aware of the incompatibility of the expectations of their families, their peer groups, and their school. Surely, the elementary schools could move children a long way toward intelligent appreciation of the nonrational elements that condition such relationships and a long way toward developing the *habit* of responding as a group to annoying behavior of another group by seeking to understand the motives, conditions, and role system of the latter and then trying to work out an egalitarian accommodation (at least) with it.

Most people in our society deal with the problem of conflicting expectations in their multiple-group memberships by learning to shift roles rapidly and even by extending the segmental character of their lives, i.e., by learning to act expediently in a social structure which they take as given. This is the real nature of "intergroup education" for most Americans today: the general racial attitudes of individuals have less and less to do with the outcome in particular problem situations. If this process is to be transcended and intelligently directed, it can be transcended only by a generation with real sophistication about the nature of human *groups* and a real determination, grown out of vivid

successful experience, to achieve equality and fraternity.

WILLIAM C. BRADBURY, JR.

University of Chicago

Through Values to Social Interpretation. By HOWARD BECKER. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1950. Pp. xviii+341. $4.50.

The concept of values is abstracted from motivated action. The theory of values, thus, ranges over a field as wide as the whole universe of human conduct. This cosmic subject owes its presence in sociological literature to the controversy over scientific objectivity, a controversy which has given currency to three distinct concepts of value. The first concept relates to that minimum of goals which govern scientific procedure; for example, the objectives of control and prediction. The second is derived from a scientist's choice of a particular field of inquiry. These preferences do not guide scientific procedure beyond the initial act of selective attention. Finally, the unrestricted concept of values embraces the whole cosmos of human behavior and its infinite range of objectives. Thus, whatever becomes the aim of motivated action is *eo ipso* a value.

The focus of Howard Becker's essays shifts between these three concepts, and, although the reader is for the most part not told in so many words within which particular frame of reference the discussion moves, he is well able to identify the subject in the context of the argument. Two of the six chapters ("Constructive Typology in the Social Sciences" and "Interpretive Sociology and Constructive Typology") center on the restricted concept of values such as are inherent in the sociological use of historical material. These two thematically somewhat overlapping chapters are an able amplification of Max Weber's interpretive sociology and his ideal types. The author deserves credit for a terminological improvement on Weber's ambiguous expression *ideal* type by his substitution of the term *constructed* type. The argument of two additional chapters, likewise overlapping in subject ("Values as Tool of Sociological Analysis" and "Sacred and Secular Societies") focuses on the unrestricted concept of values. Both chapters culminate in an elaboration of Durkheim's sacred and secular societies into an original typology of merit. A chapter is devoted to a reexamination of the prospects of historical generalizations, covering representative samples of the literature on culture sequences by the evolutionists, the early anthropologists, Troeltsch, Max and Alfred Weber, the theorists of culture cycles, and others. The chapter concludes with a plea for a renewed application of sociological craftsmanship in the field of history. The last chapter returns to the subject of restricted values such as are inherent in the sociological point of view. It is at the end of this chapter that the author lays down a confession of faith in freedom for the practice of value-pluralism and freedom of scientific communication as preconditions of the survival of sociology as a field of scientific pursuit.

While the six essays assembled in this volume had been accessible to the public prior to the publication of *Through Values to Social Interpretation*, their reappearance in revised form is justified in these days of methodological self-scrutiny and the search for new foci of sociological research. The style of the book is lively, academically unorthodox, often provocative, and occasionally barbed. Social scientists who are not familiar with the earlier version of these essays are well advised to become acquainted with the present volume.

ERNEST MANHEIM

University of Kansas City

Imperialism and Social Classes. By JOSEPH A. SCHUMPETER. New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1951. Pp. xxv+221. $3.00.

The late Professor Schumpeter's essays on the sociology of imperialism and on social classes, published in 1919 and 1927, respectively, are here for the first time in English; and we should thank translator, editor, and publisher for their various efforts. As one whose native language is German, this reviewer feels it necessary to point out that the style of the English translation is not simply adequate but superior to the original.

Schumpeter's essays are written in the grand style of a social scientist steeped in the tradition of thorough historical literacy. Some modern readers may consequently find them breathtaking: discussion ranges from the ancient Persians to nineteenth-century party politics in England, from Arab imperialism to social stratification among the Slavic tribes of the Pripet

marshes. Yet they would mistake Schumpeter's intention, I believe, if they quarreled with him on the ground of empirical validation, despite his own quite annoying mannerism of inserting phrases such as "it is well known" or "it cannot be disputed." Regardless of this occasionally supercilious style, the author is concerned with establishing two related hypotheses, which he seeks to support by such historical evidence as his learned German readers would accept as plausible and pertinent. These hypotheses are properly conceived as trenchant critiques of Marxian theory.

In his essay on imperialism Schumpeter states that the aggressive attitudes and actions of states cannot be fully explained by their "real," i.e., economic, interests. He emphasizes the importance of these interests, but he seeks to explain by means of historical examples that the "true reasons" for imperialist aggressiveness do not lie in the aims temporarily being pursued. Rather, "imperialism is the objectless disposition on the part of a state to unlimited forcible expansion" (pp. 6–7). This definition is universal, since it seeks to explain "forcible but objectless expansion" in all historical periods.

However, imperialism is "objectless" only as judged by the standard of economic gain. The noneconomic purposes of imperialist aggressiveness are explained by recourse to structural or situational necessities which have a very modern ring. The author refers primarily to the emergence of warrior classes within different societies and to the use which such classes make of war, in order to protect their social position and their psychological disposition. Though he does not go into the question of how such classes emerge (except incidentally in the second essay), he does show by examples how the "need" for aggression survives long after the situation in which it arose has passed. The various examples which Schumpeter cites are described with his customary skill and insight, and a great deal can be learned from them. But they prove the author's thesis only in the negative sense that economic goals *per se* do not play the major role in the aggressive actions of states. (However, the interest in survival on the part of a warrior class is in part an economic interest.) Imperialism is found to have rather specific objects, and Schumpeter has contributed greatly to our understanding of how the interests of particular social groups in a society may best be served by aggression of the sort which he has in mind. And this includes those instances in which external aggression is the end-product of internal social and political pressures. The merit of Schumpeter's analysis seems to me in part obscured by an anti-Marxist polemic which leads to a more pointed refutation of the role of economic interests than the evidence warrants. It is also questionable whether all "imperialisms" are really useful as a basis of scientific generalizations. Certainly, Schumpeter's own evidence on the diversity of social structures which have led to imperialist tendencies raises grave doubts. Yet, even if no "sociology of imperialisms" emerges, our insight into many structural bases for aggression is certainly enhanced, though the author could not in 1919 anticipate the type of modern imperialism which Hannah Arendt has recently analyzed in *The Origins of Totalitarianism*.

The second essay, on "Social Classes in an Ethnically Homogeneous Environment," seems to this reviewer by far the weaker of the two. Of course, the essay is also illuminating in many details, but it suffers from a basic flaw which puts it in striking contrast to the first essay. Schumpeter addresses himself to the question of how social classes are formed, a topic suggested by his earlier analysis of warrior classes, their emergence and historical role. The question of class formation is discussed by an analysis of "the rise and fall of families within a class," their movement across class lines, and "the rise and fall of whole classes." But, while the author referred to structural causes in his first essay, he ends up in the second with a "great-man" theory of class formation. That is to say, families as well as whole classes rise and fall in accordance with their positive or negative aptitude for the performance of the functions specific to their social position. (This is, of course, closely related to Schumpeter's well-known theory of economic development.)

This theory of class formation is, in my judgment, an irrefutable tautology. It is impossible to deny that a social class rises because its members demonstrate an aptitude to rise. But this is a truism rather than a truth. Many valuable social theories are based in part on some truism; and they are clearly not invalidated by this observation. But Schumpeter's theory of class formation is a truism which is sterile, even as a refutation of Marx. It is meant as a tribute to Schumpeter when I say that he has contributed much to our understanding of social stratification despite, rather than because of, this theory. In the essay on social classes, for example, he

gives a theory of the decline of the European nobility, which he calls "patrimonialization" and which Max Weber called "bureaucratization." There is a great deal of insight in this analysis which is independent of the particular and question-begging thesis that Schumpeter was so intent on proving.

Current studies of social stratification, of managerial decision-making, and of leadership will profit from Schumpeter's sociological writings. As essays in the construction of a social theory, his work will long be remembered, whether or not his conclusions are accepted.

REINHARD BENDIX

University of California, Berkeley

Knowing and the Known. By JOHN DEWEY and ARTHUR F. BENTLEY. Boston: Beacon Press, 1949. Pp. xiii+334. $4.00.

Knowing and the Known, though published by two philosophers, presumably for an audience of philosophers, may nevertheless be recommended to social psychologists. Certain sections are of especial interest. The chapter titled "A Confused 'Semiotic' " is a detailed critique of Charles Morris' terminology of signs. Morris has grafted an outmoded mentalistic vocabulary upon a current experimental psychological terminology; has separated sign from behavior and organism from environment; has, in short, discussed behavior in terms of the dualisms against which Dewey has so long and effectively inveighed. It demonstrates the difficulty of utilizing in social psychology concepts drawn from learning theory.

Two chapters discuss self-action, interaction, and transaction. "Self-action: where things are viewed as acting under their own power." "Inter-action: where thing is placed against thing in causal connection." "Trans-action: where systems of description and naming are employed to deal with aspects and phases of action, without final attribution to 'elements,' or other presumptively detachable or independent 'entities,' 'essences,' or 'realities,' and without isolation of presumptively detachable 'relations' from such detachable 'elements.' " That transaction should be a cardinal assumption is cogently argued, as in previous writings of both authors. The Dewey-Bentley criticism of "interaction" is pertinent to current writings on status and role, social class and behavior, culture and personality, where one term is often taken as causally dependent upon the other.

A chapter on "Specification" deals with the important problem of types or levels of sign behavior. The treatment emphasizes that "sign" is to be understood as activity, not as thing, a process located neither in environment nor in organism. Naming is seen as implicit in all human activity. While it is sophisticated and stimulating, the discussion gets no further in classifying types of signs than have various other schemes; and the handling of the transitional area between no language and the beginnings of language is aptly characterized by their own judgment that "border regions between signaling and naming [are] still imperfectly explored."

"A Trial Group of Names" consists of terms and definitions. These illustrate Dewey's strengths and weaknesses in social psychology. As a reminder of the bankruptcies of dualistic thinking, Dewey is without peer. Yet his concepts seem not to be so specifically fruitful and stimulating to social psychologists as those of his fellow-pragmatist, Mead.

The volume has a useful Index, as well as voluminous and interesting footnotes.

ANSELM STRAUSS

Indiana University

How Secure These Rights? Anti-Semitism in the United States in 1948: An Anti-Defamation League Survey. By RUTH G. WEINTRAUB. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1949. Pp. vi+215. $2.00.

This report on anti-Semitism and discrimination against Jews represents, in a sense, an initial step toward an organized implementation of the recommendations contained in the reports of the President's Committee on Civil Rights and the President's Commission on Higher Education. It is the result of a co-operative effort of the personnel and resources of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

This book is described as a "measuring rod of democracy's defects." It is an analysis of the discriminatory practices directed primarily against the Jewish group but also against Negroes and other minorities. The book presents a general "balance sheet" for 1948, which comprises a statement of achievements in eliminating discriminatory treatment of Jews and evidences of the continued existence and even ex-

tension of anti-Semitism. Likewise, a balance sheet appears for each of the following major areas of life in which discrimination against Jews occurs: housing, public accommodations and social organizations; education; and employment, in all of which discrimination is appropriately regarded as an abridgment of the right of American citizens, Jews and members of other minorities.

This book is not an essay; it is based on studies of discrimination against Jews and, as such, has special interest for students of minorities. The devices employed to maintain restricted residential areas are analyzed. Following the Supreme Court's ruling that racial restrictive covenants are not legally enforcible, the number of such devices has increased in many parts of the country, ranging from threats and violence and the use of mortgage and finance companies in order to achieve segregation to gentlemen's agreements entered into by property-owners and real estate boards not to sell property to Jews, Negroes, and members of other minority groups. Of special interest is the formation of organizations in many cities for the purpose of circumventing the Supreme Court's decisions. An example of these organizations is the Woodlawn Citizens Corporation in Chicago. This corporation is attempting to raise $250,000 to buy property offered for sale to "undesirables" at an increase of sale value up to $500 over the amount offered.

In institutions of higher education an ingenious method of investigation was utilized. Two letters requesting application blanks were addressed to over five hundred accredited institutions. One letter was signed with an obviously Jewish name, while the other was not. Four hundred and fifty institutions responded to this request. In more than 9 per cent of these responses it was apparent that the Jewish applicant was accorded differential treatment. In some instances the Jewish applicant received a different application form or was advised to apply later or received no reply. This phase of the study was accompanied by search of application blanks for potentially discriminating questions. A similar technique was utilized in the investigation of discrimination against Jews in hotels and resort accommodations, along with analyses of resort advertisements. The study also includes the results of social-distance surveys conducted by Elmo Roper for the Anti-Defamation League.

In the final chapter, "Breeding Grounds for Bigotry," the organized efforts to foster discrimination are analyzed. This covers anti-Semitic organizations, propaganda media, and antiminority legislation.

The work also includes a brief statement of programs which ought to be undertaken to continue the process of eliminating discrimination and anti-Semitism, including educational campaigns, legislation, and further exposés of discriminatory practices. While it is probably outside the purpose of this report, one would like to see included proposals for studies of the effectiveness of such programs as they are developed and carried out. Several studies of programs of this nature have already been undertaken, and it is hoped that effort in this direction will continue.

Not only is it a sensitive book on democracy's defects, but it constitutes an excellent appraisal of the civil status of the Jewish minority. As such, it is recommended to both the lay reader and the student of minority group relations who are interested in an analysis of one of America's greatest domestic problems, a problem which is assuming increasing importance in this country's role in world affairs.

HARRY J. WALKER

Howard University

Learning through Discussion. By NATHANIEL CANTOR. New York: Human Relations for Industry, 1951. Pp. 111.

This slim volume is written for leaders of discussion groups of a particular sort, which may be characterized as follows: The leader is essentially an "outside" consultant whose job is to come into the organization and help groups of employees (or subordinates) develop such insights as will result in improved practices in areas of concern to the management (school or industry).

This book presents a rationale for the leader and then illustrates good and poor behavior in a variety of incidents. The rationale is essentially Adlerian-Rogerian and includes a dash of interpretation of father-child relationships. The picture of the leader that emerges is basically the wise father, inhibiting many of his own impulses, keeping his anxieties in careful check, manipulating the group for its own good, being careful not to allow himself to be trapped, and treating each individual rather than the group.

The leader is a "professional" who understands individuals but does not share his feelings with them—he remains emotionally outside and above. The leader would be much like a nondirective counselor, except that he determines the problems for discussion and enforces his own judgment as to when the discussion is wandering too far from the point. This deviation stems from his feeling of responsibility to his bosses (or perhaps to society) to "learn" the group. (He is warned against a teaching attitude.)

The leader's major techniques during the meeting are: "reflecting" feelings of individuals and setting limits to the content of the discussion. Outside the meeting, he interviews nonparticipants and people whom he sees as problems to handle. The leader is concerned also with getting the others to accept responsibility for the content of the discussion; techniques here include shock (followed by reassurance), and persuasion ("are you all agreed that . . . ?").

The manipulatory attitude is shown in a consistent avoidance of sharing decisions with the group about *how* to proceed (the group freely decides the *content* for discussion within the limits set by the leader). The leader's role is not explained to the group, nor is the group free to change it; there is no group planning of steps (e.g., decision to list alternative views, then consider the implications of each in a given situation, then try to pull out generalizations). The group itself sets up no public criteria for judging progress; success appears to be mostly thought of as gratification of individuals. The orientation is always to the individual need for personal security and the emotional interaction is primarily between each member and the leader, although, as the group grows, member-member interaction no doubt gets established.

Certain possible pitfalls are probable in the type of leadership here advocated. The group *as a group* may never feel very strong involvement in the problem under discussion, even though a few individuals will be deeply involved. The group *as a group* will tend to proceed by intermember argumentation rather than through co-operation. The group *as a group* will not gain effectiveness in problem-solving other than that which follows when people feel freer to state views about content. The group *as a group* will devote a great deal of the energy otherwise available for problem-solving to "smothering" the leader with affection (see the analysis of "group dependency" given by W. R. Bion, "Experiences in Groups, I–VI" in the first four volumes of *Human Relations*). The group *as a group* will not learn methods of inquiry, reality testing, or experimentation. The group will be limited to discussion and will not make use of such highly effective techniques as buzz groups and sociodrama.

The book probably should be judged in terms of the author's purpose, which is to help novice leaders do a better job in an institutional setting. It should be helpful to those who accept the point of view that leadership is a personal role rather than a complex, flexibly organized group function; and to those who need to have their attention called to a variety of common mistakes. It is provocative, vigorous, and forthright, easy to read, and should be stimulating to all, whether or not one agrees with its basic assumptions.

HERBERT A. THELEN

University of Chicago

Virginia and the Civil Rights Program. By VIRGINIA SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION. Charlottesville: Bureau of Population and Economic Research, University of Virginia, 1949. Pp. 54. $1.00.

The five papers in this symposium deal mainly with changes in the interracial distribution of suffrage rights, political power, occupational status, economic opportunities, and educational facilities in Virginia since the Civil War. None contains new substantive data. Lorin Thompson's paper on the economic status of the Negro, 1910–48, carefully presents the relevant census data but avoids any general judgment about the prevalence of discrimination in the labor markets of Virginia. Allen Moger, writing on conservatism in Virginia politics between 1880 and 1920 and drawing primarily on his own earlier book, argues that economic conservatives (in this safely distant past) used the fear of Negro supremacy to keep their hands on the Democratic party machinery. Luther Jackson reports and supports the current efforts and successes of Negro protest groups. Charles Turner's paper on the historical background overlaps all three of these. James Leyburn sensitively and briefly reports on "the education of a Southerner"—the change of mind, the change of heart, and the growing acquaintance with Negroes as persons —which must have been experienced by upper-class white Virginians increasingly in recent decades. It seems to be agreed that Negroes

who want to vote enough to pay the poll tax can do so nowadays in Virginia; that the courts are reducing other inequalities; and that "public opinion" increasingly accepts such changes.

WILLIAM C. BRADBURY, JR.

University of Chicago

Studies in Leadership: Leadership and Democratic Action. Edited by ALVIN W. GOULDNER. New York: Harper & Bros., 1950. Pp. xvi+736. $5.00.

Here is a book predicated upon a genuine faith in the possibilities of human reason. In the editor's words, "it deals primarily with analyses of leadership . . . which promise some help to people engaged in democratic action." With this audience in mind, Gouldner has brought together in one volume thirty-one papers by social scientists, about two-thirds of which are here published for the first time. The contributors' membership in various academic disciplines enriches the work without making itself evident in the organization of the book.

The book is divided into five parts, each of which is introduced by short "contexts" by the editor, to provide "some political and scientific frameworks into which the articles could be placed." Part I, on types of leaders, is based upon Gouldner's classification of leaders: the bureaucrat, the agitator, and the informal leader. A question may be raised as to the conceptual utility of a classification which seems to treat two dimensions of leadership as one. That is, the bureaucrat and agitator, corresponding to Weber's bureaucratic and charismatic types of authority, are based on *forms of legitimation* of leadership, whereas the informal and formal leadership types are based on *forms of social groupings*. The relationship between the two dimensions is not considered because the distinction is not made. Part II, on leadership in different types of situations (social class, minority, and political) provides some interesting descriptive material but has little to offer in the way of analysis. Parts III, IV, and V focus on the problem of democratic versus authoritarian leadership and some of the barriers to the further development of the former. Particularly suggestive are previously unpublished papers by Bell, Lee, Nisbet, Riesman, and Glazer, all of whom share a concern with the problems of leadership and power, on the one hand, and popular participation and control, on the other, in the "present crisis of freedom and order in Western society."

Although Gouldner has not tried to provide a systematic framework for the study of leadership, he has set forth certain suggestions as to a theoretical approach to the problem area. Following a discussion of certain situational factors conditioning present-day approaches to the study of leadership, he considers in detail "trait" analysis and "situational" analysis. Although he clearly favors the "situational," he leaves the door open for the possibility that persisting elements in situations produce persisting leadership traits. By and large, Gouldner's orientation is in keeping with the growing realization among social scientists that leadership is an interpersonal situation, and, in Harold Lasswell's apt phrase, "power is not a brick that can be lugged from place to place, but a process that vanishes when the supporting responses cease." But, unlike Lasswell, Gouldner has failed to grasp adequately this perspective of leadership as *process*, as he reveals in such a statement as "sociologists believe that the *structures* in which leaders operate *compel* different forms of leadership behavior" (emphasis supplied). For if leadership is a process, existing only in so far as the communicative acts of those involved in the collective activity sustain and reaffirm the expectations for the ordering of the activity by certain of the persons, then as a process it cannot be analyzed in terms of traits or situations, structures or functions, or any combination of these, *alone*. Rather, the crux of the study of leadership would seem to be these *communicative acts*, occurring in situations and between persons with certain traits, to be sure, but not reducible to either.

Such conceptual differences aside, this book will be read by social scientists and other analysts of the social scene because it contains many stimulating ideas and because it discusses such a wide range of problems. It would be almost impossible for anyone to find nothing of interest in a volume which takes as its subject matter so wide an area as leadership and then proceeds to go well beyond that to tackle problems like political apathy and democratic planning. Some will be disappointed not to find selections from the "classics" on leadership (there are no selections from, for example, Weber, Mosca, Michels, Pareto, Lasswell); but the volume was not issued as a textbook in social science. Others will object to the fact that "this is

a frankly partisan book" (Gouldner), but the papers by and large are not intended as disinterested statements of theoretical and research findings. The book, bringing together as it does a series of interesting papers oriented toward the problems of democratic leadership, with the added virtue of being skilfully organized and introduced by the editor, merits a favorable reception.

WILLIAM KORNHAUSER

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Experimental Design in Psychological Research. By ALLEN L. EDWARDS. New York: Rinehart & Co., 1950. Pp. xiv+446. $5.00.

Statisticians whose interest lies outside agronomy have had brought to them the great advances in method associated with the name of R. A. Fisher and first applied in agronomy. Until these methods are used, few realize that a large-scale statistical survey can be meaningless because it has no reference to any population of practical concern. Experiments also frequently suffer from insensitivity, either through containing too few cases or being improperly designed.

Fisher's methods have been taken up successively by agronomists, pharmacologists, and others; but they are slow in making their way outside biology. Edwards' book is well calculated to promote their diffusion in social science. He is put to some inconvenience at times to secure psychological examples for all the methods which, in the interests of completeness, he presents; sometimes he drops into pharmacology, and frequently he gives what appear to be merely hypothetical examples. The exposition, however, is everywhere clear.

The book starts with a statement of what psychological research tries to do, which some psychologists and most sociologists will consider narrow. It frankly confines itself to those parts of the subject which can be expressed in terms of the relationship between measurable variables. After a good statement of the principles of design from the probability point of view, it takes up, successively, chi-square, correlation, the *t*-test, analysis of variance, factorial design, designs involving matched groups, Latin squares, and covariance. A point of practical importance—heterogeneity of variance—is discussed in connection with the *t*-test and the *F*-test; the various transformations for avoiding heterogeneity are reviewed.

The great number of arithmetical examples will be of exceptional use to the psychologist aiming to apply quantitative methods. If he works through the book, he will attain a degree of statistical competence that will suffice for all routine applications of analysis of variance to his data. For sociologists, its usefulness will be more limited, in so far as formulation in quantitative terms of real sociological problems is still largely in the future. In addition, sociology, dealing with people in a concrete social environment, is less often able to allocate its "treatments" at random; without random allocation, the testing for statistical significance has an altogether different meaning.

Tests of significance apply the theory of probability to see whether or not the arithmetical result of an experiment, e.g., that two varieties differ in yield, can be generalized; that is, they find whether the result could have arisen by chance if no real difference existed. The probability conclusion cannot be taken out of the result unless it is put in the form of random allocation of treatments. In the field of human fertility, for example, it is suspected that education as such inversely affects family size. We could design an experiment that would conclusively separate education from all other causes in a logically simple way only by allocating different amounts of education to subjects divided into random groups—a procedure administratively far from simple.

However troublesome the application of good statistical theory in sociology may be, this book is to be recommended as far more pertinent than the average exposition designed for social scientists, and it may well have an influence such as Snedecor's *Statistical Methods* had in agronomy.

NATHAN KEYFITZ

Ottawa, Canada

Emergent Human Nature: A Symbolic Field Interpretation. By WALTER COUTU. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949. Pp. xv+432+xii.

The reader of this volume is confronted with a complicated statement of a complex system of social psychology. After mastering the many new terms, the reader realizes that this piece of work results from arduous study and observa-

tion of diverse fields of knowledge of human behavior. The author conceives of it as a "new social psychology . . . which synthesizes the situational or field approach with the symbolic interactionist approach." A large portion of the book is given to a description of the process of selective responsiveness of the person through the formulation of a "theory of selectors." He conceives of personality as a dynamic system operating as an energy system in symbolic fields. The problem of motivation is dealt with by the author in terms of a situational field theory, the general point of view of the book being that "man always behaves in accordance with what the situation means to him."

The author considers this book "a first attempt to incorporate in a systematic manner the great contribution of George Herbert Mead. It is also a first attempt to reinterpret Mead in terms of field theory and operationalism. . . . The viewpoint is therefore field-centric rather than organo-centric or enviro-centric."

The study begins with a consideration of an appropriate unit of measure in order to identify a behavioral unit of analysis. Such units as stimulus-response, attitude, or act are not regarded as adequate units of measure. Instead, the author proposes the concept of *tinsit* as "a unit process of action." This term was arrived at by abbreviating the phrase "tendency in situation." It is pointed out that "tendency in situation" is not to be confused with a form of vitalism or other internal drive. The guiding conception is that human personality and behavior are related to condition or situation. Tinsit "includes all other behavioral units on all levels . . . ; every type of act or mechanism earlier referred to as a tendency will hereafter be referred to as a *tinsit*, whether it be a habit, mental act, attitude, disposition, idea, impulse, trait, or any other behavior. *Tinsit* is defined as a probable behavior in a given situation or a behavior or a given probability under stated conditions. The *tinsit* is an inference based on frequency of a given behavior in a given situation." This, according to the author, would lead to the use of statistical operation in a study of individual as well as group behavior. One wonders how such a vague concept, that includes so many things, can be used as a unit of measure. And, further, is it feasible to regard the concept of tinsit, which the author also defines as an "inference" as suitable for statistical manipulation?

In order to explain his conception of the development and meaning of human nature, the author introduces the concept of *personic*. The concept of *personic* isolates the person "as a process or system of processes distinguishable from the other processes called the body." The author regards human nature as "personic nature which is fundamentally the ability to communicate with self and others by the use of symbols, in other words, the ability to participate in the symbolic process." He claims that "this is probably the only book in which this interpretation appears." It should be noted, however, that the process of socialization has been dealt with by the symbolic interactionists, who long ago pointed out that social interaction is a communicative process in which people share experiences rather than merely play back and forth as stimulus and response. That point of view subsumes the notion that the symbolic level of behavior involves an intermediary between stimulus and response, that intermediary being interpretation or meaning.

It is perplexing that the author of this system of social psychology who uses symbolic interaction as a frame of reference should not have referred to the work of Cooley on human nature in the primary group. Surely, Cooley's discussion of the significance of communication in *Social Organization* (pp. 61 ff.), in which he introduces the remarkable illustration in the case of Helen Keller by the statement "without communication the mind does not develop a true human nature," and his chapters on "Sociability and Personal Ideas," "Sympathy or Understanding as an Aspect of Society," "The Social Self and the Various Phases of the I" (*Human Nature and the Social Order*), are worth considering in a treatise on human nature.

One might seriously question whether the author has succeeded in demonstrating how one can manipulate quantitatively the central concepts of the symbolic interactionists. It might have been better had the author not made so many claims, since this book does reveal his earnest preoccupation and great zeal to further the horizons of social psychology.

SAMUEL M. STRONG
Carleton College

Personality Projection in the Drawing of the Human Figure. By KAREN MACHOVER. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1949. Pp. ix+181. $3.50.

Karen Machover has admirably delineated the uncertain stance of a relatively new technique for investigating personality. She obviously did not intend this little volume as a manual for administering and analyzing the "draw a person" test but rather for showing the potentialities and present shortcomings of a projective technique for personality analysis.

The author states forthrightly that she has no intention of trying to communicate the method to the reader; one hopes, however, that, if this technique is as useful as its advocates claim, someone will present the principles clearly, stating the criteria for analysis and the underlying rationale. The author suggests that such a work must await the outcome of experimentation now in progress or proposed; certainly, experimental verification of the present tentative hypotheses must be undertaken if social scientists are to have confidence in the method.

There are some omissions, however, which make the book unsatisfactory. In general, the treatment of theoretical considerations is adequate, but the conceptual framework has sometimes been neglected. While the author suggests a concept of the "normal" personality and mentions "normality or adjustment indicators," the latter are not specified, and the implication is clear that the "normal" configuration is not one which can be ascertained in positive terms but simply one which is comparatively free from the indicators of abnormality. Mrs. Machover obviously recognizes this lack but seems to consider it relatively unimportant: "the differentiation of normal from abnormal by drawing analysis is a less real problem than the effectiveness of the method in determining the personality and dynamics of the behavior of the individual." It is true, however, that at the present time clinical psychologists are using this particular technique for making judgments that differentiate the normal and the abnormal.

A further shortcoming is that, although it is quite clear that the sexes are expected to draw differently, there is no firm statement of the varying significance of the indicators for the two sexes. Mrs. Machover points out that her data are more nearly complete for males than for females and that most of the interpretative data relate to drawings made by males, but the occasional mention of alternative explanations when drawings are made by female subjects becomes a distracting feature which contributes little to understanding the test. Omitting interpretation for female subjects completely would have been better than this wholly inadequate treatment of the subject.

Configurations of indicators are stated to be the proper basis for analysis; yet careful study of the sample analyses fails to reveal these patterns and leaves the reader with a strong suspicion that conclusions are based upon a simple additive process rather than a weighing and balancing of indicators.

A technique should not be abandoned or refused recognition because it does not do everything. What the author succinctly calls "economy of method" makes it imperative that every effort be made to determine the validity and reliability of the test and to perfect the technique if it can be shown to be dependable. A method of personality investigation which so simplifies problems of administration would be invaluable if it could be made precise and clearly communicable.

OLIVE WESTBROOKE QUINN

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The Negro in Northern Brazil: A Study in Acculturation. Edited by MARIAN W. SMITH. New York: J. J. Augustin, 1949. Pp. viii+133. $2.75.

This study contains the results of field studies, carried on in 1943 and 1944, in the state of Maranhão in northeastern Brazil. The materials on the culture of the Negroes in a rural and an urban community were collected in order to determine to what extent African ways of life persisted, the degree of acceptance of European culture, how far the two traditions had become integrated, and the processes and conditions which created the present integrated culture.

The first chapter contains a brief statement of the theoretical assumption upon which the study is based, namely, that the extent to which one group takes over the culture of another or the extent to which the two cultures become amalgamated depends upon the "cultural focus" of each or their persistent values. In the five succeeding chapters material on the following subjects is analyzed: the urban and rural communities; the economic activities of the Negroes; the family life of the Negroes; the religious life of the Negroes; and their ideas concerning the soul and life after death. Nearly two-thirds of the materials and discussions are contained in the last two chapters.

The investigator was able to collect data on the tribal origins of the Negroes from the official inventories made on the death of slaveholders. Consequently, he was in a much better position than students of African survivals in the United States. In certain parts of Brazil indisputable evidence of such survivals is before one's eyes. The author presents an abundance of materials on African survivals, especially in the religious life of the Negroes, while often he can only make inferences concerning African survivals in other phases of Negro life. Thus the evidence supports his thesis, since the "cultural focus" of the Negroes who became enslaved was on religious values.

The Brazilian evidence on the role of the "cultural focus" in Negro culture in Brazil does not warrant the author's conclusions on the religious life of Negroes in the United States. Uncritically, he repeats Herskovits' highly questionable assertion that large numbers of Negroes in the United States became Baptists because baptism by immersion was associated with river gods and other African water deities. It is difficult, too, to accept the author's inferences (they are only inferences) that the so-called "common-law marriages" and unstable family relations in Maranhão represent an African survival or the adaptation of African customs to European mores.

Despite these criticisms, this is a valuable contribution to the study of the Negro in the New World and one which should interest sociologists working in the field of race and culture contacts.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

Howard University

The Criminal. By AUGUST VOLLMER. Brooklyn, N.Y.: Foundation Press, 1949. Pp. xiii+462. $4.00.

The policeman in our society has the status of a pariah. A lurid history of graft and brutality, current involvement in politics and graft, and American antipathy to the restrictions of the law has resulted in a social stereotype of the policeman as ignorant, corrupt, and brutal. Policemen are conscious of, and sensitive about, this definition of themselves, and for them it poses difficult problems in the maintenance of self-esteem. But there are few ways in which they can obtain prestige and justify themselves before the society. The apprehension of criminals and the solution of major crimes are such avenues. All too frequently the efficiency of the force and the competence of the man are assessed in these terms. Thus policemen have an intense interest in criminal apprehension, an interest which is intensified in times like the present, when they are inundated with criticism. This interest, commendable in itself, leads to a strong tendency to disregard morality and the rights provided in the law, to an acceptance of the thesis that the end justifies the means. Bargaining and brutality are often the result.

The individual policeman is restrained only by discipline and his own conscience. Solidarity among the police makes the first of little consequence. The policeman himself seeks a convenient conscience. Hence any work on the criminal written for policemen must be assessed in terms of its impact on the policeman and its usefulness to him. August Vollmer, a veteran police chief who has great prestige in police circles, has written such a book. Vollmer was chief of police in Berkeley, California, for twenty-seven years, has reorganized the police departments of San Diego and Los Angeles, and has served as a police consultant for Detroit, Kansas City, Minneapolis, and Havana. He was one of the first to stress the importance of crime prevention for the police. His police training school has been a model for three decades. His earlier work, *The Police and Modern Society*, is one of the best in the field.

Vollmer's *The Criminal* contains six substantive chapters which ostensibly cover the biological, physiological, psychological, sociopsychological, pathological, and law-enforcement aspects of criminal behavior. Actually, criminal behavior is only incidental to the book's content, which consists of little more than a casual, personal, unintegrated, and undocumented portrayal of the human being and his behavior. Following a lengthy introduction, the author presents a general account of evolution, genetics, the nervous system, glandular purpose and functioning, maturation, the function of the brain, motivation, and human pre-history. The reader is left to imagine how this information is related to the criminal. When Vollmer does choose to make reference to the criminal, it is only by way of illustration; and the implication behind many of the illustrations is that the criminal is a physiological product. Thus an account is given of an incorrigible delinquent who defeats the best efforts of parents, teachers, social workers, and psychologists. The matter is presumably clarified by the discovery that the

boy is the son of a famous English criminal, his mother's first husband.

The chapter on the sociopsychological aspects contains no material which has any resemblance to known or validated data or theories. Rather, it consists of the author's unique theory of human behavior, revolving around the concepts of habits, dispositions, conscience, ideals, virtues, and vices. Essentially, this theory pictures man as the savage bound by the rules of society. Thus: "Primarily his [man's] incapacity to cope with present conventions and laws may be traced to the bitter conflict that arises between those inherent qualities and acquired habits that made it possible for him to survive as a primitive animal for millions of years, and the restrictive rules governing social conduct in civilized nations" (p. 197).

Concerning pathology, Vollmer makes the following characteristic statement: "Regardless of the kind of insanity which affects the patient, his behavior will be dominated by his inherent personality structure" (p. 335). This is in line with the theme of the book, which is that behavior is primarily a result of biological influences and that criminal behavior arises from biological weakness or inferiority. The author gives lip service to multiple causation and to social influences, but his emphasis and examples belie the stated catholicity of explanation. That adherence to biological explanations of something as complex as criminal behavior in the face of much evidence to the contrary is inexcusable hardly needs be said.

The author's prejudices are starkly evident when he states: "Every community has its share of the Martyr Paranoidal Psychopaths. . . . They are the radical political, social and economic rebels and trouble-makers who constitute the leaders of a group that oppose the prevailing order and seek to overthrow existing systems or to destroy harmonious management-labor relations" (p. 323).

Vollmer's positive contribution lies in his emphasis on the complexity of criminal behavior and the care which he takes to dispel monistic folk explanations of criminal causality. His chapter on law enforcement is excellent, for here he speaks with authority. He indorses police training schools in the universities, pointing out the complexity of the policeman's duties and the social effects of his decisions. He asks for an integration of law-enforcement agencies and indicts the widespread intrusion of politics into law-enforcement bodies. He criticizes the prison systems and particularly the city and county jails, which he feels are literally schools for criminals. What Vollmer says in this chapter needs continual reiteration and should be brought to the attention of public administrators. It is, however, information which most policemen are familiar with.

This book, emphasizing as it does the biological inferiority of the criminal, is a dangerous one to give to policemen. The things which the policeman is most likely to remember and pass on to his fellows are the stories and illustrations; yet it is exactly in the illustrations that the biological explanation becomes most blatant. Most of the illustrations cater to existing prejudices, and one can but reflect that the author has inadvertently provided an excuse for the third degree.

Equally unfortunate is Vollmer's failure to provide the policeman with a useful account of the criminal and criminal behavior. Nowhere does one find any account of the relationship between the criminal and the slum, the gang, correctional institutions, and criminal society; nowhere is there any indication of how the policeman can learn to recognize and deal with different kinds of criminals. There is a serious need for a book of this kind—a book which will provide the patrolman and the detective with a summary and condensation of criminological knowledge in terms permissive of action.

In particular, the policeman needs to be familiar with the urban preconditions of crime and the social origins of juvenile delinquency. Much of the ordinary policeman's experience is with petty crime and with the criminal in formation. He can function most effectively in the prevention of crime. He can and does make independent decisions as to whether a man should be brought in or turned loose. He needs the kind of information which will enable him to make these decisions effectively. It is disappointing that Vollmer, whose intimate familiarity with police organization and terminology and with the policeman's frame of reference eminently qualifies him for this task, has failed so dismally.

Police administrators and teachers should be warned against this book. The social scientist can look to it as an example of the failure in communication between the expert and the practitioner, for here the gulf between research and action is large indeed.

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IN THIS ISSUE

Herbert A. Bloch, chairman of the department of sociology and anthropology at St. Lawrence University, contributes to this issue a formulation of gambling as a function of societies where status is competitive and dependent upon pecuniary standards. An expanded treatment appears in his new book, *Social Pathology.*

In his paper on the assimilation of new arrivals in Israel, **S. N. Eisenstadt,** lecturer in sociology at Hebrew University, proposes the theory that the family is introduced to the larger social world by the elites, which thus play the role of promoters of cultural assimilation. The author, who is currently engaged in a cross-cultural study of age grades and youth groups, wrote the first report on *Absorption of Immigrants in Israel.*

James Stephen Brown, assistant professor of rural sociology at the University of Kentucky, states in his study, published in this issue, that endogamy is customary in the highest and in the lowest social strata of the Holiness sect in a Kentucky mountain community. The paper deals with one aspect of his more extensive research into the family and kinship structure in Kentucky's rural counties.

That families living in the open country go far afield in joining associations while villagers are more local in their habits is established in "Social Participation in the Rural Community." The authors, **Selz C. Mayo,** associate professor of rural sociology, and **C. Paul Marsh,** a graduate student, both at the University of North Carolina, arrived at these conclusions following a restudy of Wake County, North Carolina, whose social organization was investigated thirty years ago by Zimmerman and Taylor.

Milton L. Barron, assistant professor of sociology at Cornell, comments on research in intermarriage and on American attitudes to mixed marriages. He is directing a seven-year study of occupational retirement in the United States as it affects physical and mental morbidity and mortality and is the author of *People Who Intermarry.*

In "Group Centrism in Complex Societies," **Donald P. Kent** and **Robert G. Burnight** distinguish ethnocentrism, xenocentrism, or preference for cultures other than one's own, and a third type, the appreciation of cultures on their own merits. The first-named contributor, author of a forthcoming book, *The Refugee Intellectual,* is assistant professor of sociology at the University of Connecticut. The second, an assistant professor of rural sociology at the University of Connecticut, is engaged in research on internal migration.

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In the issue of November, 1950, the *Journal* published "Sociometric Stars as Isolates" by F. Stuart Chapin (pp. 263–67). A critique of this article appears in this issue, written by **Joan H. Criswell,** assistant head of the Human Relations and Morale Branch of the Human Resources Division of the Office of Naval Research and **Helen Hall Jennings,** associate professor of education at Brooklyn College. Both are interested in leadership and informal social groupings.

"Personnel Counseling: The Hawthorne Case" is a study of employee counseling as conducted at the Hawthorne Plant of the Western Electric Company as a consequence of Elton Mayo's famous experiments in human relations in industry. The authors are **Jeanne L. Wilensky,** who draws upon two years of experience as a supervisor of employees in an electrical equipment factory and three years as a personnel counselor at the Hawthorne Plant, and **Harold L. Wilensky,** assistant professor of sociology at the University of Chicago, who at the time of writing was a research associate of the University's Industrial Relations Center.

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THE AMERICAN
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THE SOCIOLOGY OF GAMBLING

HERBERT A. BLOCH

ABSTRACT

Widespread resentment against gambling may be explained by the failure of gamblers to perform normally expected productive functions. The degree of antipathy differs according to class. The chance element in human life is particularly exploited in those societies where status is largely competitive and dependent upon pecuniary standards. The stabilizing and routinized mechanisms of social living are antithetical to gambling, which resists arbitrary social control.

GAMBLING AND SOCIAL PATHOLOGY

Gambling has an extremely ancient history. As an institutionalized and informal pastime, it is not necessarily an evil and may, in fact, as it has in the past, serve as an important form of recreation. Artifacts and relics pertaining to various games of chance, such as paired cubes, throwing stones, drawing sticks, gaming boards, and similar contrivances, have been found in the archeological remains of the Sumerian, Egyptian, and Chinese cultures. The Greeks were particularly familiar with games of chance, and the casting of paired and multiple cubes was an especially favored pastime among the Romans. Primitive cultures, from the ancient Peruvian to the Bantu in Africa and the Eskimo in North America, have regaled themselves with such amusements as matching fingers or rolling pebbles or other objects, in which the elements of chance constituted one of the principal attractions. Early magic and religious rituals relied heavily upon chance, as in the study of the entrails of sacrificial animals among the Romans, although divine intervention was employed as an explanatory device in order to impose some sense of order upon the unknown and the unpredictable. Card-playing has a lengthy history, many of the forms of our modern card games predating the medieval era in European history.

Gambling emerges as a form of social pathology only when there is widespread resentment against it because of the psychological and social problems which it creates. In the first place, in the inveterate gambler it frequently becomes an addiction, as in the celebrated character of Dostoevski's minor classic, *The Gambler*, who neglected personal, family, and social responsibilities. The gambler is condemned largely for his failure to perform the normal productive functions ordinarily expected of him rather than because of the nature of the gambling itself.

Leisure may be respectably enjoyed in most societies only when work is put first. Furthermore, the recreation must not be considered socially destructive or unproductive in itself. This latter consideration, while not a universal characteristic of "antisocial"

recreation, may nevertheless become so in a culture like our own, which places a high value upon economic activity. The emphasis is, however, a *class* function. In underprivileged economic groups such unproductive activity is strongly condemned, but in wealthier middle-class groups, however, gambling, though "wasteful," does not carry the same stigma.

Unlike excessive drinking, drug addiction, or sex demoralization, gambling produces no directly deteriorating effects upon the human organism or the social group. Its danger lies in the fact that it interferes with the normal assumption of responsibility which organized society compels. Second, gambling, as any other form of widely accepted and extensively practiced, although tabooed, form of social behavior, may become a social problem because of its intimate association with unscrupulous and lawless elements. Despite public strictures against it, particularly in the United States, gambling in its various institutionalized forms, ranging from card games for low or high stakes, horse-racing, bingo, betting on the outcome of various forms of athletic competition, and pinball and other mechanical gambling contrivances to the vast "numbers and policy" games which prey upon small-income groups in our large cities, has become a significant element in modern recreational life. Even before it became associated with underworld and vice elements, however, gambling had been viewed with profound suspicion because of the peculiar psychological, cultural, and familial disabilities it produces. In fact, certain religious bodies, such as the Methodists, have fought gambling almost as strenuously as the directly deteriorating vices.

Nevertheless, because of the ambivalence of the public, which condemns gambling as socially destructive while regarding with indifference or approval bingo games played in church parlors, gambling has become extremely difficult to control. Because of this, many modern European and Latin-American countries have capitalized upon what is conceived as an ineradicable "human weakness" by diverting the profits from gambling to public revenues in the form of vast governmentally controlled national lotteries.

THE SOCIOLOGY OF GAMBLING

The essential basis for all gambling seems to inhere in the chance factor of success for its participants, irrespective of the type of device or game which is employed. The *aleatory* (or chance) element, however, always varies. Gambling may call for skill, as in certain card games and athletic competitions, or it may simply depend upon the chance throw of a pair of dice or the draw of a card, as in stud poker. In any event, the element of chance is always present. It is an indispensable aspect of its universal appeal.

Certain social and cultural systems seem to foster and exploit the chance element in human life, particularly those societies where status largely depends upon competitive pecuniary standards. This is notably true in the United States, where rapid commercial expansion and industrial development conspire to spur the individual to economic success through sharp competitive practice, and where industrial expansion has depended to a considerable degree upon precarious and speculative enterprise. In the United States, for example, the distinction between certain forms of approved and legitimate stock-market speculation and the cultivation of the gambling interest is largely a matter of degree, yet one is approved and the other condemned. An illustration of this may be seen in the sharp rise of speculation among basic commodities, at perilous expense to the American economic structure and the national security, at the beginning of the Korean crisis early in the summer of 1950. Operating almost entirely on credit, speculators at the very start of the Korean war began to buy up "futures" of soybeans, lard, wheat, and other necessities. According to an analysis by the Commodity Exchange Authority of the United States Department of Agriculture, up to 85 or 90 per cent of the dealings in soybeans for July 21, 1950, was

pure speculation—betting that the market would go up as a result of the crisis. The report of the Commodity Exchange Authority states:

> A speculator who purchased just before the Korean episode and deposited the minimum margin could have "cashed in" five weeks later, on July 28, with an approximate 450 percent profit on lard, 300 percent on cottonseed oil, 300 percent on soybeans, 150 percent on cotton or wool tops, and a comparatively modest 100 percent on the relatively sluggish wheat futures.[1]

Operating against chance, however, are the stabilizing and routinized mechanisms which are the basis of the social order. In order to achieve any type of security, every society strives to reduce ignorance and the unpredictable, as a means of insuring its own continuance.[2] Nevertheless, a certain degree of ignorance concerning the operation of both physical and human events must, of necessity, always exist. Ignorance of events, therefore, and of their outcome serves as a dynamic function in all societies.[3] Where knowledge of the outcome of a given series of human events is certain, there is no incentive toward competition and other forms of social striving. Von Neumann and Morgenstern have demonstrated this point of view in their analysis of economic behavior as compared to the "sporting" chance present in playing games.[4]

For a society such as our own—complex, impersonal, and yet highly competitive—a great premium is placed upon conformity and the need for routine. At the same time there is great pressure to break the routine to initiate, to promote, and to experiment in order to bring about the dynamic growth of a continuously expanding social economy. For large masses of individuals, this is difficult, if not impossible. Hedged in by stereotyped employment which is ever increasingly regularized, the fear of insecurity, the pressures of family, and the opinions of others, the average individual fears to "take the chance" that may mean riches and prestige, despite the traditional assurance that the country's growth and expansion have depended upon people who *did* exactly that. Moreover, as Allison Davis and the Lynds have shown in their studies of working-class families, they frequently realize that they are trapped and that there exists neither opportunity nor incentive for further advancement.[5] For many, however, the opportunity of making a "killing," whether by betting on the Irish Sweepstakes or by winning the giant jackpot on some radio "giveaway" program or by answering the "$64 question," is a genuine possibility; they hardly ever take odds into consideration. Gambling serves the same function in the present day as the practice of magic and ritualistic formulas among primitives, who entertain the notion that the unpredictable contains for them among its infinite possibilities the chance of good fortune. It is probably no accident that inveterate gamblers are the most superstitious of men. This uncertainty is played upon by all peoples in all cultures and is the source of the perennial folk proverb, "While there's life, there's hope."

Gambling is an escape from the routine and boredom characteristic of much of modern industrial life in which the sense of creation and the "instinct of workmanship" have been lost. "Taking a chance" destroys routine and hence is pleasurable, particularly in a culture where the unchanging and

[1] United States Department of Agriculture, *Report of the Commodity Exchange Authority* (Washington, D.C., August, 1950).

[2] Cf., e.g., Wilbert E. Moore and Melvin M. Tumin, "Some Social Functions of Ignorance," *American Sociological Review*, XIV, No. 6 (December, 1949), esp. 794 and 795.

[3] See Robert K. Merton, "The Unanticipated Consequences of Purposive Social Action," *American Sociological Review*, I (December, 1936), 894–904.

[4] Cf. John von Neumann and Oskar Morgenstern, *Theory of Games and Economic Behavior* (2d ed.; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947). See also Oskar Morgenstern, "The Theory of Games," *Scientific American*, CLXXX, No. 5 (May, 1949), 22–25.

[5] See, e.g., Allison Davis, "The Motivation of the Underprivileged Worker," *ETC: A Review of General Semantics*, III, No. 4 (summer, 1946), 243–53.

predictable routines of employment are sharply separated from "leisure"—the time when the individual *really* "lives." The desire for thrills through new experience makes the public readily open to exploitation by professional gambling interests, as Moore and Tumin point out:

> Certainly the attractiveness of many games of chance, as well as those games and sports where chance may equalize or offset known differences in skill and performance, rests in large measure on their unpredictable outcome. In fact, there is some rough evidence that ignorance of the future in recreational activities assumes an especially significant role where routine (read: perfect predictability) and boredom are characteristic of work assignments and where there is a sharp break between working time and leisure time.[6]

There remain, finally, the conditions of "differential association," opportunity, and the large blocks of unplanned leisure, which modern society permits. Games of chance are traditionally found, and even encouraged, in the play of children in modern society, ranging from traditional children's guessing and matching games to the early imitation of adult gambling and card games. In many families, on all class levels, card-playing and other forms of gambling, even when the stakes are low, have become deeply intrenched. There are ethnic, class, and even sex differentials in these common forms of recreation. Bridge-playing is largely a middle-class diversion, while poker is traditionally considered a "man's game," and the casting of dice, aside from professional gambling interest, is common among Negroes. For many young men of the lower and middle class, learning to play cards is part of growing up and becoming identified with adults and their standards. For the individual with few inner resources, whose employment offers little opportunity for progressive challenge and advancement and is tedious and boring, and in whose early experience gambling in some form has played a part, to be a gambler is as commonplace and natural as to become an ardent baseball fan or a moving-picture addict.

[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 794.

In summary, gambling provides a function in well-organized societies where the stress of competition (with its lack of predictability) is great, and where, in contrast, the regimen of economic and social life is rigorous. Such a society, placing a premium upon "risk" and "taking a chance," provides through gambling an outlet for many individuals who, hedged in by social restrictions and limited or no opportunity, would otherwise find little satisfaction for the need for new experience and pecuniary success. This penchant for taking a chance is expressed in the popular cliché: "Why not? What have you got to lose?" The implications are twofold.

In the first place, the probability of being the winner or the loser in a gaming enterprise provides suspense, insecurity, new experience, and hope, serving important emotional needs in individuals whose lives are increasingly regularized.[7] Although certain cultural factors and conditions must also be taken into consideration, this may account in part for the heavy gambling in cards in certain classes, such as the landed English gentry of the eighteenth century. Although highly stable and securely ensconced in the social structure through special favor and privilege, "life in the country," as judged by descriptive accounts, diaries, and letters of the period, was extremely boring.[8] Gambling provided a precarious diversion, as did the risks of fox-hunting: a man would risk his entire estate upon the turn of a card. This aristocratic tradition had its counterpart in this country in the ante bellum South among wealthy plantation owners.

In the second place, the belief that chance works equally in favor of each one of the contestants in a gambling venture sustains the hope for status or rewards, which the individual feels may *not* be achieved through conventional and acceptable channels. (Who hasn't dreamed of what he would do if he

[7] The family lives of a small selected group of gamblers who were examined by the author were characterized by an extreme of regimentation.

[8] Cf., e.g., David Matthew, *The Social Structure of Caroline England* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948).

had a million dollars?) Further, in American life, the "get-something-for-nothing" philosophy is expressed in a wide range of activities from saving box tops for premiums to the enormous prizes of the radio "give-away" programs. This incentive, ironically, operates even when what is given away—as, for example, a thousand cans of dog food—may have very little or no value to the contestant. The antics of a fictional "Get-Rich-Quick Wallingford" or his realistic counterpart, "Bet-a-Million" Gates, the financial tycoon, excited the admiration, envy, and emulation of an earlier generation of Americans at the beginning of the century, just as the giant radio and television "jackpot" contests entice their present-day children and grandchildren.

THE GAMBLER AS A PERSONALITY TYPE

Since gambling is so extensive, gamblers, unlike alcoholics, do not fall into any specific typological classification. Nevertheless, certain common characteristics may be found in their personalities. Gambling, as a form of addiction, occurs when the individual consistently and continuously neglects his important primary duties and obligations to his family, employer, and community for the sake of gambling. The life-histories of inveterate gamblers indicate a transitional period in their careers when their regular routines are seriously jeopardized and it becomes increasingly common for them to stay away from home and job for lengthy periods. The inveterate gambler becomes as unpredictable and undependable as the alcoholic, as far as his home and his work are concerned. Aside from horse-racing and other spectacles which encourage gambling, most forms of professional gambling may be indulged in at any time of the day or night, and night-long sessions, disrupting the routine of normal life, are quite common. For the gambler who consistently pursues his gambling interests, therefore, the discipline and orderliness which to some degree characterize the lives of most individuals are gone.

It is not uncommon to find occasional evidences of neglect of diet and sleep. Neglect of personal appearance, a matter of great importance in a highly competitive society, is another characteristic; although not very common, this is a revelation of class. In fact, some gamblers sedulously cultivate a dapper appearance as a means of indicating affluence and respectability and betokening, among other things, solvency as a gambling partner or adversary. The interesting psychological feature of gambling is the enormous hold it finally comes to exert upon the personality, comparable in a sense to the grip of alcohol, without its adverse physical effects. Once addicted, even though the gambler may recognize the harm his practice is causing his family, business associates, and others, he will nevertheless continue to follow his bent, living in the hope of making up in one final sweep of winnings an amount sufficient to compensate for his previous losses and, consequently, to make restitution to his family and friends. The motive to gamble, when once it has achieved a "functional autonomy" of its own, may dominate other primary considerations of the personality.[9] This impetus is so strong that the individual may transgress against law in order to accomplish his purpose. Embezzlement is a common offense of gamblers.

The continual suspense in which the gambler lives engenders an emotional tension. He is frequently taut, the hypertension being sustained for lengthy periods of time. He cannot afford to relax, since he is invariably either raising funds for his gambling forays or planning for or making his bets. He devotes considerable time and energy to his enterprises. The amount of time spent in working over his "dope sheets" in horse-racing, for example, and the degree of concentration required are impressive.

Subjected to the tension involved in continuous risk-taking, the gambler learns to affect characteristic expressive behavior. His inner turmoil and anxiety are frequently repressed through an assumption of stoical calm, evidenced in the well-known "poker

[9] Cf. Gordon W. Allport, *Personality: A Psychological Interpretation* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1937), chap. vii.

face" of the inveterate card-player. Moreover, just as the alcoholic secretes liquor and funds for a potential drinking bout, the gambler will retain a reservoir of funds—his "betting money"—which he will not use even for pressing personal needs or the needs of his family. Finally, there is interesting evidence of the mechanisms of compensation and other characteristic forms of psychological tension-reducing devices: for example, he frequently boasts about his winnings, real or fictitious, to nongamblers, while he bemoans the exaggerated extent of his losses to his fellow-gamblers.

The specialized humor of gambling and the jokes which gamblers exchange among themselves reflect their tensions and their underlying cynicism, the latter an evidence that they are aware of the futility of gambling. Striking is the paradox between the gambler's perennial hope that he can "beat the game" and his realistic knowledge that it is virtually impossible to do so.

THE GAMBLER'S CODE OF ETHICS

Gambling over many centuries has produced a traditional code of ethics. Primary is the "gentleman's code"—that gambling debts must be paid and given priority over other forms of obligation. This may be in part a survival of the eighteenth-century aristocrat's code of the "debt of honor." The individual may indulge in chicanery and dishonesty in order to satisfy his gambling creditors, so deeply is the obligation felt.

There is, however, another significant sociological element in this practice. The basic thrill in gambling rests in the expectation that the individual may make a "killing." This, of course, depends upon chance or the inability to predict what the outcome may be. This, however, is premised upon a certainty—the certainty that the loser will pay his debts. Otherwise, the gaming venture itself has no validity. "To win" without "winning" makes no sense. Hence, to make the gambling worth while and profitable, there must be the continued assurance that the loser will pay his debts. Chance itself becomes *institutionalized* in the certainty, viz., the certainty that *if* he wins, he will be paid.[10]

GAMBLING: A DILEMMA OF MODERN SOCIETY

The practice and organization of gambling seems to follow a cycle. So well intrenched is it as a form of recreation, and so propitious are the various cultural elements in modern society which promote it, that, like the prohibition of alcohol, legislation and other forms of arbitrary social control are frequently considered an infringement upon personal prerogative and privilege. Consequently, it is a widespread practice which, in its disorganizing effects upon groups and personalities and the possibilities for exploitation it offers to lawless elements, goes uncontrolled. And when control *is* attempted, it is virtually impossible to maintain because of the secure place which gambling enjoys in the folkways. As a result, legislation and other controls are only partial. Such measures provide an incentive toward the opening-up of forms of gambling still proscribed, paving the way toward irresponsible control by lawless and corrupt elements. This invites further legal control, again impossible to enforce and leading to further corruption, with the result that eventually considerable popular pressure is exerted to legalize all forms of gambling. When this occurs, the dangers of widespread legalized gambling invite hazards for the entire society, reintroducing the need for partial control; and the cycle begins again. This is apparently the phase of the cycle which we have presently reached.

From the standpoint of social control, gambling thus presents two major problems:

[10] In the hierarchy of gamblers' values, failure to "pay off" when a debt is due is the cardinal sin, since the continuance of the entire involved structure of professional gambling interests depends upon the honoring of the debt. So clearly is this recognized by professional gamblers that gambling syndicates, ordinarily reluctant to advance each other's interests, will nevertheless extend credit to each other so that the confidence of the gambling public may remain unjeopardized.

that of the disorganized individual gambler and that of widespread effective control.

The extreme gambler, a sociopathic deviation, requires concerted therapeutic and psychiatric care.

The social control of gambling presents two alternatives: (1) Gambling may be diminished or removed only to the degree that other recreational choices are cultivated—a problem involving widespread social reappraisal. (2) As a more feasible course, gambling may be regularized in accordance with conventional social practice through adequate permissive and controlling legislation.

ST. LAWRENCE UNIVERSITY

THE PLACE OF ELITES AND PRIMARY GROUPS IN THE ABSORPTION OF NEW IMMIGRANTS IN ISRAEL[1]

S. N. EISENSTADT

ABSTRACT

The tempo and direction of adaptation of new immigrants in Israel is to a large extent dependent on the transformation of their primary groups. The relations between the primary groups and the new social and cultural system are mediated by elites which combine in their positions authority and (extended) primary relations. The elites interpret and communicate the ultimate social values and serve as symbols of security and identification with the social system. The extent of the immigrants' identification and participation within the new society is dependent on the degree of their attachment to the elites and the elites' compatibility with the general orientations of the social system.

I

This paper is based on an extensive research project on the assimilation of new immigrants in Israel and is intended to provide an analysis of one particular significant aspect of the problem.

The field work on which this material is based was carried out from October, 1949, to November, 1950, in ten centers of new immigrants' settlement—three urban quarters, three semiurban quarters, and four co-operative agricultural settlements—and dealt mainly with "new" immigrants, those who arrived after the establishment of the State of Israel. The average length of stay of the immigrant in Israel was, at the end of the field work, about nineteen months.

The field work was executed in the following way: In each place a field worker—or, in the urban centers, a group of two or three field workers—established himself as a student of the problems of new immigrants. The field work was based on three techniques: (1) continuous, systematic observation of the behavior of the new immigrants in various typical social situations—work, school, public life, religious life, relief agencies, and, to some degree, home life; (2) intensive "free," "open-ended" interviewing of a selected sample in each place (usually a random sample within each main "ethnic" group) according to prearranged schedules, which were not, however, distributed during the interviews;[2] and (3) more extensive and free conversations and interviews with a larger sample of immigrants, usually with a great part of the inhabitants of a given quarter. These latter were used for obtaining more general background information and for investigation of various points raised during the intensive interviews. All these interviews varied in the degree of their intensity. Altogether about nine hundred families were investigated in some systematic way. (This does not include all those touched upon during the general observations.)

[1] This research project has been sponsored jointly by the Jewish Agency and the Hebrew University (under a grant for sociological research from Mr. G. Wise) and executed at the research seminar in sociology of the university. All the quotations in this paper are from the interviews in the files of the research project. A detailed first report is being published in Hebrew, and more extensive reports in Hebrew and English are planned.

[2] These interviews took place either in the immigrants' homes or on informal walks and usually included the adult and adolescent members of the family. The schedule dealt with a variety of topics, namely, their general background, motives for immigration, general identification, levels of aspiration in different spheres, social participation and identification, etc. This sample served also as a panel for repeated interviewing on different problems of attitudes and behavior, such as identification with the new country, participation in the new social setting, etc., in regard to which changes may have taken place during the year. The interviews were undertaken only after the field workers established themselves in the places and were extended in time and on many topics repeated three or four times, according to changing conditions and situations.

This paper is based on general observation and acquaintance with about nine hundred families (about 2,500 persons), of which three hundred have been interviewed systematically and one hundred and eighty intensively on certain problems. The ethnic distribution of these families was as follows (it did not change to any great extent) in all these groups: Yemenite Jews, about 15 per cent; North African Jews, 35 per cent; Turkish Jews, 10 per cent; Balkan (Yugoslav and Bulgarian) Jews, 25 per cent; Central European Jews, 15 per cent. These groups represented not only different ethnic origins but also different types of Jewish communities and tradition, and this fact was sometimes useful in checking the cultural limitations of different hypotheses.

The central problem of the investigation was to analyze the main ways and processes in which different groups of immigrants became integrated into the new social structure. Although these groups differed in size, extent of social relations, composition, and degree of cohesion, almost everywhere they could be designated as "primary groups,"[3] based mostly on kinship and previous neighborhood ties. Throughout the various dislocations caused by immigration, these groups were the immigrants' mainstay and the center of their most continuous and effective social relations and of their basic social identifications. It has been amply demonstrated in almost all our cases that any kind of integration into the new social system could be effected only by changing the roles, values, and social perspectives of these groups and not by breaking them up or neglecting them. This is in line with some conclusions of recent social research: that the identification of the members of any given social system with the values of this system are mediated through different primary groups and their specific identifications and values[4] and that the best way of effecting a change of an individual's behavior is by changing the values and patterns of behavior of the group(s) in which he participates.[5]

Although this general conclusion has been amply demonstrated throughout our investigation, it became quite clear that it could not, in its general form, account for the great diversity of degrees and types of integration and identification and that a more differentiated analysis was called for. On the one hand, we had to distinguish between these different types of integration and identification; and, on the other hand, we had to analyze the different types of "mediation" between the primary groups and the total social system which could account for this diversity. Special importance should have been attached to the location of the "mediators" and of the situations in which the mediation takes place. From the beginning of our investigation, the importance, from this point of view, of the elites and leaders stood out quite clearly. The relations of the members of the elite to the different primary groups of the immigrants and to the new social system seemed to be of great importance in determining the directions and types of integration of the new immigrants into the new social structure. The problem has been investigated systematically, and this paper reports in outline the results of this investigation. Because of the limitation of space, only the most necessary and basic outlines are given here.

We have defined here as elites those groups which occupy relatively high positions in the social strata and/or which hold positions of leadership, influence, and power. This definition assumes that, although the elites are distinct groups within the social

[3] The term "primary group" is defined here essentially in the same way as by Kingsley Davis, *Human Society* (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1949), pp. 289 ff.

[4] See, for a summary of these findings, E. A. Shils, *The Present State of American Sociology* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1948), pp. 40 ff.; and E. A. Shils and M. Janowitz, "Cohesion and Disintegration in the Wehrmacht in World War II," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. XII (1948).

[5] K. Lewin, *Resolving Social Conflicts* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1948), chap. iv; K. Lewin, "Group Design and Social Change," in T. Newcomb and E. Hartley, *Readings in Social Psychology* (New York, 1941), pp. 330–45.

system, they are not necessarily identical with "class positions" and that they may be, to some degree (which differs in different societies), dispersed among different social strata. The main emphasis in our definition is on recognized leadership and influence within different areas, which need not coincide with any specific stratum and does not necessarily appertain to *all* members of such a stratum. Our definition assumes also the plurality of elites—that the elites of a given social system need not be unified and organized. These assumptions were mainly based on our material, in which the existence of many different elites, often not identical with a specific social stratum, has been easily discerned. Some of such instances may be found among the different traditional, religious elites of rabbis, etc., and among leaders of Jewish communities in the Diaspora which did not always correspond with any social stratum. The diversity of elites was strongly emphasized in our case, owing to the disruption of the social fabric and the dislocations caused by immigration.

II

In order to analyze the importance of the elites in the process of integration of immigrants, we had, at first, to see what were the most important dimensions of participation within the new social structure and of identification with it. The following seemed to be most pertinent to our present analysis,[6] and, although they are mostly related to the specific situation of new immigrants, they appear to be of more general importance and applicable, to some degree, to a "stable social structure."

I. PARTICIPATION IN THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

1. *The extent of new social roles performed by the immigrants and the degree of their participation in the main institutional spheres of the social structure.*—Almost all immigrants had, of course, to assume from the beginning various roles in the economic sphere, but they greatly differed in their disposition to participate in other spheres—the civic-political, educational, cultural (in learning the new language, participating in festivals, cultural activities), etc.

2. *The degree of successful performance of these roles and of stabilization of social relations within the different spheres.*—This distinction is of great importance in our specific case, because of the great cultural heterogeneity of the immigrants. In many cases we found immigrants with strong aspirations toward the performance of civic, political, etc., roles who could not, however, realize these aspirations because of their complete ignorance of the different cultural assumptions underlying them.

II. IDENTIFICATION WITH THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

1. *Positive or negative identification with the new country and its main social values.*—This distinction was important because for many immigrants the new country was, as it were, "on trial" from the point of view of realizability of their aspirations.

2. *The "breadth" of identification and social orientations.*—This dimension may be best explained as related to the scope of social roles and values on the realization of which the positive identification with the country depends. On the one hand, there were those whose aspirations were mainly limited to the successful maintenance of their families and jobs and whose values and attachments were centered mainly on them. On the other hand, there were those whose aspirations were oriented toward broader clusters of roles and who judged the new country according to "broader," more inclusive systems of values—whether they be political, religious, etc. Our problem was, then, to find out whether any connection exists between different relations between the immigrants and their elites and the development of these various dimensions of participation and identification. The two main conclusions, which form the framework of our

[6] A different aspect of this problem has been analyzed by David F. Aberle in "Shared Values in Complex Societies," *American Sociological Review*, XV, No. 4 (August, 1950), 495–502.

analysis, were found to be the following: (*a*) the extent of social participation and the breadth of identification of the immigrants with the new country are functionally related to the extent of relations existing between the immigrants and their members of their elites (e.g., the elites of their former social structure), and (*b*) the social and cultural orientations of the immigrants are to a very large extent identical with those of their elites.

Among the immigrants investigated by us, two main types could be distinguished from the point of view of the first conclusion. The first type consisted mainly of more or less isolated familes, the members of which participated in almost no communal activities with other immigrants from the same country or town and whose main constant social relations were confined to family life. They perpetuated few of their former social relations and cultural activities, and any constant wider relationship was confined to neighbors, relatives, and in some—the most active—cases to regular attendance at a given synagogue. The relations between the members of these families and the elites of their former social structure were either nonexistent or minimal, confined to chance encounters without any stability or duration. (This was true of about 80 per cent of the families of this type. About 15 per cent of such isolated families themselves belonged to the elites and became disconnected from their former society either because of the destruction of Jewish communities in Europe or during migration.)

The second type consisted of families who lived in more or less close relations patterned after their old social structure and was mostly confined to immigrants from the same country who were known to one another in different degrees. Although their former social structures and relations could not, in any case, be wholly perpetuated in the new country, these families were trying, in different degrees, to perpetuate them at least in some spheres. The degree of this participation in communal groups varied among these families, but it was highly correlated with stable and intensive relations with their former elites. This relationship was maintained by about 73 per cent of all these families, the percentage rising with a more intensive participation in communal groups.

The extent of relations with the elites was highly correlated with the extent of participation within the new social structure and with the "breadth" of identification with it. Among 78 per cent of the families of the first type (i.e., most of the families who were not themselves members of the elites), the extent of participation within the new social structures was very small and rarely extended beyond the spheres of family, neighborhood, and sometimes their place of work. At the same time the breadth of their identification with the new social system was limited, and in about 70 per cent of the families (which overlap largely with the families with limited participation) it was confined to achievement of stability for their familes and in their jobs without any orientation toward other institutions and values. Within the second type, the picture was still more diversified. First, we see that here also those families whose contacts with the elites were less intensive showed, in general, a much higher tendency to less participation within the new structure and more limited breadth of identification with it than families whose relations with elites were more intensive and stable.

The crucial evidence for this conclusion comes from those families of immigrants who, through change of place of residence, either became disconnected from their former "ethnic" groups and elites or were brought in once more within its orbit. The number of these cases in our inquiry was not great—about twenty-five families in all—but in twenty-two a definite change in the extent of their participation and breadth of identification took place. Participation and identification subsided to a large extent among those who became disconnected from their elites, while those who came within the orbit of the elites increased also their participation and intensified their identification

with the new society. As one of them has put it:

In [their former place] we did not know anything about festivals, politics, etc. There was nobody to tell us, and we were not really interested. It was all so strange. Here, however, it is different; it is changed. There are here some very important people from our town, who have explained these things to all. They are very important here also, and it is now really very interesting to take part in all these activities. . . . They should know, and they have helped us a lot. We do not feel so "alone" any more, and here is really our land.

In this type, however, the close relation between participation and identification, which we have encountered in the first type, did not exist to such a large extent. While the breadth of identification was large in about 85 per cent of these families, only about 65 per cent of them (on the average) showed a high degree of real, active participation within the various spheres of the new structure (outside the sphere of family). We see also that this participation was not equally distributed among the main different spheres of activities—the civic and political, the "educational" (participation in school committees), the religious, etc. These diversities bring us to our second conclusion. Almost all the families (the 20 per cent of the second type) among whom there existed the discrepancy between participation in the new social structure and the breadth of identification with it were attached to traditional religious elites, the members of which showed little inclination to participate within those spheres of activities based on "modern" secular assumptions. At the same time, however, their identification with the new social structure was based on inclusive, usually religious-national, values which were oriented toward wider institutional spheres. An interesting example of this attitude is found in the following remarks in an interview:

No, we are not interested in politics and parties. We have our rabbis, our synagogue, our friends—the whole "community." This is enough for us. Our rabbis and wise men are better than the "bosses" who do not know the Holy Law. We live according to our ancient laws which are the truly Jewish ones, and it would be better if all the Jews would live so. But if they do not, we do not want to get involved with them more than is necessary, as in work.

We see here that the social orientation of the new immigrants is to a large extent identical with that of the elites. This explains also the unequal distribution of activities within different spheres among different groups of immigrants. In most cases, it was found that the participation within any specific sphere was identical with that of their elites and that diversity was mainly accounted for by the cultural heterogeneity of both the elites and the whole body of immigrants. On the average about 75 per cent, and in no case less than 55–60 per cent, of the members of a given group of immigrants tended to concentrate their activities in the same field as their elites. (This holds, of course, only for the period of our investigation, i.e., the first year or eighteen months in the new country.)

III

These findings show us that the elites perform a very important function as "mediators" between the primary groups of the immigrants and the wider social structure and that the extent of the participation within it and identification with it is to a large measure dependent on the existence and permanence of this mediation. The identification of the immigrants with the new society is to a large extent effected through their identification with the elites, and the elites seem to influence the formation of the values and activities of the primary groups.

In what ways does this mediation take place? This problem can be analyzed from two related points of view—the structural and the psychological. From the structural point of view, we have to analyze the different types of activities and situations in which the meeting between the primary groups and the elites takes place and the importance

of these in the social structure. From the psychological point of view, we have to analyze the problems and needs of the immigrants which are solved and fulfilled by these relations.

Structurally, these meeting points have two outstanding characteristics. First, among those who had a strong, active orientation on the new country, the elites usually tried to act as intermediaries between the new system and the immigrant. This was usually effected by trying to monopolize the distribution of most benefit accruing to the new immigrants—to organize work, rehabilitation, distribution of housing, allowances for "first arrangements," schooling facilities, etc. On the other hand, they began to organize their fellow-countrymen within the new institutional framework so as to enable them to perform the main roles—civic, political, educational, cultural—incumbent on them. They were, as it were, the main linking points with wider and more diversified clusters of roles. The stability of the new participation and identification was to a large degree dependent on the successful performance of this double task. Wherever this success was not achieved, either because of cultural or of personal incompatibility or corruption, social disorganization developed.

Second, the success of the elites was also largely dependent on the extent to which they maintained close personal relations with their fellow-countrymen. These relations were usually of two types—either traditional, rigorously defined situations, such as attendance at the synagogue, arbitration in disputes, laying-down of norms, etc., or more informal meetings, discussions, and explanations. In our investigation it has been clearly shown that only in so far as the elites maintained these contacts were they successful in directing and influencing the people and that, whenever they sought shelter behind formal bars or did not show great activity in these situations, their influence subsided to a large extent.

Throughout the interviews, and among themselves, the immigrants emphasized that their attachment to their leaders was dependent to a large extent on the maintenance of these close face-to-face relations. Whenever the leader did not maintain them, it was seen as a sign of estrangement and mutual distrust. This demand for personal relations did not assume any feeling of equality or of common participation in all spheres of activity. On the contrary, quite often they used to emphasize the superior status of the members of the elites and the necessity to confine the relations between them to specific situations and meetings. Their success and continuity depend, however, on the maintenance of close personal relations within these meetings.

We see, then, an extension here of primary relations, which are, however, confined to specific limited situations and which are based on a definite differential allocation of authority and influence and in which the relations obtaining between the leaders and the people are asymmetrical. It is through full participation in these situtions that the elite fulfil the various needs and solve the problems of their fellow-countrymen. Our interview material, based on intensive interviewing of a small sample (about 180), reveals to us what these functions are. The main functions which were mentioned in most interviews (although, of course, in different proportions) seem to be the following:

1. *Structuring and defining of new, wider fields of social relationship and explaining them in terms of the traditional values and attitudes.*—

A. and C. . . . know everything and understand all the problems of the government bureaus, the schools, the bureau of employment. It is so entirely different from the way things were in Morocco; we did not have such problems there. Everything was more or less settled there, and, wherever some difficulties arose, there were some people like A. who knew what it meant. It is very good that they are here also. When they explain all these things, they do not seem so strange and terrible. . . .

It is very good that we have our wise men here. Otherwise we would be lost, because only they can tell us what all these things are, why

it is so different here. There came many other people who tried to tell us, but they were strangers, and we felt that they did not understand us, and we could not really believe them. At home it is all right, more or less as we used to be, but everything else is different, and it is good that they can tell us about it.

It is important to note here that, although this function is emphasized because of the necessity to adapt to the new country, it is at the same usually seen as a continuation of a similar function in the "old" country. About 55–60 per cent of the interviewees expressly mentioned and elaborated this theme.

2. *Help in solution of problems relating to participation in wider clusters of roles.*—This is, of course, an extension of the former function, but here the more active and behavioral aspect prevails. Here is demanded not only "explanation" and clarification of situations but active guidance in daily problems of behavior.

Whenever we do not know what to do, we come and ask them. . . . They are able to tell us what we have to do, how can we best get the work, to what schools to send our children. These parties and elections are also so confusing, and we do not know what they are for and how one should behave there. . . . They explain it to us and advise what to do. If it were not for this, we would probably get lost and suffer a lot. . . .

I am a simple man and quite often do not know what to do . . . whether it is good or bad to go and ask for something in the bureau, how to get the things I need and want. Many people come and tell us—vote this way, send the children here, go and try to work here. . . . It is good that we have got some of our people—they are really important—who know all this and advise us what to do. If they are good people, they usually know and help us.

Throughout the interviews many concrete instances of this help were told, and about 60 per cent of the interviewees enlarged on this theme.

3. *Mediation of wider, inclusive value-systems of the wider social structure.*—This function is, of course, of more complex character than the previous ones, and its existence is usually dependent on the successful performance of the others. The interviewees many times indicated that full understanding of the wider, ultimate values of the society and attachment to them was to a large extent dependent on their relations with the elites. As this problem was not directly connected with the difficulties of adjustment in the new country, it was more difficult to dwell on it, and only about 40 per cent of the interviewees mentioned it one way or another; but it seems that its importance may be much greater. Some typical comment is the following:

Whenever I talk with H. . . . , he makes me understand better the great problems of our tradition, of the way of life we have to lead here and the issues at stake. . . . I am a religious man myself, but it is different with him. He understands really the great problems, the important things and not only the small things.

J. is of great help. . . . He seems to make us feel the things we believe in. . . . I am a good worker and believe in the rights of workers, in social equality, but somehow it is so far from daily life. It is when we meet with J. and M. we feel nearer to it.

Closely connected with this function is the next one.

4. *Symbolization of the social system and of belongingness to it.*—This function has been mostly emphasized by some of those immigrants coming from traditional settings, whose relations with the elites took place largely in clearly defined situations and usually have some symbolic meaning (religious ceremonies, etc.). The same theme was, however, also sometimes elaborated by immigrants coming from secular-formal societies in regard to some of their political leaders.

When we take part in the meetings at the synagogues or at the different "committees" and see the rabbis and wise men, we really feel that we belong to the People of Israel. It is like seeing Ben-Gurion.

I think that A. is for most of us the representative of the whole Jewish people. He is one of us, but at the same time he knows so well all the important people and matters. . . .

From this it may be seen that, first, the elites serve as symbols of security and identification by bringing, as it were, the more inclusive values and the prerequisities of new roles within the orbit of the primary groups of the immigrant. Second, they are the main channels of communication connecting the immigrants, living in their primary groups, and the values and problems of the total social structure. Their crucial importance as channels of communication may be seen, in our case, from the fact that almost all cases in which various parties and organizations tried to by-pass them proved a failure and did not succeed in organizing the immigrants within their folds or in arousing any great interest among the immigrants for their problems, issues, etc.

IV

The importance of the attachment to the elites in achieving a sense of security within the social structure and identification with it was emphasized in those cases when this attachment or relation was severed or endangered. Such occasions arise often in situations of flux-like immigration, and two typical cases have been encountered in our investigation. Quite often the members of the elites failed in insuring the immigrants the different benefits and rights accruing to them—either because of misunderstandings caused by cultural incompatibility or because of personal corruption. A second, and perhaps more important, case was the development of competition among different groups within the elites for the monopolization of the contacts with the government agencies or the emergence of new groups claiming status for themselves and competing with the old elites.

It is obvious that these developments are of great general importance in the breaking-down of the old social and cultural pattern in the new country. This last process is in itself of great importance for the understanding of the place of the elites in the social structure in general.

We shall dwell here, however, only on those aspects closely connected with our problem. In most of the cases, whenever one group did not succeed in establishing itself firmly, two developments usually took place. First, the extent of social participation in the different new organizations diminished, and within their own groups different tensions, leading sometimes to manifestations of aggression and disorganization, arose. Sometimes this was also combined with a decrease in the breadth of identification, although it was usually difficult to establish this through the interviews. Second, in most cases there emerged a definite negative identification with the new country. In most cases, the inadequacy of the elites (or competition between them) was definitely frustrating, diminishing the sense of security within the new social structure. About 60–65 per cent of those interviewed on this expressed this feeling; more than half of the remainder consisted of "mobile" families who either tried to break independently into the new social structure or claimed for themselves the status of elites. The new country was usually identified as the source of this frustration, as being "strange," not providing security, and confusing. In some cases this feeling was also oriented toward leaders who did not fulfil their functions and gave rise to apathy and loss of interest. In other cases the new immigrants identified themselves with their leaders against the new country and the emergence of some embryonic "ethnic" group symbols. The exact analysis of all these processes is, however, outside the limited scope of this paper.

It would be worth while, however, to dwell briefly on an additional aspect of the problem—namely, some characteristics of the "mobile" families, that is, the families aspiring to the status of elites and competing for it. It is interesting to point out the attitudes of these families toward the functions of the elites. The "mobile" persons did not deny the necessity of fulfilling these functions for the non-elite groups. Their stand

was that they themselves are more qualified to fulfil these tasks and that they do not need any further guidance in the wider social field. This was usually elaborated in several ways, the most important of which were the following: (*a*) The old elites cannot perform these functions in the new setting, as their cultural tradition is not adapted to it, and they can only hinder the full and speedy absorption of the immigrants in the new country. (*b*) They emphasize that their own identification with the new social system and participation in it are not dependent on the attachment to the old elites. They feel that their own understanding of the new system is a better one and that their identification with it is fuller and more intensive. (*c*) They emphasize that they are fully capable of participating in the new system "on their own" without the intermediary of the elites. To them this full participation in the important situations and roles is the most cogent symbolical expression of their belongingness to the new society, and they do not need any other groups to symbolize it for them. As one of them has put it: "We are more close to the government and to Ben-Gurion. Although we do not know them, we feel that we know them, that we know better than others what the Yishuv [the Jewish Community in Palestine] really needs and stands for. We do not need these 'old fools' to explain it to us." (*d*) At the same time, almost all emphasize their wish to lead their fellow-countrymen and to establish themselves as the new elite. They emphasize that they are able to communicate the values of the new system and its problems to their fellow-immigrants and their wish to do so.

These brief indications show that mobility and aspiration to elite status are closely connected not only with a fuller social participation but also, and perhaps mainly, with a more active and independent one, the main characteristics of which are the feeling of *closer* relation to the main social values, the emphasis on the symbolic importance of one's own performance of various roles connected with these values, and the wish to communicate these values (e.g., to symbolize them to some extent) to other people. This may indicate that, although the processes of mobility and the interchange of elites may change the personnel and the values of the elites and the social system, they tend to emphasize the importance of the elites and the functions they perform in the social system and are oriented not toward the abolishment of this function but toward its reorientation and reorganization according to different values.

V

This analysis is a preliminary one which has dwelt only on some aspects of the problem. First, the different "deviant" cases have not been fully analyzed, and the very important problem of mobility has been only briefly and inadequately mentioned. Second, we have been dealing with "people" and societies in flux, and our conclusions may need modification, or at least elaboration, when applied to stable social systems. It would be worth while, however, to state our conclusions and some of their ramifications, tentative as they may be. We have started from the general conclusion that the identification of the members of a given social system with its values is to a great extent mediated through the values of their primary groups. This conclusion could not account, however, for the great diversity in the breadth and intensity of identification and of extent of participation in the social system. It seems that in every social system there are, on the one hand, members whose roles and social perspective are closely related and oriented toward the ultimate values of the society and whose participation in it is more inclusive, confined not only to basic minimal social areas; and, on the other hand, people whose roles and perspective are much narrower and confused. Our problem has been to understand in what ways the ultimate values of the system are brought home to the members with a lower level of participation and how their identification with these values is maintained.

Our tentative conclusion is that the main-

tenance or breadth of identification with the ultimate values of the system is dependent on the existence of specific social situations in which these values are communicated to the members of the system. In these situations people of different degrees of intensity of identification and participation interact with one another, the more active serving as communicators of the ultimate values of the social system. We have explored here one type of interaction—namely, that between members of elites and their "followers," members of manifold basic primary groups. Although these situations are to some degree extensions of the primary groups, most of the roles enacted in them are outside the scope of these groups, and they bring in a definitely new element—the definite differential allocation of authority and prestige. These situations are extensions of primary groups in so far as they are largely based on personal relations and spontaneous identification. Identification with broader, inclusive social values is mediated here through identification with the members of the elites, whose roles are to be more closely related to these values. The identification with the elites supplies a feeling of security within the system and of belonging to it, and any process which undermines this identification is experienced as a definite frustration. The successful and effective performance of their roles as "communicators" seems to be largely dependent on the continuity of this identification, their ability to insure for the members of the different primary groups the different rights and benefits accruing from participation in wider clusters of roles and on the internal consensus within the elites.

It is not, of course, our assumption that the situations explored here are the only ones through which effective communication within a social system is maintained and the ultimate values mediated. Further exploration of the problem may go in the following directions: (1) the analysis of different types of "mediating" and "communicating" situations existing within the social system; (2) the analysis of the prevalence of these different types within different types of societies and social orders; and (3) the analysis of effects of the relative nonexistence of such definitely structured situations and channels of communications. Some aspects of the problem of communication in "mass society" are relevant here.[7]

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[7] See L. Wirth, "Consensus and Mass Communications," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 1 (February, 1948).

SOCIAL CLASS, INTERMARRIAGE, AND CHURCH MEMBERSHIP IN A KENTUCKY COMMUNITY

JAMES STEPHEN BROWN

ABSTRACT

In the Holiness groups in a Kentucky mountain community intermarriage is concentrated in the highest and lowest social classes. Members of the highest class apparently intermarried because they refused to associate intimately with lower-class families, who, in turn, intermarried because the higher-class people refused to associate with them. Membership in Holiness groups was confined almost entirely to the lowest-class group and the Holiness groups met specific, unique needs of low-class people.

I. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to show how the class schema is helpful in understanding two social phenomena in a Kentucky mountain community—intermarriage[1] and membership in Holiness churches. By "class schema" is meant the general approach to the study of class structure which Warner and his group have developed.[2] The definition of class which was used is Parsons': A social class consists "of the group of persons who are members of effective kinship units which, as units, are approximately equally valued."[3]

The neighborhood most intensively studied was Beech Creek, though two adjacent neighborhoods, Laurel and Flat Rock, were also studied, somewhat less intensively. Beech Creek lies in an eastern Kentucky county which, though affected by modern influences, is still, like many other farming areas in the mountains, enough unchanged to be known as "backward" and "retarded" by outsiders and as "old-fashioned" even by its own citizens. The neighborhood was settled rather late, probably about 1800, and most of the first settlers were native-born Americans from Virginia, Tennessee, and North Carolina whose culture was chiefly English. They apparently were Baptists. Many of the first settlers secured rather large tracts of land, which have been divided and subdivided among their descendants. For the most part, the present population of Beech Creek is composed of the descendants of these first settlers, though there have been a few people from the outside coming in from time to time. Isolated from other parts of Kentucky by both geographical and cultural factors, Beech Creek has remained an area of self-sufficient, subsistence, family farms. It has not been in the main tides of change, though lumbering came to the area in the 1870's and 1880's and began, or rather hastened, the long process of changing Beech Creek from an independent rural neighborhood into a neighborhood increasingly dependent upon the outside for economic support and more and more influenced by the values of the outside world.

The 184 people living in the Beech Creek neighborhood in 1942, the year this study was begun, were grouped into 39 households that lived along the little bottoms formed by Beech Creek. Surrounded on three sides by high ridges, the people of this area were even more isolated than the people of the adjacent neighborhoods of Laurel and Flat

[1] By "intermarriage" is meant inbreeding or marrying within the limits of the family or of near-relationship.

[2] See, e.g., W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941) (also other volumes of the "Yankee City" series); Allison Davis and John Dollard, *Children of Bondage* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1940); Allison Davis and Burleigh B. and Mary R. Gardner, *Deep South* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941).

[3] Talcott Parsons, "An Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLV (May, 1940), 850.

Rock, which were located on larger streams. In studying the class structure of Beech Creek, it was necessary to study these two near-by neighborhoods, which had populations of 133 (26 households) and 74 (12 households), respectively. In the whole Beech Creek area, including all three neighborhoods, there were, then, 391 people in 77 households.

It was evident early in the study that the class structure might well be one of the most important aspects of the social structure to examine, and eventually class structure along with kinship structure became the main foci of the study. The present paper is simply one small part, then, of a larger study.

After a great deal of interviewing and observation, Beech Creek families were grouped for purposes of analysis into three main classes: high, intermediate, and low. In making this division, Warner's general approach was again followed,[4] though, as might be expected in the study of such a small area, a great many specific evaluations of individuals and families by informants themselves were also used.

Without going into detail, we may briefly characterize the high-class families in the Beech Creek neighborhood as being long-resident families of good background, "moral athletes," hard workers and good livers, less isolated and more modern than other families in the area and as people who emphasized self-improvement and who participated more widely in neighborhood affairs. The low-class families, on the other hand, tended to be newcomers with "shady" pasts, morally lax, economically insecure, not ambitious, old-fashioned and "backward," and people who participated relatively little in many neighborhood activites. The intermediate-class configuration was not so much a distinct pattern as a combination of the high-class and the low-class configurations.

[4] Warner and his associates have stated that the membership of social classes "can be identified empirically upon the basis of either of two types of information: (1) by records of common participation of individuals in non-economic groups, such as in churches, associations, and clubs and at large dances, teas, picnics, weddings, and funerals, and (2) by the verbal expression by individuals of their willingness to associate with other persons in the social relationships" (Davis, Gardner, and Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 238).

II. HOW DOES KNOWLEDGE OF CLASS STRUCTURE HELP US TO UNDERSTAND INTERMARRIAGE IN BEECH CREEK?

With this description of the Beech Creek area and of its three classes let us turn to the question: How does knowledge of class structure help us to understand intermarriage in Beech Creek?

Since Beech Creek had long been isolated and for many years had had little immigration from the outside, nearly everybody was related by blood to everybody else. Most Beech Creek persons married people who lived in the neighborhood or in near-by neighborhoods, and consequently there were many more marriages involving kin of some degree in Beech Creek than in the greater society.

Beech Creek people, like Kentucky mountain people generally, disapprove of intermarriage, and undoubtedly this belief influenced their behavior to some extent.[5] One Beech Creek husband and wife, for example, in discussing the marriage of their children, made the following comments:

WIFE: Every one [of our children] that's married has married kinfolks. . . . Everybody around here is about kin. Ida and Little Preston's a little kin, Lucinda and Marshall, Louise and Luther, Ruby and Dick—all are a little kin. . . . I'd rather they wouldn't marry their kin, but I couldn't help it."

INTERVIEWER: Did you object to any of them marrying?

WIFE: No, but we talked to 'em before it got so far along.

HUSBAND: We tried to turn 'em against it.

WIFE: We thought we did have Louise and Luther quit. We told 'em everything, and they

[5] Actually very little concrete data have been presented on intermarriage in the Kentucky mountains, though inbreeding in this area has long been "pulled out of the hat," so to speak, to account for a great many puzzling problems.

quit writing. But the first thing we knowed they's married.

In spite of disapproval, however, inbreeding was not uncommon. Of 107 marriages[6] studied, 31, or 29 per cent, involved persons who were third or closer cousins (see Table 1).[7] In the Beech Creek society, as would be expected, as one moved out from the inner circle of kin with whom sexual relationships were taboo there was less and less objection to marriage of kin. Thus marriages of second cousins were not so severely criticized as marriages of first cousins, and marriages of people less closely related than cousins were hardly commented upon.

Analyzed by class, the data on intermarriage show that 40 per cent of the high-class marriages involved second or closer cousins as compared with none of the intermediate class and 28.2 per cent of the low-class marriages (see Table 1). In none of the eight high-class marriages involving kin, but in seven of the eleven such low-class marriages, the spouses were first cousins. Eight of the twenty high-class marriages, however, as compared with only four of the thirty-nine low-class families involved spouses who were first cousins once removed or second cousins.

Data gathered for four of the larger families living in the area showed that 40 per cent of A's, 16.6 per cent of B's, 27 per cent of C's, and 25.7 per cent of D's grandchildren for whom marriage data were available had married second or closer cousins (see Table 2). The grandchildren of A, B, C, and

TABLE 1*

DISTRIBUTION OF MARRIAGES BY KINSHIP OF SPOUSES AND BY CLASS, BEECH CREEK AREA, JULY 1, 1942

KINSHIP OF SPOUSES	NUMBER OF MARRIAGES WITH SPECIFIED RELATIONSHIP OF SPOUSES, BY CLASS				
	Total	High	Intermediate	Low	Not Classified
First cousins	7†	.....	.....	7†	.....
First cousins, once removed	1	1	.....	.....	.....
Second cousins	12	7	.....	4	1
Second cousins, once removed	7	3	3	1	.....
Third cousins	4	.....	3	1	.....
Third cousins, once removed	4	.....	3	1	.....
Fourth cousins	6	.....	3	3	.....
None	53	9	18	18	8
Not known	13	.....	1	4	8
Total marriages	107†	20	31	39†	17

* Included are all marriages of those who were in 1942 heads of households, or their wives, and all marriages of husbands and wives constituting complete subfamilies within households.

† One duplicate is included both in the first-cousin marriages and in the total figures for the low class and for all classes.

[6] Included were all marriages of those who were in 1942 heads of households or were wives of household heads and all marriages of husbands and wives constituting complete subfamilies within households.

[7] This proportion may be compared to Miner's statement that in St. Denis, a French-Canadian parish, "local marriage records show that 14.5 per cent of the marriages were between third or closer cousins" (Horace Miner, *St. Denis: A French-Canadian Parish* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939], p. 78).

D were by no means all in the same class. In general, the grandchildren of A tended to be members of the high class, with a small proportion of them in the intermediate class; some of B's grandchildren were in the high-class group, but the majority were in the intermediate class, and some were low class; most of C's grandchildren were in the intermediate class, and some were low class; most of C's grandchildren were in the intermediate class, a few were high class, and a good many more were low class; finally, almost all of D's grandchildren were members of the low class.

It is especially interesting to know that the man the highest proportion of whose grandchildren married second or closer cousins was A, whose descendants were principally high class. For one of the most common remarks made about the low-class D family, often used in accounting for their low status, was that they had "married through and through," that is, had intermarried. Such comments were made much less often about the high-class A families. Undoubtedly one reason for the difference in local comment was that intermarriage in the A family had involved less closely related persons. None of A's grandchildren, for example, but fifteen of D's grandchildren, married first cousins.

The differences among the classes in intermarriage cannot be accounted for entirely or even principally, as far as can be determined, by variations in geographical isolation, by differential acceptance of the ideal patterns concerning intermarriage, by chance, or by a combination of all these factors. But there is an interesting fact in connection with the class structure which, it is believed, has significance. The A families in the Laurel neighborhood were the

TABLE 2*

DISTRIBUTION OF THE MARRIAGES OF FOUR MEN'S GRANDCHILDREN BY KINSHIP OF SPOUSES, BEECH CREEK AREA, JULY 1, 1942

KINSHIP OF SPOUSES	MARRIAGES WITH SPECIFIED RELATIONSHIP AMONG GRANDCHILDREN OF—							
	A		B		C		D	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
First cousin	.....	.....	2	5.6	4†	8.3	15‡	21.4
First cousin, once removed	1	6.7	.....	.....	5	10.4	1	1.4
Second cousin	5	33.3	4	11.0	4	8.3	2	2.9
Second cousin, once removed	3	20.0	2	5.6	1	2.1	.....	.....
Third cousin	1	6.7	1	2.8	1	2.1	3	4.3
Third cousin, once removed	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Fourth cousin	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	4.3
Not kin	5	33.3	27	75.0	33	68.8	41	58.6
Unknown	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5	7.1
Total marriages	15	100.0	36	100.0	48	100.0	70	100.0

* Marriages of five of A's, eight of B's, thirty-one of C's, and six of D's grandchildren were eliminated because they married after they had left the area.

† Includes two duplicates; that is, there were only two marriages, all four persons involved being grandchildren of C.

‡ Includes seven duplicates; that is, there were only eight marriages in all, for in seven of the fifteen marriages fourteen of D's grandchildren were involved.

highest-ranking families in the Beech Creek area; they were "the best people." The D's in the Flat Rock neighborhood, on the other hand, were the lowest-ranking families; they were the "low-downest people." Intermarriage, then, tended to be concentrated in the families at the very top and at the very bottom of the class ladder. This suggests that the class *positions* of these two groups of families might well be important in explaining their inbreeding.

This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that high-class intermarriage tended to be within the A family and that low-class intermarriage was primarily among the members of the D family. Of the six A's who married second or closer cousins, four married people to whom they were related through the A line. Of the eighteen members of the D family marrying second or closer cousins, fifteen married persons to whom they were related through the D line.

Further examination of the data shows that it was among the grandchildren of D that almost all the first-cousin marriages among low-class people occurred. Not one of D's children married a kinsman. But eighteen of his grandchildren married kin, fifteen marrying first cousins.

The D family had long been known for riotous living. D, his wife, and their children were widely known for their sexual misconduct, drunkenness, and other deviations from accepted patterns. The deviant behavior of D's children and the intermarriage of so many of his grandchildren (i.e., the children of the deviants) were, it is believed, closely related: apparently the D's intermarried because other families, highly critical of the D's both because they had long been low-class and particularly because of the flagrant misconduct of D's children, more or less ostracized the D's. As a result, faced by the refusal of most other people to have close relationships with them and yet forced to marry by their acceptance of ideal patterns concerning sexual behavior and the family, the D's overcame their resistance to intermarriage and "married through and through." As a high-class woman remarked: "The D's marry through and through because nobody else will have them." A low-class woman, who had married into the D family, said: "I reckon they married each other because they couldn't get nobody else."

Supporting this hypothesis is a good deal of evidence, some of which may be presented here. Beech Creek at the time of these marriages was primarily a neighborhood of intermediate-class families with a few low-class and a few high-class families. The D's living on Beech Creek, then, were surrounded by people who because of their higher social status would be expected to object to marriage with them. A number of instances were found in which families did object to their children's marrying D's. Sometimes these objections were violent. In one case a feud broke out between the D family and another family when a daughter of the latter family eloped with a member of the D family.

The marriages of grandchildren of D other than those who intermarried were almost all with low-class families in near-by neighborhoods on Coon Creek, particularly with the S's, a low-class family into which six of D's children married. Nineteen of the seventy marriages of D's grandchildren were with S's. This confinement of marriages also tends to reinforce the hypothesis that the D's were forced to intermarry, for it indicates that, if there were any family with which they were free to marry, they did so extensively.

Conversations with both the D's and others indicated the strong feeling against the D's and their consequent isolation. Members of the D family accounted for their intermarriage by citing the fact that the D's "had very little to do with other people." Representative comments by the D family are the following:

INTERVIEWER: How do you account for all these first-cousin marriages?

A GRANDSON OF D: Well, I don't know—only it was caused by childhood growing up together, I imagine. They's never out mixing and mingling with other people and could have been different things that caused that. Could have

been possibly because they growed in groups. . . . Growed up in groups as Indian tribes would be. . . . On Flat Rock there used to be six big families of children. Grandfather had sixteen boys and girls and they's practically all gathered on Coon Creek, and all their families growed up together. Upwards of fifty years ago.

ANOTHER GRANDSON OF D: The D's were more of a generation that would hang together. If you went on a drunk, you'd find five or six together, men and women as well. They would fight with one another, share with one another. They lived more together. They's Indian in them. They didn't have to do with anybody else. It's about the same today. They will fight together, and you'd better not jump in it, for you'll get the whole bunch on you. . . . Runs in the type of generation. They hang together more in this community than anywhere. Just so it's a D, they'll do anything for 'em. Not a cleverer [i.e., more generous, more hospitable] generation on earth than them. . . . I have had the feeling [that people were against the D's]. Not so much till I's about twenty or twenty-five. I got to having that impressed on me more than ever. Didn't have it so much till then. [Grandpa D was] as good a thought of man by everybody as anybody. But the younger generation is less thought of in that way and other respects. If it ain't that way that it [feeling that the D's were inferior] came about, why I wouldn't know. Take [Grandpa's] brothers—what of them I know was well beliked. He was a creditable, honorable man. Well, they always accused [Grandpa] of taking his stepdaughter and raising a child by her. Guess that's right. . . .

INTERVIEWER: What impressed you when you were twenty to twenty-five and made you think more about the D's being looked down on?

THE GRANDSON: I became a man, more settled like, took more interest in what was going on. I've traveled about a good deal in my life. I never found no community but what I could always get through. Could find my way in and find my way out. When I became older I noticed it more—more talked about as more uncivilized generation than others. They inmarried and raised bastard children. That's probably the cause of it. . . . Well, people got to talking about us [about the time he was growing up] and graded us as low class. And another thing, I was raised up among 'em and after got to be about twenty I was among other people. I traveled around and mixed with more people than I's permitted in my growing up, because I's raised among these people and hardly ever was among anybody else. . . . I just felt practically everybody not related to us, all those that wasn't related and mixed up with us, was against us.

Few families, then, associated with the D's, and as a result they were forced to marry either one another or members of the few families which would fraternize with them.

In the other family, the A family, in which inbreeding was most common most of the marriages involving kin were marriages of second cousins. Such marriages were not so strongly condemned as marriages of first cousins, and this partially accounted for the fact that the A's were less severely condemned in the community. Another factor which lessened the feeling of the community against the A's was the fact that the members of the A family who intermarried were descendants not of "full" or "whole" brothers and sisters (i.e., siblings having two parents in common) but of half-brothers and half-sisters (i.e., siblings having only one common parent). While there was no terminological distinction made in such cases beyond sibling distinctions (half-brother, half-sister, etc.), these second cousins were only "half"-second cousins. Even so, both the A's and the other families of this area recognized their marriages as being marriages of kin, and, in the local terminology, the A's were considered to have "married through and through."

The Laurel A families formed the most important group of high-class families in the Beech Creek area. They apparently had always had a high-class status. At the time of the Civil War one of the A family was among the biggest landowners in this section. His descendants, with comparatively few exceptions, had maintained high economic positions in the community and, as class distinctions sharpened, had emerged at the top of the class ladder.

In many interviews members of the A family indicated that they considered themselves a group of "high-class" people surrounded by "low-class" people. In the neighborhoods adjacent to Laurel there were few

families that the A's felt were "all right." For instance, one of the A family, in response to a question asking what families in the adjacent neighborhoods he considered proper for his family to associate with, replied:

> It's like this—who do you consider good Christian people that our children can associate with? Well, all our neighbors [i.e., all of the A's in Laurel neighborhood]. All our people here are very good people—good Christian people that believe in school and in sending children to school. That's why we send out more high school graduates than any district in the county, and it a pauper district. We've got Foleys up here [in Tumbling Creek neighborhood]—good people—and then Stanley Barnett and Luke Wren on Red Lick. They's a heap of good people, but they're a little lower class of people than you'd like your children to marry in. But Foleys, Barnetts, and Wrens they're good enough for anybody. Red Lick is filled with sorry people and Beech Creek is too.

Of all the many groups of families living in the three near-by neighborhoods, this man named only three which he considered equal to his own family.

Many other quotations could be given which would indicate that the A's felt superior to such an extent that there were few families with which they would intermarry. Just as the D's accounted for their inbreeding by the fact that "they didn't have much to do with other people," so the A's said that they intermarried because "they didn't get off and get acquainted with other people." There was much truth in this statement. But as in the case of the D's the reason the A's did not have wider associations was associated with the class structure. Unlike the D's, however, it was not that they *could not*, because of low-class standing and widely disapproved behavior, develop such associations, but rather that, being high class and conscious of their superiority, they *would not* develop intimate relationships with many other families which they considered beneath them.

III. HOW DOES KNOWLEDGE OF THE CLASS STRUCTURE HELP US TO UNDERSTAND THE MEMBERSHIP AND FUNCTION OF THE HOLINESS CHURCH?

In 1942 there was no church on Beech Creek. The Laurel neighborhood, however, had an organized Christian church which held services on one Sunday of each month. Though not formally organized as a church, a group of Holiness people in the Flat Rock neighborhood, who did not consider themselves a separate denomination and indeed maintained their previous church memberships, met at the schoolhouse once a month for preaching and also had weekly prayer meetings at their homes.

The Laurel church members were almost all high-class members of the A family. The preacher was a farmer in the neighborhood, a member of the high-class Andrews family group. The high-class families criticized the intermediate- and low-class families of the neighborhood which did not attend church and asserted that they were welcome. Apparently the lower-class people did not feel "at home" there, however; members of low-class families almost never attended services at the Laurel church, and intermediate-class people did not attend regularly.

The Holiness group on Flat Rock consisted of low-class people, most of whom were D's or close relations of the D's. The two intermediate-class families in the neighborhood had no connection with the group except that some members of these families occasionally attended the services, more, apparently, to "watch" the spectacle of the Holiness rites than because of serious religious interest.

During the year of this study few Beech Creek people went to church regularly.

There was no church either in or out of the neighborhood where sizable groups of Beech Creek people came together regularly. It was a long way to most of the churches, and only in the summer months could people reach them easily.

Beech Creek people recognized the need

for a church of their own and had in the past organized churches which held regular services for short periods and then disbanded either because of lack of interest or, more commonly, because the people could not "get along." Several times in the previous fifteen years the Holiness group from Flat Rock had held services on Beech Creek and had attempted to have regular services. Beech people, however, did not respond to the extent of joining the group and taking responsibility; rather they came only to "see the show." The general consensus was that "Beech Creek people are too divided to do anything together."

Class antagonisms had contributed to this division of the people of the neighborhood and to their resultant inability to build up a neighborhood church. One reason, for instance, that the Holiness attempts to organize a group on Beech Creek failed was the opinion of the people of the upper classes that the Holiness people were low class and their refusal to join "such people as that."

One fact about the membership of the Holiness group is of particular interest in relation to social stratification: All the Holiness members were members of the low class.

All the church members in the three neighborhoods, with a single exception,[8] were Protestants. The two principal denominations or sects were the Christian church and the Holiness group.

According to the oldest people now living, the Baptist church was the dominant church in the earliest days. But about fifty years ago the Christian church was introduced. The Holiness church reached this area much later, certainly not earlier than 1925. In 1942 the Christian church was numerically far stronger in the Beech Creek area than the Holiness group. The Christian church membership included people from all classes, though, as noted above, the only organized church of that denomination then active in the three neighborhoods was the Laurel church, which was dominated by high-class families.

That the Holiness church was considered a "low-class" church is shown by the following representative statements, one by a low-class, the other by a high-class, informant.

A LOW-CLASS MAN: You take the Holiness people. Aunt Lula believed in Holiness—and always wanted people to sing and pray for her. She wanted the Holiness to come and pray for her. So they went to her house, and Lewis [her grandson] come down and throwed them out, told 'em never to come back. Lewis is a funny kind of a fellow.

They're talked about worse than any church. All churches of this community persecute 'em—saying they're trash, tramps—just look at 'em. Holiness people get up and say, "They call us trash but I'd rather be trash 'cause it'll float on top."

Holiness people do what the Bible tells 'em to do. You find some won't do it—just like in every denomination. They say they've got religion and they've just got form. You can take a woman drunkard or road woman—she'll fall in the Holiness church. But the Holiness church is befallen for taking these people in it. Other churches wouldn't take 'em. Bible says if a man repents of sins, wherever he goes he's all right if he keeps the Commandments of the Bible. Christ came to save the lost generation of people. If all was saved, there wasn't no use of Christ coming. Christ came to redeem sinners. If any of them go into the Holiness church, everybody says, "Look who's in it." It takes people that have a little misfortune. Other churches have 'em down and want to keep 'em down. I think people ought to try to improve 'em myself.

INTERVIEWER: What do you think about the Holiness people?

A HIGH-CLASS MAN: Well, as far as they do good they're all right. But the wrongs they do after confessing is all wrong. That's what I think about 'em. What you do in the name of the Lord you shall be blessed for it. The Bible tells us what you do in His name you shall be blessed for. If they do things sincerely, they're all right.

But Holiness people are the low-downdest,

[8] One man who had left the area soon after 1900 and had not returned until 1942 had joined the Roman Catholic church during his absence.

trashy people of the country, but they get so far ahead of other people it seems like they think they're the only people saved in the country. Then they go off drinking, gambling and card-playing.

This D bunch and a few in Poplar Hollow are Holiness. First thing you knew down there you found men of the district getting jealous of the preacher; he's fooling with their wives. That goes with the Holiness here. It looks bad to me.

Many statements similar to these, as well as constant ridicule of the "Holy Rollers" in stories about their peculiar rituals and in descriptions of their services as "shows" or entertainment, all clearly indicated high-class scorn of the Holiness group. A high-class person in Beech Creek neighborhood would have been insulted if he had been called a member of the Holiness sect.

Why did the Holiness church, then, tend to be identified with the low-class people? The answer lies in the social and psychological situation of the low-class people. In 1942 the only people living on Beech Creek who were active members of the Holiness group were two women and one man, all low class.

The Holiness group's main strength in the Beech Creek area was in the Flat Rock neighborhood, where four men and five women openly claimed to be members, and many more were sympathetic to the group. An important observation to be made about the Holiness members and sympathizers is this: A high proportion of the Holiness church members had transgressed important social norms. One man who belonged to the Holiness group readily admitted he had been a drunkard for years. His daughter, also a member, had had three illegitimate children, each by a different man. Another member had been known as a "hellcat" in his youth; he had been a fighter who drank heavily and had been in many fracases. His wife had borne an illegitimate child before she married the first time and had deserted her first husband and had lived as the common-law wife of several other men before she had finally married her present husband.

Such people had a great need for some way of relieving their deep feelings of guilt and shame. The Holiness church met this need for a number of low-class members. It was immediately obvious that the Holiness church had a more "emotional" emphasis than the Christian church. The sermons of the Christian church preachers, for example, were calmer, more rationalistic, more in the nature of teaching than those of Holiness preachers. Not infrequently in the former there was evidence of fairly careful organization of the sermon with the whole more or less logically moving from one point to another and with the sermon unified to some extent around a central theme. The sermons of Holiness preachers, on the other hand, were likely to be of the stream-of-consciousness type with little obvious logical development or structure. The manner in which the sermons were delivered also reflected the different emphasis placed on emotionality. Successful Holiness preachers had developed a skilful technique in producing emotional outbursts through the rhythm and cadence of their phrases, the change in the pitch of their voices, and in gestures and rhythmic clapping of their hands. Christian church preachers were more calm and controlled.

An important component of the emotionalism of the Holiness church was the belief in sudden, almost explosive, conversion so that "in the twinkling of an eye" a sinner was able to pass from the ranks of the damned to the ranks of the saved. Though this belief about conversion was not particularly different in theory from that of the Christian church, in actual practice the Christian church put much less emphasis on sudden emotional change.

The Holiness church provided great relief to people burdened with the weight of sin, and, furthermore, along with its emphasis on sudden, emotional conversion, it provided for "proofs" that a person had really been "saved" and had been accepted by God into grace. For by "getting the Power," by shouting and dancing in a trance under God's direction, and by "speaking in tongues" a person showed that he had really been "born again" and thus had been "saved."

Since the greatest deviation from social

norms was found among the people of the low class, it was not unexpected that the Holiness church had its greatest appeal in this group, for it met real needs of low-class people. This, then, partially accounts for the greater attraction of the Holiness sect for low-class people.

There was another aspect of the social situation, however, which was also important in this connection. Low-class people were clearly at the bottom of the social ladder. It must be remembered that American society has an open class system, not a caste system, in which there is a great emphasis on the equality of individuals. When the beliefs that all men are equal and that one man is as good as another, and so on, are borne in mind, it is apparent that those occupying lower-class positions in the Beech Creek society almost inevitably felt frustrated and oppressed, especially when they continually had relationships with higher-class people who "looked down on them." Sometimes such feelings of frustration led to open violence. But such violent aggression was by no means the only way of relieving these feelings of frustration. And it is precisely at this point that the Holiness church had performed a significant function for low-class people; it enabled them to relieve their feelings of inferiority and frustration in a fashion which in some ways was more satisfactory than open aggression which, if widespread, would have been a real threat to the existence of the society.

For in the Holiness church there was, in spite of much emphasis on the unity of all Christians, a strong belief that the Holiness church had *the* way of salvation. Every Holiness service attended by this investigator centered around the problem of getting others to accept the "Christian," that is, the Holiness, way of life. The people criticized in the sermons were frequently those who refused to be "born again," those who ridiculed "shouting" and "speaking in tongues." The Holiness members who gathered near the preacher in front were commonly called "the Christians"; the rest of the audience, whether members of other churches or not, were therefore not Christians. In a very real sense, then, Holiness people felt that they were "the chosen people"; they were "the saved"; they were "the children of God." And, of course, this meant that non-Holiness people were not the chosen people, were not saved, were not the children of God. Here was some compensation for their lowly position in the social ladder. They were low class, they were looked down on by higher classes, but they were the elect of God. As Goldschmidt says:

> The appeal of the emotional religion and asceticism for the disenfranchised is this: It denies the existence of this world with its woes; it denies the values in terms of which they are the underprivileged and sets up in their stead a putative society in the Kingdom of God, where, because of their special endowments (which we call emotionalism) they are the elite.[9]

The Holiness church, then, was identified with low-class people because it met certain unique social and psychological needs of the people of the low class. The emotional, sudden conversion characteristic of the Holiness church, together with the physical proofs of acceptance by God, meant much to the low-class group, many of whose members had indulged in actions which both other members of their society and they themselves condemned so that there were deep feelings of guilt and shame which had to be relieved. Second, as members of the lowest class, the class which every other class looked down on and oppressed, there was a vital need for relief from the feelings of inferiority and frustration which were almost inevitable in such a position. The Holiness church, by establishing a "society of the saved" (consisting of the members of the Holiness church), enabled the low-class people to turn the tables, so to speak, and to become the elite.

It should be emphasized that not only had the Holiness church performed important functions for the members of the low-class group; it also had performed important functions for the wider social system, the Beech Creek area. It was a fact commonly

[9] Walter R. Goldschmidt, "Class Denominationalism in Rural California Churches," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIX (January, 1944), 354–55.

SOCIAL PARTICIPATION IN THE RURAL COMMUNITY[1]

SELZ C. MAYO AND C. PAUL MARSH

ABSTRACT

A study of two rural locality groups in Wake County, North Carolina, suggests that the extent to which formal social participation is limited to the locality group of residence is related to the degree of locality group consciousness. Village residents confined their participation to organizations within the locality group to a much greater extent than did the open-country population. There was a definite pattern by age, but it was different from the expected pattern. In the two areas studied sex was related to the percentage of participation within the locality group only among Negroes; and race was related to this percentage within the group only among females. There was a relationship between place of residence, farm and nonfarm, and the extent to which formal participation is limited to the locality group only within one of the groups.

This study is concerned primarily with the interrelationship of two types of rural social structure—the locality group, on the one hand, and voluntary formal organizations, on the other—and is particularly concerned with the extent to which the participation in voluntary formal organizations takes place within and outside the locality group or residence.

The importance of rural locality groups—neighborhoods and communities—in understanding rural society has been emphasized by rural sociologists. These "first groups outside the family which have social significance, and which have some sense of local unity,"[2] have been the subject of much discussion and research.

The changing nature of the rural locality group has been characterized by any number of research workers. The small locality group of the past has been pictured as a primary group, i.e., a group in which there are frequent, intimate, face-to-face contacts among all members. This was the group within which most of the needs not filled by the family were met. The neighborhood, because of poor communication and isolation, was the locus of almost all activities of its members, who went outside only occasionally for certain specialized services that the locality group did not provide.

Predictions were made that the smaller locality groups would disappear with improved means of transportation and communication, but this has not occurred universally or perhaps even generally, especially in the South. Locality groups have given up many of their functions to other agencies and groups. The individual family is no longer dependent upon the locality group for all its social relationships and activities. In spite of this, however, locality groups still exist as sociological units and may be located and mapped.

Sanderson divides human association groups into three classes: (1) genetic groups (family, race, tribe); (2) locality groups; and (3) interest groups, including all institutional organizations and voluntary associations.[3] Both he and Kolb and Brunner emphasize the increasing importance of the third at the expense of the second. Kolb and Brunner say:

> This transfer from locality groups to interest groups and from organic forms to contractual forms of assocations, whether by voluntary means or through skillful promotion, is a significant trend and one which explains many of the rural social movements of the present time. This is not to say that neighborhood and community groups have entirely lost their influence,

[1] Paper presented at the fourteenth annual meeting of the Southern Sociological Society, Atlanta, Georgia, April 27, 1951.

[2] J. H. Kolb and Edmund deS. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1946), p. 225.

[3] Dwight Sanderson, *The Rural Community* (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1932), p. 597.

but simply that interest groups are of increasing importance.[4]

Too little attention has been given to the extent to which these special interest organizations and locality groups are interrelated.

In 1948 the locality groups in Wake County were delineated and rated according to the degree of group consciousness as high, medium, or low. (This scaling process has been described elsewhere and need not concern us here.) Of the one hundred and one rural locality groups totally or partially in Wake County, two were chosen for more intensive study. One of the locality groups, Knightdale, had a high degree of group consciousness, and the other, Leesville, had a low degree of group consciousness. Knightdale is a village-centered locality group in which, during the summer of 1948, there were 318 households, 121 of which were in the incorporated center and 197 in the open country. Leesville is an open-country group with 117 households.

All households in the two locality groups were included in the enumeration, and participation scores were obtained for every individual ten years of age and above by the use of the Chapin social participation scale.[5] In the scale weights are assigned for various activities within a formal voluntary organization: membership, 1; attendance, 2; contributions, 3; committee membership, 4; and office position, 5. An individual's total score is obtained by summing all the weights that apply to his activities for all the organizations with which he is affiliated. In the course of obtaining the intensity of social participation, data were obtained relative to the location of that participation. These data were obtained by adding only one question to the scale, namely: Where did the participation occur?

The extent to which formal participation was confined to the locality group is measured by the percentage of the total score that was in organizations located within the locality group. It is with the proportion of the participation that occurred within the locality group rather than the intensity score itself that this paper is focused.

In order to show the extent to which the rural locality group is a locus for formal social participation, five hypotheses have been set up and tested. Each hypothesis is stated, and then the data are presented for the two locality groups studied.

Hypothesis I. The participation of the residents of a locality group with high group consciousness is confined to the locality to a much greater degree than that of the residents of a locality group with a low degree of group conscicousness.

This hypothesis was substantiated for Knightdale and Leesville. The differences between the two locality groups were the most striking differences observed (Fig. 1).

Because of the wide difference between the village and open-country areas of Knightdale, they are considered separately. The village residents limited their participation to organizations within the locality group to a much greater extent than did the residents of open-country Knightdale (85.8 and 71.4 per cent, respectively).

The difference between open-country Knightdale and Leesville is even more striking. The percentage of the total score that was within the locality group was more than twice as great among Knightdale residents as among Leesville residents (71.4 and 30.7). (It should be remembered that the village is a part of the locality group and that participation in the village is included in the open-country Knightdale data.)

Hypothesis II. The extent to which participation is confined to the locality group of residence increases as age increases.

With the greater mobility of youth and the location of the schools outside one of the locality groups, it was expected that the percentage of participation within the group would increase as the individuals became older and were better established in the community.

This hypothesis was not substantiated by the data from the Knightdale and Leesville

[4] *Op. cit.*, p 332.

[5] F. Stuart Chapin, *Social Participation Scale, 1937* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1938).

locality groups. While there was a definite pattern by age, it was very different from this expected pattern (Fig. 2). Among white participants the percentage of participation that occurred within the locality group was relatively high in age groups 10–14, 15–19, and 20–24; the percentage then declined to its lowest point (about 59 per cent in the group, from which point the percentage that occurred within the locality group increased steadily through the 45–49 age group. Then, in sharp contrast to the pattern among whites, the proportion within decreased to its lowest point in the 50–54 age group (29 per cent) and increased to its highest point (68 per cent) in the 55–59 age group. It then

PERCENT OF PARTICIPATION WITHIN COMMUNITY BY AREA AND RACE, WAKE COUNTY, 1948

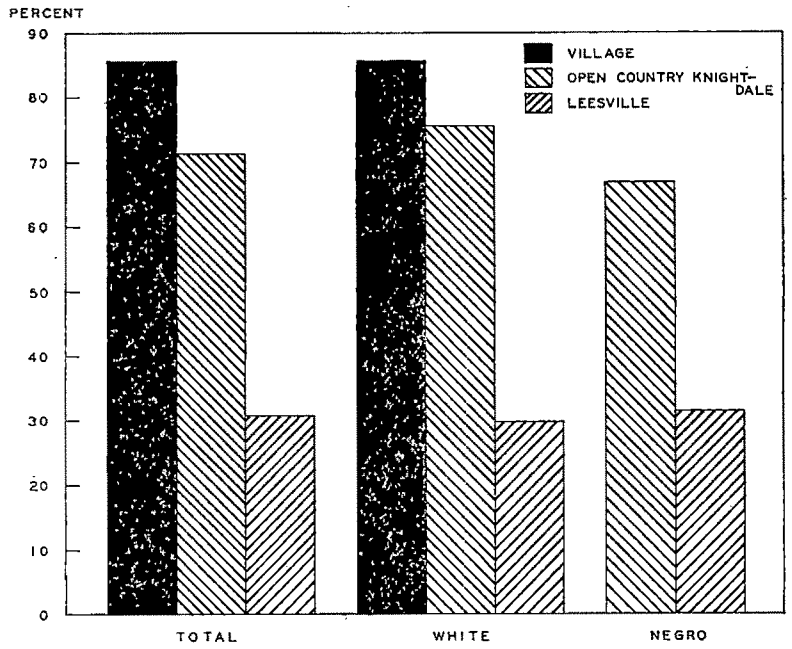

FIG. 1

total white and 39 per cent in the open country) in the 30–34 age group. From there it climbed to its highest point (81 per cent in the total and 73 per cent in the open country) in the 45–49 age group. In the older age groups the percentage that occurred within the community again declined, reaching a point about midway between the two extremes among those persons sixty years of age and over.

The Negro pattern was slightly different, with a sharp increase from the 10–14 to the 15–19 age group. There was then a sharp decrease from the 20–24 to the 25–29 age decreased among people sixty years of age and over.

Hypothesis III. There is no difference between the sexes in the extent to which the formal participation is confined to the locality group of residence.

This hypothesis was substantiated in the Knightdale and Leesville study among Negroes but not for the white population. There was a difference of only 1.4 percentage points between Negro males and females (53.6 and 55.0 per cent). In the white population females confined their formal participation to the locality group to a greater ex-

tent than did males (75.3 and 66.8 per cent, respectively).

Hypothesis IV. The formal participation of farm residents is confined to their locality group to a greater extent than that of nonfarm residents.

This hypothesis was not substantiated in Knightdale and Leesville during 1948. Because of the wide difference between open-country nonfarm residents and village residents, the nonfarm population is separated into the village population and the open-country nonfarm population for consideration here.

The village residents confined their participation to their locality group to a much greater extent than either the farm residents or the open-country nonfarm residents. The percentage of participation that was *within* the locality group was 85.8 for village residents, 58.9 for farm residents, and 42.9 for open-country nonfarm residents.

From these percentages the hypothesis appears to have been substantiated for the open-country areas. Examination of the data for each of the two open-country areas, however, reveals that it was the case among whites living in Leesville where the percentage *within* for the farm group was more than twice that of the nonfarm (35.5 and 17.4). In Knightdale there was very little difference between the two groups. Among Negroes the percentage of participation *within* was slightly higher for the nonfarm residents in both locality groups.

PERCENT OF PARTICIPATION WITHIN COMMUNITY BY AGE AND RACE, WAKE COUNTY, 1948

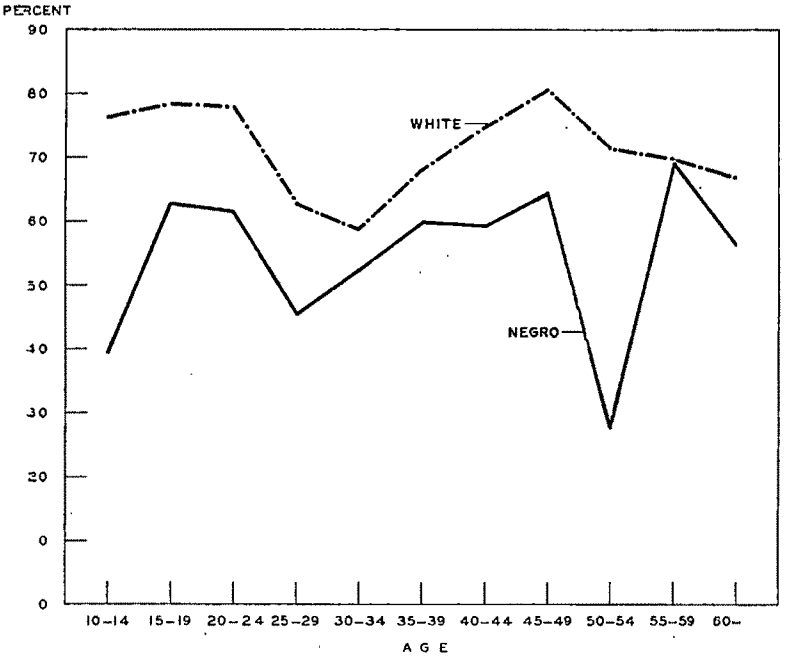

FIG. 2

Hypothesis V. There is no difference in the extent to which the formal participation of Negroes and whites is confined to the locality group of residence.

This hypothesis was not substantiated in Leesville and Knightdale. The participation of whites was limited to the locality group to a significantly higher degree than that of the Negroes (60.4 and 54.3 per cent). This dif-

ference, however, was primarily within the female population (65.4 per cent for white females and 55.0 per cent for Negro females). The percentage of participation within was almost identical for white males and Negro males (54.3 and 54.6). (As there were only two Negro families within the village, comparisons are made here only between open-country whites and Negroes.)

DISCUSSION

As pointed out previously, these data are from only two locality groups, and the conclusions drawn from the hypotheses tested in this study can do no more than suggest the extent to which the formal participation of various sectors of the general rural population may be limited to the locality group. They do point up, however, a number of questions about the relationship between the locality group and participation in formal organizations.

Do these differences between the various sectors of the population indicate differences in the strength of their ties to the community? If Kolb and Brunner's conclusion that participation in organized activities is important in holding the locality group together is correct, this is probably true. It is easy to see that the wide difference between Knightdale and Leesville might be, in part, a reflection of the difference in the strength of their community ties.

Another question that arises is: What is the effect of limiting participation to the community on the attitudes and outlook of the residents? In a situation such as the village, for example, where more than 85 per cent of the total participation occurred within the community, are the attitudes of the people more narrow than those of the people who live in communities where contacts are over a wider area even with a lower degree of participation?

Finally, will people participate in some types of organizations only if they are within the locality group, while they will go outside the locality to participate in other types of organizations? While the data in this paper do not answer this question, the difference between the two localty groups suggests that it may be true. In an area such as the rural South where religion is so important to the people, many people will participate in religious activities even if they must travel for a long distance in order to do so. On the other hand, promoters of many types of organizations are convinced that to be effective such organizations must be located within the locality groups.

Stated in the simplest terms, this paper has attempted to present answers to some questions relative to the extent to which rural people go outside their own locality group in order to participate in voluntary formal organizations. Many more questions were raised than were answered. The data presented, however, are testimony to the tremendous power of the locality group in the social structure of rural society.

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COMMENT

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This study confirms some previous results from measures of participation in formal and organized groups obtained by use of my social participation scale. Disproof of Hypothesis II ("the extent to which participation is confined to the locality group of residence increases as age increases") presents an interesting problem. One possible explanation would be to interpret the lowest percentage participation in local community groups in the age range 30–34 as due to the fact that persons in this age group are at the height of vigor and energy for participation and hence in an expanding stage of socialization; to interpret the finding of highest participation in age range 45–49 as due to the fact that in this age group people have established residences connected with occupation and school-age children; and to interpret the decline in participation in age group 60 and over as due to diminishing energies. The latter conclusion would be consistent with the results obtained by W. C. McKain, Jr., of the Division

of Farm Population and Rural Welfare of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics in 1946. He found for a group of 244 persons sixty-five years of age and over in California diminishing social participation scores with age. The same trend was obtained by D. G. Hay in a central New York community for 1946–47. Since the social participation scale consists of five factors weighted to indicate the approximate intensity of participation, it might be interesting to make a breakdown of the total score into its components in cases where some logical hypothesis was not corroborated by the data. The reason for this suggestion is that the social participation scale measures a person's social acceptance or rejection on three factors: membership (1), committee membership (4), and offices held (5). It measures pure participation of the person on two factors: attendance (2) and contributions (3). If the individual scores were totaled by these two subdivisions of the entire scale, differentials among locality groups might be obtained which could explain some of the gross differences obtained in the comparison of totals made on the basis of the entire scale score. It may be of interest to add that the social participation scale conforms satisfactorily to the Guttman type of scale, since the order—officer, committee member, contributor, attendance, and membership—are categories of diminishing inclusiveness in the order named and yield a reproducibility coefficient of over 90.

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RESEARCH ON INTERMARRIAGE: A SURVEY OF ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND PROSPECTS

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ABSTRACT

Sociological research on intermarriage has been concerned with (1) the causal factors, (2) the patterns of incidence and selection, and (3) the consequences among the marriage partners and their children. Many important gaps remain for investigation in each area. An inconsistency found among Americans is their conservative attitude toward intermarriage, on the one hand, and their activities, on the other hand, in creating social and cultural conditions favoring intermarriage.

Periodically since the end of World War I, American sociologists and their academic cousins, the demographers, have been exhorting each other to engage in research on a neglected aspect of human relations—intermarriage. In a multigroup society like the United States, they have maintained, the study of intermarriage may provide a precise, quantitative measurement of such vital and related sociological questions as the process of assimilation, the degree of internal cohesion in individual racial, religious, and ethnic groups, and the extent of social distance between groups of these types.

But there have been other reasons for the attraction of social scientists to the analysis of intermarriage. Of interest to them is the considerable number of American people who have not adopted Zangwill's romantic notion that America is God's crucible, that the new society's complex ingredients should blend eventually by intermarriage into a race of supermen, combining the virtues of all races, creeds, and nationalities.[1] Indeed, many Americans today look upon the practice as a threat to their social values and way of life rather than as a panacea for their tensions in intergroup relations. For example, Gunnar Myrdal found that most southern whites place the taboo on racial intermarriage in the highest rank among the various parts of their concern about the maintenance of the status quo between themselves and Negroes.[2] Roman Catholic spokesmen in this country continually deplore "mixed marriage" with non-Catholics, and Protestant clerics are becoming increasingly vociferous not only in opposing such marriages but in pointing to the Roman Catholic policy therein as an important issue in the struggle for power between the Catholic church and other religious groups. Perhaps the best indication of Jewish anxiety about the "problem" is its popularity as a theme in plays and novels by and about Jews, especially—and possibly significantly in terms of causation—in times of social disorganization like World Wars I and II. Ever since the astonishing response to Anne Nichols' comedy about Abraham Levy's marriage to Rose Mary Murphy during the armistice of the first war[3] there has been a steady procession of other works, some of them more prominent than others.[4]

Sociologists may well ask themselves why so many Americans consider intermarriage

[1] Israel Zangwill, *The Melting-Pot* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1909).

[2] Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1944), pp. 60–61.

[3] *Abie's Irish Rose* (New York: Samuel French, 1924) was the stage play. In 1927 it was published as a novel by Harper. Subsequently it became a movie film, and more recently it has been a radio serial presented weekly by one of the major broadcasting networks.

[4] Some of the better-known novels dealing with Jewish-gentile intermarriage have been Gwethalyn Graham, *Earth and High Heaven* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1944); Sholem Asch, *East River* (New York: Putnam, 1946); Norman Katkov, *Eagle at My Eyes* (New York: Doubleday, 1948); and Myron Brinig, *Footsteps on the Stair* (New York: Rinehart, 1950).

to be a social problem. A tentative answer is that the practice is a grave threat to the people's values of identity, homogeneity, and survival. As one writer sees the menace in operation with reference to Jews:

> The one great factor, making for group survival, is the ability to keep offspring within the group. As between two or more groups, intermarriage is forever a source of danger to the less favorably situated group, since the younger generation is usually anxious to escape the inherited hardship. The severance of relations favorable to exogamous marriage thus becomes the desideratum of every minority.[5]

Not infrequently the problem-mentality of those resistant to the practice, especially clergymen, is expressed in terms of "culture conflict," a concept borrowed from the social scientists. Intermarriage, it is maintained, should be avoided because conflict almost invariably results between culturally disparate mates and harmfully affects their children. The validity of this claim will be weighed in a subsequent section of this article. At this point it is appropriate to suggest that there are two flaws in such a rationalization for resistance. First, there are occasionally only nominal differences at the most between intermarrying mates. Second, important cultural differences often stratify husbands and wives, let us say, of the very same religious affiliation. Yet few priests, ministers, and rabbis preach caution or refuse to officiate at such technically nonmixed marriages.

What have American sociologists and demographers learned about intermarriage? Their research findings may be organized and summarized as follows.

1. *Causal factors.*—What are the social and psychological forces which induce intermarriage? Studies in New York City, Los Angeles, Burlington, Woonsocket, New Haven, and Derby have shown that an unbalanced sex ratio and numerically small representation lead some groups into considerable incidences of intermarriage.[6] But even more important, in contrast to the theme of "America divided" expressed by most writers on intergroup relations, is that in this immigrant-receiving society our heterogeneous groups have developed cultural similarities and social proximity to a surprising extent. For example, residential propinquity, a well-known factor in courtship, not only because of the premarital contacts facilitated but also because of the economic and cultural similarities implied, is found to be an important correlate of intermarriages as well as in-marriages. Our communities' ecological areas are not homogeneous with regard to race, religion, and nationality.

Premarital studies also indicate that young people of diverse groups are led into marital ties through economic propinquity and similarity, both occupational and spatial; by close association and common experiences in the amount, type, and locale of education; and by recreational contacts. Indeed, the high degree of similarity in economic and educational status of those who intermarry lends support to the prediction of the ultimate emergence of clearly defined in-groups and "consciousness of kind" along these lines.

Religious and racial intermarriages also occur today because of the inefficacy of institutional control by church and state. Historical as well as contemporary evidence demonstrate that churches and synagogues cannot effectively curb religious intermarriage in societies where church and state are separate and civil marriage, accordingly, is an alternative to a clerical ceremony. As far as racial intermarriage is concerned, the point is perhaps best made by way of illustration. There were cases of such marriage in California long before October 1, 1948, the date when that state's law prohibiting the practice was ruled unconstitutional by a decision of the State Supreme Court. In short, easy social contact and a cultural

[5] Julius A. Leibert, "Somatic Jews," *Liberal Judaism*, XIII (December, 1945), 56–60.

[6] Comparison of the findings may be found in the author's *People Who Intermarry* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1946), pp. 251–323.

common denominator negate much of the prohibitive impact of institutional control.

But that is not all. Sociologists also have several hypotheses to explain why intermarriage occurs which need to be tested in future empirical studies. It is proposed that post-adolescence and the premarital years constitute an age of rebellion against the more conservative values of parents, which, coupled with the conflict between generations and the emancipation from family control brought on by extramural and secular experiences in education and the economy, are conducive to intermarriage. For many young Americans the cultural relativity with which they are indoctrinated in public school systems and the psychological association which they develop between the intermarriage taboo and "backwardness" are also conceivably significant in this context. A likely explanation is to be had too in the individualistic choice of a marriage partner imbedded in the "romantic complex" of American culture. And, lastly, one must consider the roles of self-hatred among many members of minority groups and the drive toward upward social mobility, both of which may find expression in marriage outside the group.

2. *Patterns.*—A second type of research activity has centered upon patterns of incidence and selection. Which groups tend to intermarry more than others? Which groups are selected most frequently by other groups? And what are the dynamics or trends of incidence and selection in intermarriage over the years? Sociologists who pose these questions in their community studies generally find that intermarriage occurs most often between ethnic groups, less often between religious groups, and least between racially defined groups. This, of course, is not only useful in terms of evaluating the relative cohesive strength of group types, but it is suggestive of possible realignments in the structure of American society.

Unquestionably the most valuable sociological study in this connection was made by Ruby Jo Reeves Kennedy in New Haven.[7] Marriage records in that community for 1870, 1900, 1930, and 1940 were analyzed, and over each time interval there was found to be an increase in the percentage of those intermarrying from most—*but not all*—groups. The proportion of Protestants intermarrying with non-Protestants and Roman Catholics with non-Catholics, for example, declined slightly over the last measured decade. This is more important than it may seem to the casual observer, largely because it disrupts the armchair, speculative idea that intermarriage relentlessly increases in the dimension of time in a smooth, unbroken pattern. It supports the contention that no mystical force pushes any aspect of intergroup relations in a single direction.

The most interesting pattern discovered by Dr. Kennedy is rhetorically mentioned in the title of her article. Negro-white intermarriages in New Haven have been practically nonexistent, on the one hand. Ethnic groups, on the other hand, have intermarried at a very high rate but not indiscriminately. Rather, they have tended to intermarry within the confines of the apparently hardening lines of religion. Catholic nationalities have intermarried with other Catholics; Protestants have chosen other Protestants; and Jews, probably in large part because their religious and ethnic characteristics coincide, have married Jews. Thus we have had the pattern of the "triple melting pot."

The need for further research on this aspect of intermarriage is obvious. The communities studied so far have been few in number, mostly concentrated on the eastern seaboard. It is important that we get a more adequate regional coverage. Second, many more studies are needed on the dynamics of intermarriage. Are second- and third-generation Americans intermarrying more than their first-generation parents and grandparents elsewhere than New Haven? Third, studies of intermarriage incidence and se-

[7] "Single or Triple Melting Pot? Intermarriage Trends in New Haven," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIX (January, 1944), 331–39.

lection must keep within reasonable distance of the ever changing calendar. It is absurd in terms of time as well as place to assert that "Americans intermarry" according to a pattern of a triple melting pot when all we really know is that residents of one community, New Haven, were demonstrating such a pattern ten years ago.

3. *Consequences.*—The third and last major kind of research on intermarriage has dealt with the consequences of the practice in family life. How do intermarried mates and their children fare in numerical size, personality development and interpersonal relations, religious affiliation and participation, and success or failure as measured by the criteria of divorce, desertion, and separation?

The fragmentary research of this sort so far has been concerned mainly with religious intermarriage and will be summarized below. First, one should be reminded that such research has been challenged by the vested interest, social myopia, and wishful thinking of many laymen. To be sure, few but racists and fundamentalist zealots now argue against intermarriage on the grounds of detrimental biological consequences. But there are numerous people who insist on a consequence of overwhelming doom for those who intermarry in social and cultural matters. For example, at the annual conference of the Rabbinical Council of America in January, 1950, Rabbi Israel Tabak of Baltimore, then president of the council, contended that such marriages are 90 per cent unsuccessful and that they "undermine the stability of the home, increase the number of unhappy marriages and bring children into the world with a rift in their souls which can never be healed."[8]

Very unusual and seemingly more objective and realistic is a recent statement by another rabbi:

> There are many Jews who . . . deprecate mixed marriage on simple practical grounds. Marriage, they argue, involves at best many problems and difficulties. Why complicate it still more? Why enter on a union with a reduced chance of success? This would be an impressive argument if we could show that a majority, or even a dangerously high percentage, of intermarriages are failures. We do not, in fact, have reliable statistics; nor do we have a satisfactory way of measuring success in marriage. . . . Everyone knows of successful intermarriages, and they are not so rare as to be labeled startling exceptions.[9]

Another preliminary to the results of empirical studies concerning intermarriage consequences is in order. It is the review of relevant theory formulated by specialists in the field of marriage and the family. For the most part they have assumed that extreme differences in background should foster marital discord rather than rapport. They have suggested, for instance, that the element of mixture is a focal point for conflict in some cases of intermarriage in that it becomes the scapegoat for tensions which originate elsewhere in the marital relationship; it is an easy substitute explanation for a couple's poor adjustment in, let us say, financial affairs. At the same time, however, the theorists have maintained that the consequences of any marriage depend upon the total situation and not merely upon the fact of mixture. That is, a marriage's inner solidarity is affected not only by its various parts but also by the influences of those with whom the couple has had and continues to have social ties. Theoretically, no type of marriage contains within itself the germs of its own inevitable failure. Success or failure depends upon total adjustment rather than upon the mere elements of difference.

Accompanying this theory pertinent to the husband-wife relationship in intermarriage there is the theory regarding the children of such marriage. Most prevalent is the notion that lack of adequate identification and the status of marginality and outcaste are the burdens they must bear. At least one sociologist has speculated that, in order to avoid the situation, one adjustment probably at work in society is the greater exercise of birth control so

[8] *New York Times*, January 31, 1950.

[9] Bernard J. Bamberger, "Plain Talk about Intermarriage," *Reconstructionist*, XV (December, 1949), 10–14.

that the number of children born of such marriages is less than the number born of "pure" marriages.[10] For those religiously intermarried couples who do have children there are known to be several alternative adjustments. An early European practice sanctioned by law in some countries and transplanted informally to the United States is for the boys to follow the religion of the father and the girls that of the mother. Another practice is for all members of the family—parents as well as children—to assume the religious affiliation of one of the parents. Still another is for one parent and all the children to join one denomination, while the other parent remains in his own. Next is the "compromise" alternative—that is, the parents become members of a neutral religious body like the Universalists or Unitarians and raise their children accordingly. Idealists try one of two other alternatives: either the children are exposed to both of the parents' divergent faiths or they plan to allow their children to make up their own minds when they reach the age of discretion.

Occasionally the problem of religious identification of children of intermarriages comes before the courts, and in two of such cases recently important precedents may have been established. A test case in Texas was concerned with the legal validity of that part of the Roman Catholic Ante-Nuptial Contract and Promises signed by the non-Catholic in a "mixed marriage" which states that

> all children, both boys and girls, that may be born of this union shall be baptized and educated solely in the faith of the Roman Catholic Church, even in the event of the death of my Catholic consort. In case of dispute, I, furthermore, hereby fully agree that the custody of all the children shall be given to such guardians as to assure the faithful execution of this covenant and promise.

The decision in court was that the promises signed are not valid in law; they are only binding in "good faith."

The second case was in New Jersey and dealt with the question of the religious affiliation of children of "mixed marriages" in the event of a divorce. The mother, a Jewess, had married and divorced a Roman Catholic. There were two children of the marriage, a ten-year-old son and a five-and-a-half-year-old daughter, the mother insisting on raising them as Jews, the father insisting on his religion. The court of errors and appeals decided in the mother's favor after the father had contended that the right to control religious training is vested exclusively in the father. The court, rejecting this, cited the state law that each parent has an equal right in the matter and noted that in the divorce case the custody of the children had been awarded to the mother. Therefore, she had the right to raise the children in the religion she saw fit.

What systematic and empirical data has sociological research uncovered about the consequences of intermarriage? The most fruitful study was conducted a short time ago by Judson T. Landis at Michigan State College.[11] For three years Landis had collected information on their parents' marriages from the students in marriage lecture sections, such as age when married, occupation, education, religion, present marital status, whether either parent changed his or her religious faith at or after marriage, which parent took the responsibility for providing religious training, how much conflict over religion had been evident to the children, and the eventual faith taken by the children, the students themselves.[12]

Of the 4,108 families whose histories were thus analyzed, it was discovered that almost two-thirds of the parents had inmarried as Protestants, 573 families had

[10] M. C. Elmer, *The Sociology of the Family* (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1945), p. 195.

[11] "Marriages of Mixed and Non-mixed Religious Faith," *American Sociological Review*, XIV (June, 1949), 401–7.

[12] The study's significance has two restrictions. It does not reflect a cross-section of the American population, but rather it represents the background of young people in college in the Midwest. Second, because of the method used in collecting the data, the results shed light only upon intermarriages in which there are children. A study of childless intermarriages would probably show different results.

parents in-married as Catholics, and in 346 cases there had been intermarriage between Catholics, on the one hand, and 305 Protestants and 41 persons of no religious faith, on the other. In 192 of these 346 intermarriages, each spouse retained his or her own religious affiliation after the marriage; in 113 of the cases either the Catholic or the Protestant changed to the faith of the other.

What about the comparable divorce rates of the inmarrying and intermarrying parents?[13] The rates were lowest in nonmixed Catholic marriages; next came nonmixed Protestant marriages; higher were the rates in Catholic-Protestant intermarriages; and highest of all was the percentage of divorce in marriages involving a partner with no religious faith. Analysis showed that the Catholic-Protestant intermarriages had a better chance to avoid divorce when one mate—particularly the Protestant wife or the Catholic husband—changed to the faith of the other mate. Further analysis showed that it made a difference to the divorce rate whether the mother was Catholic or Protestant in the intermarriage. There were three times as many divorces in intermarriages between a Catholic man and a Protestant woman as there were in cases in which the husband was Protestant and the wife Catholic.

Landis' explanation for this significant differential is that fewer factors make for tension in intermarriages in which the mother is Catholic. This is because the mother-role and Roman Catholicism are more likely to be "constants" or inflexible; the father-role and Protestantism, on the other hand, are more likely to be "variables" or flexible. Consider, for example, the serious question about the religious training of the children.

In the American home the mother is more likely to be a church member and is more apt to take the responsibility for the religious instruction of the children. When a man who has no faith or is a Protestant marries a Catholic woman, he signs the ante-nuptial agreement and does not find it difficult to abide by the agreement when his children are born. He expects his wife to be responsible for their religious training. There is then no great cause for conflict in this type of a mixed marriage. If the mother is Protestant the marriage seems to have many more serious problems. The Protestant mother has agreed that the children will be baptized Catholic, and yet she can hardly bring up her children in a faith which she herself does not accept. Since the major responsibility for religious training falls upon her, she will probably bring the children up in the only faith she knows and believes in. This means that the agreement made before marriage must be scrapped. The Catholic husband is more apt to be a church member than the Protestant husband who marries a Catholic. It may be quite a blow to him to find that his wife will not have the children baptized into his faith. Conflict results since many Catholic fathers cannot give up without a struggle. The Catholic father not only has his own conscience to live with but he is constantly aware of the attitude of his church and of his family when they see his children being brought up in the Protestant faith.[14]

How were the children of Landis' study actually brought up? First, the data showed that Elmer's previously mentioned theory of intermarriage adjustment by limitation of offspring is substantiated. The students whose parents had intermarried had fewer brothers and sisters than those whose parents were nonmixed. Catholic women married to Protestants had had 2.2 children; Protestant women married to Catholics, 1.9; both Catholics, 3.6; and both Protestants, 2.7. The most common tendency was for the children, especially daughters, to follow the faith of the mother, this being the case for approximately 75 per cent of the girls as compared with 65 per cent of the boys. This

[13] Professor Landis acknowledges that the divorce rate is not an accurate index of marital success or failure. This may be illustrated by low divorce rates in cases where the wife is Roman Catholic and yet the situation is unhappy for her. Inasmuch as three out of four divorces are granted to women in the United States, a devout but unhappy Roman Catholic wife cannot take the initiative toward divorce, whereas most unhappy Protestant wives are free from any dogmatic restrictions to do so.

[14] *Op. cit.*, pp. 405–6.

is consistent with the students' description of the parental responsibility for religious training in their homes. The most frequent policy was that "mother took all responsibility for the religious training"; the second in frequency was that "our parents told us about both faiths but let us decide for ourselves when we were old enough."

Conspicuous by their absence in Landis' study as well as in other studies are data about the consequences of Jewish-gentile intermarriages. However, before we can rest assured about the adequacy of our knowledge concerning the consequences of the intermarriage process, sociologists must also meet the challenge to do more research on a larger sampling of socioeconomic groups in our society than that implied in the college level. They must pursue studies of intermarriage among those people who are childless; they need to interview cases of intermarriage in order to check on their statistical analyses. More needs to be known, too, of the degree or lack of acceptability of intermarried couples by the individual's family of orientation. Other studies should be made of inmarriages and intermarriages which have not ended in divorce or separation in order that we may determine success or failure in terms of other meaningful standards. And there is a call for research on intermarriages between members of different Protestant denominations and sects, in which cases the problems of adjustment may often be as great as those between the major religious affiliations of Catholic, Protestant, and Jew.

One final task confronts American sociologists. It is to bring to the attention of laymen the inconsistency of their conservative attitudes toward intermarriage, on the one hand, with their activities, on the other hand, in creating social and cultural conditions favoring intermarriage. Sending children to public schools and to centers of higher education away from home; the struggle against restrictive covenants, job discrimination, and quota systems; and participation in interfaith activity are but a few practices which lead inevitably to intergroup contacts that sometimes become love and intermarriage. The recognition of this dilemma is a fundamental beginning to any intelligent approach to the problem.

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GROUP CENTRISM IN COMPLEX SOCIETIES

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ABSTRACT

Contact with more than a single culture may produce one of three attitudes: the familiar ethnocentric view in which one's own culture is preferred; a xenocentric view in which a culture other than one's own is preferred, the reverse of the first; and cultural relativism, wherein each culture is evaluated in terms of its own circumstances and values.

The concept of ethnocentrism has occupied a prominent place in the literature and thinking of sociologists ever since its original statement by William Graham Sumner. However, oddly enough, very little attention has been given to a counterpart of this concept which might be labeled "xenocentrism." Sumner defined the ethnocentric concept as "a view of things in which one's own group is the center of everything, and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it."[1] Paralleling Sumner's definition, xenocentrism might be defined as "a view of things in which a group other than one's own is the center of everything, and all others, including one's own group, are scaled and rated with reference to it." On the other hand, the term "cultural relativism" is used to refer to a view of things in which each group is considered in relation to its own specific circumstances and value systems. It is a less subjective view than either ethnocentrism or xenocentrism.

Drawing upon ethnographic data, Sumner and others developed the ethnocentric concept, noting some of its functions, its etiological roots, and its prevalence among nonliterate societies. Later sociologists have utilized this concept (often somewhat inappropriately) to interpret certain aspects of more complex societies, so that there is probably complete agreement among sociologists that evidences of ethnocentric feeling are present in all societies.

However, within societies which have contacts either directly or indirectly with dissimilar groups, some individuals develop feelings which are quite the opposite of ethnocentric. These are sometimes overlooked. It is, for example, relatively easy to find in complex societies individuals who prefer a society other than their own and who rate and scale everything in reference to it and not to their own. Such persons are xenocentric. They are centered in a foreign group and may even have a strong dislike for their own kind.

Within any complex society still others will not "rate and scale" from the vantage of their own or from that of another group but will attempt to understand the functioning of societies within their own social framework. These persons, who probably are small in number when compared to ethnocentrics or xenocentrics, are the objectivists or cultural relativists. They seek to evaluate each group objectively. The attainment of this attitude is, of course, a goal of the social scientist. It is not within the scope of this paper to essay the difficulties confronting one who seeks an objective outlook, assuming that it is attainable. Our interest is with the nature of xenocentric feelings, the extent of such feelings, and the reasons for their existence.

Like its counterpart, xenocentrism is a psychological attitude which implies a biased view. If it can be proved that Englishmen can run faster than any other group, to say so would neither indicate ethnocentrism for an Englishman nor xenocentric feelings for an American. Both would be merely stating a proved fact. However, were the evidence to indicate the contrary, or were

[1] William Graham Sumner, *Folkways* (New York: Ginn & Co., 1906), p. 13.

there no evidence at all available, the contention of the American and Englishman would indicate biased views. One might conclude that the latter was prompted by ethnocentric feelings and that the former was prejudiced in favor of England—which might be part of a xenocentric attitude. An essential part of both ethnocentric and xenocentric feelings is their subjective nature. One who is ethnocentric sees virtues where none exist; one who is xenocentric sees faults where none exist. In either case, perception is biased by a mental set.

Before a person or group of persons can develop either attitude, he or they must have had some contact with a society other than their native one, since the concepts of ethnocentrism and xenocentrism are polar. Like many polarities, the concepts are often ideal constructs rather than precise descriptions of isolated phenomena, and one rarely finds them in unalloyed form. Thus an ethnocentric person need not be centered in his own culture to the extent that he can see no favorable qualities whatsoever in any other group. An engineer, for example, might be highly objective in evaluating the scientific contributions of another society and extremely ethnocentric in looking at political institutions. We need not find "pure" ethnocentrics or xenocentrics to prove the existence of such feelings.

It is likely that ethnocentric and xenocentric feelings are most likely to be held in respect to the political, economic, religious, and familial institutions of a society together with their attendant ethical and moral codes, traditions, and mores. One would expect a more objective appraisal of a foreign school of painting than of the moral code of the same country. In the cultural areas about which the members of a society care relatively little or in those areas removed from the cherished values of a society, unbiased rational views are most frequently found. In other areas either strong attachments or antipathies are probable. While not an essential element, intense emotional feelings usually attend ethnocentrism and xenocentrism. It is perhaps for this reason that distortion and bias enter into the evaluation.

While unquestionably feelings of ethnocentrism are far more common in American society than xenocentric feelings, there are several groups which might be labeled as xenocentric. One that immediately comes to mind is, of course, the American Communist party. Even a cursory reading of the *Daily Worker* or limited associations with "party liners" is sufficient to demonstrate that these persons are obviously Soviet-centered and that they scale and rate all other societies in reference to it. The irrational nature of their attachment for the Soviet Union is amply attested by their many changes in attitudes and programs reflecting changes in Soviet policy; and the emotional nature of their feelings is demonstrated by the sacrifices which party members are willing to make.

One also finds persons manifesting some xenocentric feelings among a small minority of second- and third-generation Americans who idealize the land of their fathers, justify its every act, disparage American culture in comparison with it, and set up this foreign culture as the supreme arbiter for all other cultures. While it may be contended that psychologically and emotionally these persons are members of a foreign society rather than of America, the fact remains that legally and nominally and for all practical purposes they are Americans and must be so considered. More numerous are the first-generation Americans, the immigrants, who become "200 per cent Americans." They completely reject their native culture for American ways; with respect to their native culture they are xenocentric.

Similar feelings are detectable among various other groups within our society: notably the "professional aesthete" who abandons America because of "its total lack of culture" and embraces the life of the *avant garde* artist on the Left Bank; the upper-class American who completely adopts British manners, clothes, and customs; and the confused liberal who in his intense search for flaws in his own society comes to believe

that it is in all or many ways inferior to some other about which he may know little.

The rejection of one's own culture for that of another is a phenomenon frequently noted among young persons, particularly among college students whose contacts with other cultures by way of books are extensive. This "radicalism of youth" often takes the form of vigorously condemning everything that belongs to his native society, reversing the ethnocentrism he often ascribes indiscriminately to all members of a society. Frequently this form of xenocentrism is merely a negation of one's own culture without preference for any particular foreign society. More correctly this may be called a state of anarchical rebellion rather than xenocentrism. However, persons who react so strongly against their own culture as a rule exhibit most of the characteristics of xenocentrism and in fact usually become psychologically centered in another society.

One finds still other examples of xenocentrism in societies other than our own. The Westernization of large areas of the Far East was directly counter to ethnocentrism. Some countries consciously tried to give up large segments of their own culture and imitate their Western neighbors, openly declaring that their own society was backward and urging a reconstruction along the new lines. While a preference for another culture does not in itself indicate xenocentrism toward one's own, when this culture is completely indorsed, however, the attachment probably originates in feelings that are not entirely objective and rational.

A condition of the formation of xenocentric feelings may well be individual frustration, the hostility generated by personal frustration being directed toward the society as a whole: society becomes the "goat" for personal aggressions. This may be especially true if the frustrating experience is one that is not easily blamed upon some individual or event but has its roots in some social process. In such instances the individual feels rejected by society and reacts on his part by rejecting his society. His support of some other society only serves to make revenge sweeter.

In complex societies some individuals will inevitably feel socially isolated. Cut off from the interests, values, and institutions of his society, the socially isolated individual is unable to feel he is a part of his environment. The development of loyalty to and attachment for another society serves as a substitute for the incorporation and participation denied him in his own. Vicariously he enjoys the feeling of "belonging" to a group. Since his identification with a foreign culture is a psychic one with little or no actual basis, his attachment can be extraordinary and his xenocentrism greatly exaggerated. In taking refuge in psychic identification with another culture, he is also relatively secure; it is not likely that he will be rebuffed by a society with which he has no intimate association.

A similar stimulus to xenocentrism is inferior social position. One would suppose that individuals or groups enjoying relatively fewer benefits from a society would be less likely to be as enthusiastic about it as the more favored members. This may be particularly true when the "underprivileged" can view the "privileged" and feel that the latter are rewarded either undeservedly or at their expense. Under such conditions the whole social structure is likely to be viewed with antipathy. Probably the prevalence of xenocentric feelings among left-wing groups and minority groups draws much from feelings of personal frustration, rejection, and inferior social status.

Vigorous reaction to extreme ethnocentrism may also produce the opposing extreme of xenocentrism. To illustrate: During his early life the child knows only his own immediate family and comes to accept it as the norm. When he comes into contact with other families, his reaction is the familiar one: "My family is better than your family; my Dad knows more than yours"; etc. However, as the individual reaches adolescence, it becomes necessary for him to break away from familial controls and declare his inde-

pendence. In doing so, he sometimes goes to the opposite extreme: now the "old man" knows next to nothing. One's own family rather than being a model is backward when compared with the imagined family of one's beloved, the family of the movies or of the novel. After independence is established and the individual has demonstrated his emancipation partly by rejecting his family, a more objective appraisal of it is possible. One then finds that father is somewhat less omniscient than the "Dad" of childhood but considerably more so than the "old man" of adolescence.

A like development may be observed in an individual's feelings for his society. Initially one knows only a single society, and it is accepted without thought. Contacts with other societies usually prompt feelings of intense ethnocentrism. With growth and increased contacts with dissimilar groups, the narrow confines of ethnocentrism impede the free thinker. In an effort to break through his ethnocentrism, the individual may go to the opposite extreme of xenocentrism. With greater maturity and independence, he leaves xenocentrism for a more objective attitude and views his own society without either excessive partiality or excessive hostility. The rejection and disparagement of one's own culture so often noticed in the "liberal" may be symptomatic of his strivings to free himself from the bonds of an exaggerated ethnocentrism. It perhaps should be noted that, just as not all persons go through the stages of personal development described with relation to the family circle, neither do all pass through ethnocentrism and xenocentrism to objectivity or cultural relativism.

If the society's values are inadequately presented or if conflicting values are presented, the individual may develop, or be easily led to develop, xenocentric feelings. This is probably frequently the case in the homes of some second- and third-generation Americans. External pressures, too, can generate such feelings. Propaganda which presents a distorted view of a foreign society with the object of winning support for it is by no means a new phenomenon, although raised today to a fine art. However, to be effective, external pressures of this sort require some pre-existing attitude of alienation.

Antipathy toward one's own society and preference for another is undoubtedly less frequent than ethnocentrism.[2] The continued functioning of a society demands that xenocentrism be kept to a minimum. However, folk wisdom has it that "a few fleas is good for a dog," and it may be that some xenocentrism is conducive to change within a society. It leads in some instances to objectivity, and in others it draws attention to weak points in the social structure. Xenocentrism exists in any complex society and is sufficiently significant to deserve more sociological study than has been given to it in the past.

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[2] If one applies the concepts of ethnocentrism and xenocentrism to groups smaller than the total society, the instances of zenocentrism increase markedly. Jessie Bernard, writing in the November, 1948, issue of the *American Journal of Sociology* (LIV, 235), suggests the term "statocentric," covering "the tendency of each class to look upon a world evaluated in terms of its own standards." She states that most people are statocentric. We suggest that the only group which is completely statocentric is the upper class. Persons in the other classes, far from being centered in their own, are often psychologically centered in the classes above them, which they seek to emulate. As the size or social importance of the group decreases, it seems probable that the ethnocentric pressures decrease.

A CRITIQUE OF CHAPIN'S "SOCIOMETRIC STARS AS ISOLATES"[1]

JOAN H. CRISWELL AND HELEN HALL JENNINGS

ABSTRACT

Comment is called for on F. Stuart Chapin's recent article on sociometric stars as isolates. His argument is that highly chosen persons are isolated because of (1) the imbalance existing between the number of choices they receive and the number of choices they give and (2) the outlying positions they tend to occupy in scatter plots of sociometric data. Neither of these considerations supports the argument. There is no evidence that imbalance of expressed attraction implies emotional poverty. Nor is there any reason to interpret the presence of an individual in a thinly populated cell of a scatter plot as if this were separation from a social group. Experimental evidence and mathematical analysis actually show that highly chosen individuals have as much or more emotional expansiveness than the average and cannot be separated from their social groups.

An article by F. Stuart Chapin, provocatively titled "Sociometric Stars as Isolates," appears in the November, 1950, issue of the *American Journal of Sociology*.[2] This article's contention is that current sociometric diagrams, owing to inherent defects, show "stars" or heavily chosen persons as centers of attraction instead of as a kind of isolate. Analysis of this revolutionary statement may be helpful, since the argument contains, in the opinion of the writers, at least two fundamental misconceptions.

It should be noted at the outset that the errors to be taken up are those understandably made by an otherwise skilled social scientist who is relatively inexperienced in the sociometric field. Misconceptions of similar origin have been discussed by the writers elsewhere.[3] It is hoped therefore that the present article may further clarify some problems for those beginning to tackle sociometric analyses.

The first misleading aspect of Chapin's presentation is his implication that social isolation is a state of imbalance between incoming and outgoing choices obtained by means of the sociometric technique for investigating group structure.[4] This would mean that a person who gave one choice and received one choice would be in a better position than a person who received six choices and gave one. The conclusion might even be drawn that a desirable state of affairs is to make no choices and receive none rather than make fewer than are received. And, second, the conclusion is implied that imbalance of choices given and received is a sign of emotional poverty: if you are unable to respond to all the demands made of you, you are thereby to be considered emotionally deprived.

Thus, according to Chapin, a person becomes isolated to the degree that he gives fewer choices than he receives. Since sociometrically much-chosen individuals have been found experimentally to be particularly in this position, they become the most isolated. This implies that such kinds of behavior as aloofness or emotional coldness may be thereby attributed in greater degree to the highly chosen than to poorly chosen

[1] The opinions and assertions in this paper are those of the writers and are not to be construed as official or reflecting the views of the Navy Department or the Naval Service at large.

[2] F. Stuart Chapin, "Sociometric Stars as Isolates," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVI, No. 3 (November, 1950), 263–67.

[3] Joan H. Criswell, "Notes on the Constant Frame of Reference Problem," *Sociometry*, XIII, No. 2 (May, 1950), 93–107; cf. Helen H. Jennings, *Leadership and Isolation* (2d ed.; New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1950), pp. 273–85, 288–302, 304–23, and "Sociometric Grouping in Relation to Child Development," in C. Tryon (ed.), *Fostering Mental Health in Our Schools* (Washington, D.C.: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, N.E.A., 1950).

[4] The familiar application of the sociometric technique involves asking the members of a group to choose those they would prefer as companions under specified conditions of group work or play and sometimes also those whom they would reject. For example, they may be asked, "Whom would you like on the team with you?" or "With whom would you want to sit at meals?" From the patterns of choices so obtained group structure can be represented. For background in sociometric method see J. L. Moreno, *Who Shall Survive?* (New York: Beacon House, 1st ed., 1934; 2d ed., in press).

individuals. Incidentally, no experimental data are given by Chapin in direct support of this hypothesis.

Purportedly related experimental data are quoted by Chapin from Lundberg's sociometric analysis of a village.[5] As is usual in sociometric studies, Lundberg's highly chosen individuals give fewer choices than they receive. But no evidence is offered that this imbalance reflects emotional coolness. Actually, Lundberg's highly chosen give *more* choices than do his population in general. Chapin calculates from Lundberg's data an average of 3.1 choices for the most chosen, and this is above any of the means reported by Lundberg for any of the groups in his population.[6] Thus, at least on the evidence quoted by Chapin, overchosen are more outgoing than the rest of the population.

Jennings' investigation of the choice process in *Leadership and Isolation* shows similarly that, according to circumstances, overchosen either exceed the rest of the population in choice expansiveness or maintain about the same level of output. The population of this study was tested on two occasions (Test I and Test II) eight months apart. As a group, the overchosen on Test I (in this study designated as those placing 1 S.D. above the mean in choices received) make slightly more choices per person than does the test population as a whole, and the underchosen (those 1 S.D. below the mean in choices received) made a somewhat smaller average number of choices than does the test population as a whole. Eight months later, on Test II, both the overchosen and the underchosen approach the same mean as the test population as a whole.[7]

Further evidence against Chapin's emotional poverty theory regarding overchosen s the fact that in Jennings' study the overchosen are found to be recipients of a greater proportion of first choices and of mutual choices, as well as simply of more choices, than are the members of the test population in general.[8]

Other evidence available from this same study indicates that the choice process itself is not a matter of matching one's own choice output with the incoming volume from other people. Both for positive choice by the subject and for negative choice (rejection) by the subject the critical ratios of the differences between the correlated means on the two tests show that the mean change or typical change in either expression from Test I to Test II is nonsignificant. Hence, the extent of the individual's capacity to exercise choice or rejection is not found to be limitless or highly variable: it shows a characteristic size, a range, that may be called the individual's emotional repertoire (for responding by choice or rejection) in expansiveness to others, a quality which may be seen as a relatively permanent attribute.[9]

Within the total test population of Jennings' study there is found a slight positive correlation between the extent of positive expansiveness toward the subject (number of choices he receives) and the subject's positive expansiveness toward others (number of choices he gives out) on Test I, but after eight months of the group members' further participation together, the correlation drops to insignificance. Similarly, there is found no significant correlation for either the underchosen or the overchosen between number chosen by them and number choosing them on either Test I or Test II. Thus the extent of exceptional emotional expansiveness expressed for the subject does not apparently result in his expressing proportionately exceptional emotional expansiveness toward the population in which he is overchosen. Likewise, the meagerness of emotional expansiveness expressed for the subject does not apparently accompany an expression by him which is in turn proportionately meager

[5] George A. Lundberg and Mary Steele, "Social Attraction-Patterns in a Village," *Sociometry*, I, Nos. 3 and 4 (January–April, 1938), 375–419.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 413.

[7] Jennings, *Leadership and Isolation*, p. 71.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 71–72, 88. While there is some evidence that the individual who is in a position of receiving a great number of choices over a long period of time does tend to reduce slightly the number of choices he makes, this is not a decrease which is significant.

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 56–58.

toward the population in which he is underchosen. In general, individuals do not depart to any appreciable extent from their emotional repertoires. On the contrary, the individual's capacity for emotional expansiveness appears as a relatively constant characteristic which is not so elastic that he can readily extend or reduce its expression according as others "want" or "don't want" him, are receptive to him or inexpansive to him. Whether the structure of the situation in which he finds himself invites choice from him or rebuffs choice by him, he appears impelled to find an outlet in expression for others which is determined more by his own need for and response to others than by theirs for him.[10]

Another aspect of choice performance should be noted in relation to the phenomenon of the emotional repertoire. The analysis of leisure-time choices appearing in Jennings' most recent publication[11] shows 4.08 and 4.31 mean number chosen, respectively, at two time points eight months apart (a nonsignificant difference). Thus, Lundberg's and Jennings' findings on informal choice expression are not far from Deutschberger's[12] results, which show 3.08 mean number chosen for association on an intimate criterion. When the similarity of these results is considered in relation to the different group settings involved, the apparent conclusion is that the individual's expression in choice of others is more determined by his capacity than by variations in the test situation *when* similar criteria for association are the frame of reference for choice expression in the different settings.

Besides considering experimental evidence, Chapin supports his argument with the following quotation from Cooley:

> Some tendency to isolation and spiritual impoverishment is likely to go with any sort of distinction or privilege. Wealth, culture, reputation, bring special gratifications. These foster special tastes, and these in turn give rise to special ways of living and thinking which imperceptibly separate one from common sympathy, and put him in a special class. . . .
>
> Only a very sane mind can carry distinction and fellowship without spilling either. . . .
>
> Moreover, conspicuous and successful persons are more likely than the communality to be institutionalized, to have sacrificed human nature to speciality. . . . An upper class is institutionalized in its very essence, since it is control of institutions that makes it an upper class, and men can hardly keep this control except as they put their hearts into it. . . .[13]

This passage, however, seems hardly applicable, since it is doubtful that sociometrically highly chosen persons are in general comparable to the prominent ruling-class members whom Cooley is discussing. A further point that might be made, however, is that perhaps overchosen people, with their ability to attract many expressions of warmth in the form of choices from their fellows, are the very ones whom Cooley would describe as sane enough to balance the double burden of distinction and fellowship. Particularly cogent to the matter of sanity and sociometric choice status will be found the recent report of French.[14]

The second major misconception in Chapin's presentation is his support of his argument by the introduction of a novel method of constructing the sociogram or model of group structure. This new model has the advantage, he believes, of being tridimensional and thus bringing out relationships overlooked in two-dimensional surfaces. One of the new relationships he proposes to bring out is that sociometric "stars" actually occur on the periphery of groups rather than at or near the center. A star thus becomes an isolate. Whether an isolate can by the same mathematical sleight of hand become a star is not discussed.

Certainly no exception can be taken to any statement that present sociometric dia-

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 68–70.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 234 and 309.

[12] Paul Deutschberger, "Interaction Patterns in Changing Neighborhoods: New York and Pittsburgh," *Sociometry*, IX, No. 4 (November, 1946), 303–15.

[13] Charles Horton Cooley, *Social Organization* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), pp. 138–40.

[14] Robert L. French, "Sociometric Status and Individual Adjustment among Naval Recruits," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XLVI No. 1 (January, 1951), 64–72.

grams are imperfect and incomplete and might benefit from more multidimensional treatment. Nor can it be said that a highly chosen person would remain the exact center of a pattern of attractions at a given time, were his status dependent upon a combination of variables such as choices received, choices made by him, reciprocal relationships, connections with key persons, etc. The exception which must be taken to the Chapin model is not that it is multidimensional but that it discards the essential elements of which a social group consists.

Considerable work is at present being done in an effort to make the sociometric model of group structure more inclusive of relevant experimental data and more systematic in its formation. Among researchers currently at work in this field are Alex Bavelas,[15] A. D. Perry and D. R. Luce at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology,[16] Everett G. Brundage at the Bureau of Naval Personnel, Corlin O. Beum of Dunlap and Associates,[17] Leon Festinger,[18] Orabelle Poll and Clyde Coombs at the University of Michigan,[19] Leo Katz at Michigan State College,[20] and R. D. Bock and S. Z. Husain at the University of Chicago.[21] A variety of approaches are being used, including topological mathematics, matrix algebra, factor analysis, and mathematical set theory. A number of these methods can be found in the May (No. 2), 1950, issue of *Sociometry*, which had such treatments as its topic. Northway's target sociogram is also now well known.[22]

All these procedures, however different, have one thing in common. They are treatments of a set of interpersonal relationships such as A chooses B, C and D choose each other, F rejects G, who likes to work with E, etc. Clusters are groups of people who under some definition want to be together. Persons are left out of groups in the sense that they are not wanted and/or do not want to be in them. Highly chosen persons are not necessarily at the center of such clusters, but their choice status assures them an integral position in some grouping. In other words, the way in which choices are directed is central to these analyses. Social groups which are formed by the experimenter's method of categorizing and not by the direction of choice of the members are hard to conceive of as anything but mathematical artifacts.

Chapin's model involves just such artifacts: he claims that his new social space relationships are "conventional-mathematical" and do not involve the "mere direction of choices." His model is a trivariate version of the scatter plot ordinarily used for working out a correlation. Its characteristics can be most easily seen by considering the simpler, but essentially similar, bivariate scatter diagram. Clusters in such a diagram are not mutually attracted people but populous cell entries. If, for example, socioeconomic status (for which, incidentally, Chapin uses the term "social status") is to be correlated with number of choices received, then a cluster may be formed by the people who receive 0–2 choices and socioeconomic status scores of 80–119.

It can be gathered from Chapin's presentation that an isolate is a person occupying a thinly populated cell preferably at some distance from the high-frequency areas. According to this definition, stars are at once on the road to being isolates because of their distributional position. Distributions of

[15] Alex Bavelas, "A Mathematical Model of Group Structures," *Applied Anthropology*, VII (summer, 1948), 1–15.

[16] Duncan R. Luce and Albert D. Perry, "A Method of Matrix Analysis of a Group Structure," *Psychometrika*, XIV (1949), 95–116.

[17] Corlin O. Beum, Jr., and Everett G. Brundage, "A Method for Analyzing the Sociomatrix," *Sociometry*, XIII, No. 2 (May, 1950), 141–45.

[18] Leon Festinger, "The Analysis of Sociograms Using Matrix Algebra," *Human Relations*, II (1949), 153–58.

[19] Orabelle Poll and Clyde Coombs (unpublished work).

[20] Leo Katz, "On the Matric Analysis of Sociometric Data," *Sociometry*, X, No. 3 (August, 1947), 233–41.

[21] R. Darrell Bock and Suraya Zahid Husain, "An Adaptation of Holzinger's B-Coefficients for the Analysis of Sociometric Data," *Sociometry*, XIII, No. 2 (May, 1950), 146–53.

[22] Mary L. Northway, "A Method for Depicting Social Relations Obtained by Sociometric Testing," *Sociometry*, III, No. 2 (April, 1940), 144–50.

"choices received" are ordinarily heavily skewed with concentration of scores at the low end. If they are put into a plot in which the other variable is similarly skewed and is positively related to choice-received score, stars are likely to be alone in cells adjacent to empty or thinly populated cells.

This is what happens to the three stars presented by Chapin in his Table 2 derived from the data of Lundberg and Steele. This table shows the scatter diagram for relationship of scores on socioeconomic status (Chapin scale) and number of choices received. The three stars are so high in both socioeconomic status and choice score that they occupy cells by themselves far from the points of heavy concentration. For attaining these elevated and unusual positions, they are designated by Chapin as "isolates." The old-fashioned isolates who simply got no choices are meanwhile cozily placed in the midst of clusters, since relatively many individuals were both unpopular and low in socioeconomic status.

What new insights into group structure can be yielded by a conventional-mathematical space in which interpersonal relations are ignored and mathematical relations substituted? If an individual is alone in a cell, are we to interpret this literally as meaning he is in solitary confinement? Refreshing as it might be to prove a paradox, it is difficult to see stars as isolates on this basis. Some factor analysts have been accused of disappearing into *n*-dimensional space, and it is to be hoped Chapin has not yet fully joined them along with his isolated but still bravely shining stars.

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COMMENT

F. STUART CHAPIN

Joan H. Criswell and Helen H. Jennings in a recent critique of my first study, using the device of a three-dimensional model, seem to have read into the article a more dogmatic intention than was explicitly stated in the article. For example, on page 265, I made a tentative statement phrased as a question, "Can it be that the conventional heuristic diagram on a two-dimensional surface is merely the result of imposing upon the data some natural preconceptions of leadership that are valid only in other contexts but which are actually incompatible with representation on a flat surface?" And again, "The net result is to *suggest* that stars or leaders, when represented by a trivariate distribution, are a kind of isolate and not centers of clusters." Note the "suggest."

These writers contend that my three-dimensional model does not show direction, despite the *fact* that all the trivariate ordinates are calibrated to directions: X_1 to show from low to high status; X_2 to show incoming choices; and X_3 to show outgoing choices.

Finally, what appears at first reading to be a really devastating criticism—"Social groups which are formed by the experimenter's method of categorizing and not by the direction of choice of the members are hard to conceive of as anything but mathematical artifacts" and "Clusters in such a diagram are not mutually attracted people but populous cell entries"—turns out upon examination to be a wholly irrelevant comment. The fact is that the three-dimensional model represents in my former article and in this article *a single group;* hence the cell entries are individual members of each such group, persons who happen to have the same measurements, and are not subgroups. If my data had consisted of the total population of the community and I had claimed that cell entries were natural subgroups, their contention would have been entirely logical and sound. Unfortunately, however, for the validity of their criticism, this was not the case, as any reader can verify for himself. However, the point they make could be entirely sound if the three-dimensional model had been used to try to *discover* natural groupings from the data of an entire population. Thus the Criswell-Jennings article is an excellent illustration of the cautions I stated above—that the model is a purely heuristic device and not a substitute for critical thought or sound logic.

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PERSONNEL COUNSELING: THE HAWTHORNE CASE

JEANNE L. WILENSKY AND HAROLD L. WILENSKY

ABSTRACT

The counseling program at the Hawthorne Works is analyzed in terms of its objective consequences for management's control of workers and in terms of the participant's definition of its function. Despite some resistance to the program on all levels and certain limits to its use as an intelligence service of management, the counseling organization assists the carrying-out of managerial control: it acts as a good-will agent and drains off resentment and bitterness that might otherwise gain expression through militant unionism. Counseling is found to be directed to supervisors, workers, and union representatives alike.

The Western Electric personnel counseling program, an outgrowth of the early experiments and studies at the Hawthorne Plant of Western Electric Company, Inc. (1924–32), is often viewed as the ultimate in human relations. Interest in the pioneer work and in subsequent developments at Hawthorne has been perpetuated in voluminous discussion in the personnel journals and in continual appraisal in the university world. Much of what has come to be known as the "human relations in industry" literature[1] has its roots in the interrelated work of Elton Mayo and the "Hawthorne Experiment."

As several critics point out, Mayo's followers, both in universities and among business executives, often engage in verbalisms which disguise the facts of power and the exercise of authority in the vocabulary of the Human Relations approach.[2] It is with refreshing candor, then, that Roethlisberger and Dickson state: "This kind of nonauthoritative agency [the Western Electric counseling program] serves to control and to direct those human processes within the industrial structure which are not adequately controlled by other agencies of management."[3] Both Roethlisberger and Mayo had early seen the interviewing program undertaken at the Hawthorne Plant as "a new method of human control."[4] In fact, if there is any one theme that runs through the human relations literature, explicitly as well as implicitly, it is that the use of more "intelligent" human relations techniques—whether the employer has a union on his hands or not—can contribute to his control over the worker.[5]

[1] See the contributions of the Harvard group, under the guidance of Elton Mayo—F. J. Roethlisberger and W. J. Dickson, B. M. Selekman, J. B. Fox, J. F. Scott, G. C. Homans, and George F. F. Lombard. Cf. the work of W. F. Whyte and B. B. Gardner. The principal works include: Mayo, *The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933); Roethlisberger and Dickson, *Management and the Worker* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939); Selekman, *Labor Relations and Human Relations* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1947); Whyte (ed.), *Industry and Society* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1946); and Gardner, *Human Relations in Industry* (Chicago: Richard D. Irwin, 1945).

[2] See, e.g., R. Bendix and L. H. Fisher, "The Perspectives of Elton Mayo," *Review of Economics and Statistics*, XXXI, No. 4 (November, 1949), 317; and C. W. Mills, "The Contribution of Sociology to Studies of Industrial Relations," in Industrial Relations Research Association, *Proceedings of First Annual Meeting, December 29–30, 1948*, p. 213.

[3] Roethlisberger and Dickson, *op. cit.*, p. 601.

[4] F. J. Roethlisberger, "Understanding: A Prerequisite of Leadership" (address before Professor Cabot's Business Executives' Group, Boston, February 9, 1936), p. 13; cf. Roethlisberger, *Management and Morale* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1944), pp. 40, 181; and Mayo, quoted in "The Fruitful Errors of Elton Mayo," *Fortune*, November, 1946, p. 182.

[5] The value orientation of the human relations literature—along with an explication of the worker-control theme—is treated adequately elsewhere and is not the focus of this article. See William Koivisto, "The Value Orientation Problem in Selected Industrial Relations Studies" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1951); Harold Sheppard, "Managerial Sociology" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1948); Daniel Bell, "Adjusting Men to Machines,"

This article, based in part on three years' participant observation in Hawthorne's personnel counseling department,[6] seeks to present an unofficial, intimate view of the counseling program which has survived the famed experiment. Analysis of the counseling operation in its setting at the fountainhead of "enlightened" personnel management can serve to tell us something about how the broad view in employee-management relations works in practice. It can help us see what logically follows from Mayo's advice to the "administrative elite" who he hoped would rescue our civilization when that advice is applied in a large factory. (Mayo's personal contact with Western Electric executives was an important influence in the decision to establish permanent counseling.)

To what extent does personnel counseling at Hawthorne perform the function of worker control? Seen in this context, what is its effect on union organization? Is personnel counseling compatible with the internal imperatives of large-scale industrial organization?

THE COMPANY AND THE SETTING

Counseling at the huge Hawthorne Works (where telephones, dial equipment, and telephone cable are made for the Bell System) must be seen as one part of a total industrial relations program rooted in a broad personnel philosophy.

Company spokesmen articulate a concept of trusteeship that embraces large areas of the worker's existence off the job; industry in the modern metropolitan area, they say, should provide more and more of the satisfactions the worker's community once provided.[7] Western Electric, putting this concept to work, has not only entered the worker's social life, his financial life, and his intellectual life, but now, through personnel counseling, his most intimate thoughts, deeds, and desires may be laid bare to a representative of the company.

The Hawthorne Works at first glance resembles a small city. Toward the end of 1950 nearly 20,000 people worked there; in the spring of 1947 it employed over 35,000. Its

Commentary, III (January–June, 1947), 79–88; and Mills, *op. cit.*, pp. 199–222. It is pertinent to point out, however, that the leaders of any organization—the party, the union, the church, the factory—are by definition controlling human behavior, and their success is measured in part by their control. Manipulative control—the type discussed herein—is increasingly characteristic of modern mass society and is not confined to industrial enterprises.

[6] One of the writers spent three years as a personnel counselor at Hawthorne (1947–50). She had access to the personnel counseling department files and minutes of union-management bargaining sessions and attended personnel counseling section and departmental meetings. She participated in meetings at which counseling was presented to supervision and went through the basic supervision training course. The data the writers have examined include eighty documents (not counting routine reports, regular company publications, and information bulletins), about two hundred dictated interviews and case histories by ten counselors, and notes on conversations with functionaries at all levels of the counseling organization. One of the writers has discussed the counseling idea or the attempts by outside unions to organize the Hawthorne Works with several international union staff people.

This article is neither authorized nor official. The writers' interpretations are based on their own experience and on the data they have examined. The counseling organization, like the industrial scene generally, is in constant flux. These observations, therefore, apply only to the period 1947–50—unless otherwise specified.

[7] The Hawthorne Works manager, discussing this "breakdown of community living" and the decline of the "stabilizing influences and social satisfactions" of the primary group, indorses Mayo's view that "in seeking these satisfactions now the individual has turned to his place of work for many of the things he formerly obtained from family and community life such as a sense of personal security, provision for sickness and old age and social participation" (David Levinger, "Supervisory and Leadership Problems" [presented at a Western Electric staff conference, May 23, 1950], p. 3). Cf. statement by Roethlisberger and Dickson (an assistant superintendent at Hawthorne) with reference to Western Electric's broad welfare programs: "These activities . . . may be looked upon as the taking over by the company of social functions not adequately performed by society. . . . The employees find within the company itself not only a source of income but also . . . a source of advice, friendship, and aid as well as . . . amusement and recreation" (*op. cit.*, pp. 541–42).

ivy-covered buildings surround what is known as "The Campus"—a beautifully landscaped park with gardens, pools, a marble dance floor, and a bandshell. Two blocks away a gymnasium, tennis courts, a rifle range, etc., also provide noon-hour and after-work recreation. Organizing a huge network of leisure-time social, educational, and recreational activities is the Hawthorne Club. All employees are automatically members, and the company pays administrative expenses. Most employees are involved at one time or another in some Hawthorne Club activity—choosing among a variety of affiliated hobby or social clubs or among seventy low-cost courses in a flourishing evening school. A credit union, a savings and loan association, and "thrift counselors" help employees with their money problems. AT & T stock is available at a $20 discount through the Employees' Stock Plan.[8]

The plant hierarchy consists of seven levels of authority;[9] the division of labor is highly developed, most of the work being routine. Hawthorne is thus a good setting for the analysis of the applicability of human relations techniques developed in the small isolated work group (e.g., the relay assembly test room) to the modern industrial enterprise.

Such is the context within which personnel counseling appears. How does counseling at Hawthorne work?

THE COUNSELING PROGRAM

In 1949 the personnel counseling department, part of Hawthorne's industrial relations organization, cost the company about $326,000, including salaries, supplies, and estimated cost of employee time lost during interviews.[10] What kind of counseling program will a third of a million dollars permit?

In November, 1950, thirty full-time counselors (about one-third of them women), six supervisors, a research section of three, a secretary, and two Audograph operators were carrying out the program, directed by William J. Dickson, assistant superintendent in the industrial relations organization.[11] The counselors' backgrounds are varied: there are no specific requirements as to education or experience. Native ability plus on-the-job training, with close guidance by the counselor's counselor—his supervisor—and a series of courses (including such subjects as semantics, psychology, history, and background of counseling), make a new counselor useful to the company in about eighteen months.

For the past decade the counselors have interviewed between two-fifths and three-fourths of the total employees in the Hawthorne Works. Since 1944 coverage has averaged about two-thirds—including both office and shop people. Most counselors handle from three to four hundred employees. Men counsel men; women counsel women.

Hawthorne's counselors seek out their clients. Personable men and women make themselves available by circulating in the employee's place of work; they do not wait for the employee to come to them. All employees in the assigned territory are visited repeatedly. This prevents the impression that problem cases are being singled out, and it makes everyone feel that the counselor's services are waiting for him. Counselors try to become part of the workaday atmosphere

[8] This is by no means a complete listing of the total range of services and activities available at Hawthorne.

[9] We shall call the group chief, section chief, and department chief, who generally have direct contact with employees, "lower supervision" or "supervisor"; the superintendents and the half-dozen assistant works managers above, who inhabit what is known as "Mahogany Row," together with the top company executive (vice-president and works manager) who has his office in "The Tower," will be designated "top management"; the assistant superintendents who form a connecting link between top management and lower supervision, "middle supervision."

[10] "Information Regarding Personnel Counseling Activity, Hawthorne Works, November, 1949" (counseling organization notebook [typewritten]).

[11] The present program began on a small scale in 1936. In the past decade the number of counselors has ranged from a low of twenty (covering 6,162 of a total of 11,341 employees in 1940) to a high of fifty-five (covering 21,078 of a total of 32,076 employees in 1948).

at Hawthorne. In large measure they succeed.

Some of the counselor's contacts never develop beyond the "social talk" stage, for just getting acquainted with several hundred employees is a long-term process in itself; others develop into an interview or series of interviews. A special case may involve intensive daily interviews over a period of weeks—there is no time limit; the job demands a thin spread over a wide territory, however, so the bulk of the counselor's interviews remain on a relatively superficial level.

While most interviews are initiated by the counselor himself, a supervisor may refer an employee to the counselor, or an employee may request an interview. Most interviews are carried on at the employee's place of work, some in the cafeteria or hallway—wherever employee and counselor happen to meet. But counselors encourage the use of the interviewing rooms (scattered in convenient places throughout the plant) because of their privacy and comparative comfort. Employees are paid average earnings for time spent with the counselors. All interviews are voluntary.

The Hawthorne counselors use a kind of nondirective counseling technique. They are told not to advise, probe, or judge.[12] Employees talk about everything from problems on the job to hobbies, family, girl friends, marriage, anything. At times they use the interviewing room for a smoke or even a nap. Permissiveness is one of the rules of the game.

Officially, all information gained in these interviews is held in strict confidence (i.e., kept within the counseling organization). In general, this injunction is held to be most sacred—even when an employee bares plans for suicide, murder, or, as in one case, the bombing of Hawthorne. The confidential nature of the job, however, is variously conceived by the counseling supervisors and counselors. Some counselors would feel it a violation of confidence if they answered "Yes" or "No" to a worker's query, "Did you hear about Joe's service party last night?"—even if the whole department had been discussing it all morning. Others—perhaps inadequate to handling a direct question "nondirectively"—might answer "Yes" to a supervisor who asked, "Did Sue talk to you about the chewing-out I gave her this morning?" Moreover, some evidence indicates that certain counselors, possibly to impress a supervisor with their inside knowledge, have been willing to divulge more intimate details of an interview. This is severely frowned upon, however, and, we would judge, occurs rarely.

Some use has been made of actual case histories at regular supervisory training sessions and at conferences designed to introduce or sell counseling to supervisors and executives. Although identifying details are always omitted, a supervisor may think he recognizes the employee involved. Whether or not use of such cases is a breach of confidence is a matter of controversy within the counseling organization.

The most interesting aspect of this issue of counseling as a confidential process is the argument over its use as a source of generalized information for top management. These questions came up, for example, at a Western Electric personnel counseling conference:

> Could counseling be used as a means of tapping employee sentiment and reaction to certain company actions and to the timing of such action? (Current lay-off, etc.) Could we get a constant attitude survey in addition to the present individual adjustment?[13]

The answer appears to be a highly qualified "Yes." From time to time, counselors have

[12] Burleigh Gardner states: "It is significant that Rogers in his work in clinical psychology and Roethlisberger and Dickson in their work in industry independently developed identical interviewing techniques" (*op. cit.*, p. 244). In actual practice, however, considerable modification of the nondirective technique Rogers uses in the clinical situation was found to be necessary. In industrial counseling at Hawthorne the client may not have a problem to discuss, so the counselor (to avoid embarrassment on both sides) often initiates and carries the burden of the conversation.

[13] "Minutes of Personnel Counseling Conference, Hawthorne, December 8–10, 1948," p. 4.

been asked for written summaries of attitudes toward pensions, layoffs, downgrading, etc., in their territories or to list the frequency of talk about given subjects in interviews for a given period. They are usually not told what use is made of this material outside the counseling organization.[14] In the writers' opinion, this type of reporting as presently organized can have only limited use: The opinions counselors get are not necessarily representative; the sensitivity to the power relations in a given work group varies tremendously from counselor to counselor, and hence their ability to assign weights to group leaders' opinions would vary; their guesses on employee attitudes on given issues are highly subjective; and the quantitative form of their reports is ill adapted to the kind of information the counselor is likely to have. As an auxiliary tool for gaining insight into group sentiments—assuming the counselors' reports were accurate, skilful, and incorporated intensive interview material, and assuming they reached top management relatively unadulterated—such a "constant attitude survey" would have tremendous manipulative potentialities. At present those potentialities are tapped very little.

In addition to the attitudinal summaries, counselors turn in a series of monthly and quarterly reports which consist of statistical data on the number of employees and supervisors they have seen; the number of interviews and contacts;[15] who initiated them and where they were conducted; and an assessment of employees' and supervisors' use of counseling (i.e., "Employee not interested," "Expression of attitudes, opinions, interests," "Expression of concerns," "Any adjustment made," etc.). Employees' names are never used in any reports.

[14] A general survey of employee morale, however, is made once or twice a year. Counselors are told that the appraisals they submit on these occasions become a small and much rehashed part of the "State of the Nation" reports which go to Western Electric headquarters.

[15] One member of the counseling hierarchy was startled to learn that groups of counselors, like the subjects of the Bank Wiring Observation Room experiment, have a kind of "bogey" which roughly determines the acceptable amount of counseling done and/or reported per month (i.e., the number of interviewing-room interviews, etc.). Much kidding centers around what is to be the "counselor's coefficient" for each activity report.

HOW THE PARTICIPANTS VIEW COUNSELING

1. THE COUNSELOR

How do counselors view their function in the company?

Some are veritable missionaries: they describe counseling as "a way of life"—by which they mean that the nondirective ideology can be applied in all one's dealings with people. For others, it is just a job until something better comes along. Some with obvious sincerity express the belief that through nondirective counseling they are able to help people solve their problems for themselves in a way that is best for them. A few, with equal sincerity, express such sentiments as these: "I feel like I'm cheating those guys making them think I can *do* something for them when all I can do is listen. So he's got a wife in the hospital and all he makes is 92 cents an hour. What can I do?"

Most counselors at some point in their careers become concerned with the obvious fact that some of the people they listen to need either (1) a different, perhaps "deeper" therapy, such as that provided by a psychiatrist or a marriage counselor, or (2) concrete economic or legal or medical aid. The counselor's supervisor, however, is quick to remind him that "we are dealing with attitudes toward problems, not the problems themselves"—and the counselor comes to understand the limitations of his function. An occasional pat on the back by a supervisor who says, "Mary's a different girl since you've talked with her," or an employee who says, "You don't know how much better I feel since I told you about this" go a long way toward "adjusting" the counselor to his own job. In evaluating progress on a case, he finds himself writing "employee feels there are advantages in the present situation," "switches from his point of view to

attempt to understand that of the other worker and the company," etc.

There are three groups of people the counselor must try to impress: the employees in his territory, their supervisors, and his own supervisor.

Employee acceptance is crucial for obvious reasons: without it there will be no counseling, and continual rebuffs by employees who dislike counseling or the counselor can be wearing.[16] The need for acceptance moves some counselors to do small favors for the employees—treat for coffee, etc., out of their own pockets, and even in rare cases promise to see what they can do about a transfer for a dissatisfied worker (this, despite the fact they can exercise no direct authority). There is, in general, a strong tendency on the part of most counselors to identify themselves with the employees as opposed to "the company"—especially when what they judge to be a "raw deal" comes to their attention.

At the same time, the counselor must win the good will of the supervisors in his territory—for they must give permission to an employee to go off the job for an interview. The most impressive demonstration a counselor can make to the supervisor is the cases that adjust to the requirements of the job after a series of interviews. For instance, if a valuable employee who is threatening to quit decides to stay on the job after talking it out with his counselor, the supervisor will be happy, will probably call the counselor in more often, and may even put in a good word to the counselor's boss.

It is the counselor's supervisor, his section chief, to whom the counselor is most sensitive. He is the man who recommends the counselor for a raise, checks his interviewing techniques, discusses his problems, and gives him recognition. He defines the counselor's existence to the assistant superintendent in charge of counseling. With only four to eight counselors reporting to him, the counseling supervisor can keep in close touch with his subordinates' activities.

The section chief has four main means for judging the counselor's performance: (1) the way he talks about what he is doing (the counselor is encouraged to dictate interviews verbatim, analyze case histories, study interpersonal relations in the work groups, and discuss this material with his section chief); (2) what other counselors say about him; (3) the amount of activity his reports show; and (4) praise relayed by supervisors in the counselor's territory. Thus the counselor may feel pressed to make an extra good story of his handling of a case, "blow up" his activity reports somewhat, and go out of his way to impress the supervisor in his territory by making sure the supervisor knows how much time he is spending with whom. In a few cases he may even be tempted to succumb to pressure from a supervisor to violate confidences in order to win his approval; such pressure is most likely to come from supervisors whose relationship with their employees is shaky.

2. THE SUPERVISOR LOOKS AT COUNSELING

Some of Hawthorne's supervision is skeptical of the whole human relations approach to managerial problems, let alone the unique counseling service. Old-timers especially sigh for the good old days "when you could tell an employee what to do, and he was glad to do it, no back talk." Counseling for them is "mollycoddling."

Other supervisors seem to have absorbed a few ideas from the company's supervisory training courses, in which the Human Relations Approach is stressed.[17] Having learned

[16] It is no easy task for a counselor to return time after time to the bench of a worker who refuses to mumble more than a glum "Hello," or who thinks the counselor violates confidences, is a company stooge, or does not talk enough. Sometimes the counselor gives up on such an employee and leaves him alone. Most counselors persist. In some work groups a group norm may develop in favor of giving the counselor a rough time. Much depends on the individual counselor's skill in meeting such hostility and in winning over the informal leader.

[17] W. J. Dickson, head of the counseling organization, also operates a training school for all levels of supervision at Hawthorne. A variety of topics is dealt with in the context of a kind of "managerial

to listen, avoid arguments, be permissive, etc., such a supervisor is eager to put his knowledge into practice and is probably friendly to the counseling idea. But suppose three of his coil-winders are out sick and the department is shorthanded, or he has a deadline to meet in getting out the work. Or may be it is an assembly-line job where talking would slow down the operation (a substitute is not always available).[18] In these cases—however urgent the employee's need for emotional catharsis—the counselor is an unwelcome intruder, and the lessons the supervisor learns in the training school are found impractical. Moreover, his own supervisor may not share his insight into the workings of the human psyche: "We've wasted enough time on that guy. This isn't a nursery school; it's a factory." Probably the bulk of the supervisors, however, take the view summed up in the frequent comment, "The company wouldn't keep counseling if it wasn't good for something"—a kind of blind toleration.[19]

One of the most difficult ideas to get across to supervisors has been the confidential nature of the job. Many supervisors see the counseling organization as a file just bursting with facts about their departments which, put into their hands, could come to some good. "After all," they say, "we all work for the same company." Some feel that the counseling organization has not made its function clear—they are in the dark as to how to use it and what to expect from it. Others view counseling as an encroachment on supervisory prerogatives.

At the same time that these supervisory resistances to counseling exist, those who are convinced of its value make use of it, not only for themselves (supervisors are counseled just as are workers), but also by referring employee problem cases to the counselor either at the first sign of trouble or when the potentialities of supervisory control are exhausted: "I've tried everything else; now see if you can do something with him." Also, a sudden interest in the counseling program on the part of a "big boss" may result in a temporary spurt of enthusiasm in the lower echelons: "The heat's on, boys," they say—and a rash of referrals will break out.

3. THE WORKER'S VIEW

As among supervisors, there is a broad range in the employees' conception and understanding of the function of counseling:

> Counseling is a good idea. I'll take an easy chair and an extra cigarette anytime.
>
> I don't see what good it'll do me to talk with you. You can't do anything for me. If I don't like my wages, I'll go to my boss.
>
> What a soft job you've got! Who do you have to know?
>
> I don't know how I would have gone on if it hadn't been for you. I was at my wit's end.
>
> I haven't anything to say. You can't tell me you company stooges keep everything we say confidential.
>
> A lot of the gals pretend they're too busy to talk when they see you coming, but I think it helps to have someone you can tell anything to.

Most of the employees covered, it is safe to say, come to accept counseling as part of the normal routine of working at Hawthorne and either tolerate it as a courtesy to the

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sociology." One course given to department chiefs and assistant superintendents in 1950 was dubbed "The Charm School" by the participants. Another involved an interesting experiment in discussion leadership techniques. In the last two years a few supervisors have been put through a training period in the counseling department—they became temporary counselors to learn the process firsthand.

[18] To avoid disturbing the work pace during counseling (and sometimes to make themselves feel more comfortable or show their good will), counselors are known to assist assembly-line employees or other operators at their work.

[19] This is a judgment of the writer based on long contact with all supervisors in one territory, on the frequency with which other counselors reported similar comment in their territories, and on remarks of supervisors in meetings with and without their superiors present. Statistical data (a poll of supervisors in one organization showing overwhelming hostility to counseling) were considered unreliable (because the poll was administered by a boss who was known to be strongly against counseling).

counselor or make active use of the counselor's services.[20] Attitudes toward the counselor are often in sharp contrast with attitudes toward counseling—especially after long and frequent contact has been maintained. A worker may have no use for the counseling program but at the same time form a strong personal attachment to the counselor. And the worker who said (above), "I don't see what good it'll do . . . you can't do anything," proceeded to pour out her troubles in a series of long, intensive, off-the-job interviews!

HOW THE COUNSELING ORGANIZATION SELLS ITSELF TO MANAGEMENT

Perhaps the best indication that the counseling organization is set up as an auxiliary method of worker control is seen in the arguments it uses to justify its existence to top management and the various levels of supervision. The fact that "selling" counseling to management is still a problem also indicates that its value to the company is a more subtle and intangible one than the services of, let us say, an efficiency engineer or a cost accountant. Management—even a relatively sophisticated and capable management group like that of the Bell System—cannot always grasp these intangible values.

Just how much of a problem "selling" counseling within Western Electric has been is revealed by the attention given the subject in a personnel counseling conference held at Hawthorne in December, 1948. Industrial relations representatives of seven Western Electric plants,[21] plus Professor F. J. Roethlisberger of the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, attended the conference. Some excerpts from the minutes of the meetings point up the problem:

> While Counseling started and grew with management's endorsement, its growth stemmed from the lower levels of organization. Management did not, however, push Counseling's acceptance.[22]

> How can we let higher management know more about what we are doing? This question which was raised and discussed at length seemed to be one of the "sixty-four dollar" questions of the conference. The general agreement was that the acceptance of Counseling among lower levels of supervision was generally good, because they are in close contact with Counseling, are using it, and witnessing the results. However, among the higher levels of supervision . . . more telling and showing is necessary. Some members of the conference thought the line organizations do not have enough tangible evidence as to the good we are doing.[23]

Subsequent attempts were made to present such "tangible evidence" to both supervision and top management.

A series of eleven counseling meetings in 1950 gave small groups of middle supervision a chance to criticize and ask questions about counseling.

In 1949 a top personnel executive of Western Electric headquarters in New York visited Hawthorne and was presented with a large notebook entitled "Information Regarding Personnel Counseling Activity, Hawthorne Works."[24] This impressive document—which contained a series of interviews and case histories collected by the counselors—aimed to show concretely how counseling functions. Excerpts from two of the longer sections will serve to illustrate the appeal made by the counseling organization to top management. One dealt with a downgraded employee; another with a layoff situation:

> The counselor's activity, as might be expected, is increased during this period of layoffs. . . .

[20] An employee assessment chart showing the average use of counseling for three quarters of 1949 indicates that 79 per cent of all employees contacted made active use of counseling (i.e., "talked freely about interests or concerns"), and, of those, 33 per cent made some "adjustment" (Information Regarding Personnel Counseling Activity . . . ," *op. cit.*). (These reports, it should be emphasized again, are purely subjective evaluations on the part of counselors.)

[21] Headquarters, N.Y.; Kearny, N.J.; Point Breeze, Md.; Duluth, Minn.; St. Paul, Minn.; Lincoln, Neb.; and Hawthorne.

[22] "Minutes . . . ," *op. cit.*, p. 3.

[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 2–3.

[24] *Op. cit.*

The employees' attitudes towards the Company are the primary interest of the counselor and at this time attitudes are being affected deeply due to the layoffs and downgrading throughout the plant. . . .

Position of Counselor.—The counselor . . . is in a neutral position, for in the eyes of most employees he is a representative of management, yet he is not the type of representative to which the employees are accustomed. The counselor does not defend management, or take the Company's stand with regard to layoffs; but rather he gives the employee the opportunity to talk, complain, criticize, ridicule or whatever he chooses, both management and the layoff situation. . . . by this means the employee will be able to examine his feelings gaining a better insight into himself, which will usually result in a modification of some of his attitudes and feelings. Examples of these positive effects are:

Positive Effects.—

A. Employees or supervisors, who, after talking with the counselor, stated that they will accept a downgrade, since they will still earn more than they would at the starting rate in an outside plant.
B. Those who express the feeling that the many Company benefits and the treatment they have enjoyed in the past offset the present business situation.
C. Those who say that although they at first thought that business conditions would grow worse, they now see that things may improve in the future, or will not be as bad as they feared.

Prevention of Company Criticism.—This is exactly what took place in some interviews, and in other cases employees and supervisors reached the level where they began to realize why management acts as it does, sometimes ending up defending the Company.

Going on to discuss the problem of the "bitter feelings" of workers who get laid off, the report concludes: "It is almost amazing to observe what a calming effect just such a 'talking examination' of some of these things can have on the emotions of individuals. From this it can be seen that the counselor is playing somewhat of a Public Relations role with the people leaving."

The case of the downgraded employee[25] who had been a "problem child" all along traces various conflicts she had had with the supervisor and describes how she used the counselor "to achieve emotional relief." "This satisfactory state continued," the report goes on to say, "until the employee was downgraded, transferred to another section and assigned to the 3–11 shift. The employee underwent an emotional explosion, so that she was referred to the counselor by the lead man, department chief, and union representative." After a week's absence, a lengthy off-the-job interview took place:

At first the employee could only see the recent changes as a complete unconcern or even a deliberate attempt upon the part of the Company to overlook her [eighteen] years of service, and an attempt on the part of her supervisors to discriminate against her, pointing out that another employee with less service with the Company was being retained in grade. Nor could the employee find any reason why she was assigned to the night shift. After considerable emotional talk, the employee changed from a feeling that she would have to quit, or to try to get a word directly to the Works' Manager, to where she would try the job for a few weeks to see what might be happening at the end of that time.

There is more description of subsequent uses of the counselor "to drain off surface feelings" until, the report states, what "seemed to be a high point" was reached in the talk: the employee brought up "an unhappy home situation which she felt sure was affecting her job attitudes. She indicated her marriage had always been unhappy." The analysis concludes:

While it is realized there is a basic personality pattern that affects this employee's reaction to events, and that the present apparent adjustment may be only temporary, it is felt counseling provided this employee, an isolated individual, with an opportunity to relieve tensions, seek answers, look at herself more openly, and arrive at a satisfactory plan of action for the present.

[25] The writers have changed certain identifying details in this case to protect the employee involved; the counseling organization's descriptive phrases and interpretation, however, remain intact.

Throughout this document, as well as in other material presented to sell counseling to supervision and management, the counseling organization underscores its potentialities for maintaining the kind of worker control (i.e., a cheerful willingness on the part of the worker to follow directions—usually described as "harmony" or "cooperation") that will yield a smooth-working organization and hence maximum output.

"A MULTI-VALUED WAY OF TALKING"

The process by which such "harmony" is achieved is a subtle one—and one which, we would guess, many management officials in and out of Western Electric have not yet grasped. Professor Roethlisberger, speaking to a group of counseling supervisors, put it this way:

> We talk about a way of listening. It [counseling] is also a way of talking. . . . You will notice it is a multi-valued way of talking. These people are going to be talking to you in terms of a few values. You talk back to them in terms of multi-values. I think that was Mayo's trick. He would put their problems in another framework. It is your skill of putting things into another frame of reference. You do not change the facts. You talk in such a way that their facts are in this new frame of reference.[26]

A recent document of the counseling organization, discussing "Skill in Talking" as a requirement for personnel counselors,[27] sees the process as one in which the counselor's talking "encourages an ever broadening area of talk and once having obtained it, he is then interested in narrowing it down again." He broadens the area because

> people . . . tend to narrow [their difficulties] down to an oversimplified statement of the situation. At this level, the possible relevant areas bearing upon the problem are excluded from the employee's thinking and they need to be brought back in again. Thus the counselor encourages talk in many areas and he likes to listen to seemingly irrelevant, inconsistent and sometimes silly chatter. All of this is designed to bring the individual more fully into the picture.

At the appropriate time "the employee is brought back to some of the things he was discussing in the beginning but he is brought back to a new point of focus and with a modified statement of it."

As in the case of the downgraded employee, her focus of attention shifts from alleged inequities, transfer and downgrading grievances, etc., to her unhappy home life; then, when she returns to her original grievances, things do not look so bad. "Effective," "satisfactory" adjustment is reached.[28]

COUNSELING AND THE UNION

Peter Drucker has written: "The human relations policies which American management has been buying wholesale in the past ten years have been a conspicuous waste and failure, in my opinion, for two reasons. First, most of us in management, or a good many of us, have instituted them as a means of busting the unions. That has been the main theme of these programs. They are based on the belief that if you have good employee relations, the union will wither on the

[26] "Minutes . . . ," *op. cit.*, p. 12.

[27] "Requirements for Personnel Counselors" (a typewritten document drawn up by the counseling organization within the last two years, undated), p. 3.

[28] This sort of shift—highlighting the efficacy of the "multi-valued way of talking"—is an everyday occurrence. A summary of the use of counseling with accident cases, e.g., is full of such references as these: "Nature of Preoccupation: Loss of earnings due to transfer and improper treatment during transfer. Value of Counseling: Through talking, he was able to shift from thinking that he was mistreated to a feeling of being a victim of uncontrollable circumstances" (typewritten document dated 1949). It should be noted that the process discussed above may occur even if the counselor himself is unaware of its existence (let alone its value implications) and lacks identification with company goals. The counselor may understand only that the employee has shifted his attention to nonjob factors and view this as desirable because talk of "personal concerns" is interpreted as "deeper insight" (the counselor thinks the employee would not normally discuss them with his fellows, and such talk is therefore welcomed as revealing trust in the counselor). Praise from supervisors in cases where "satisfactory adjustment" occurs through such a shift also sensitizes the counselor to a search for these factors beyond the company's control.

vine."[29] And, adds an official publication of UAW-CIO, "once you can get the union out of the way, you give the workers in the plant more and more affection; more psychiatric interviews; and increasingly smaller wage checks."[30]

Has counseling at Hawthorne been employed as a union-busting device? Do "psychiatric interviews" replace an effective bargaining agent?

While it is true that the personnel counseling program was inaugurated at Hawthorne in 1936 at a time when basic mass-production industries were faced with vigorous organizing drives from a resurgent labor movement, there is no evidence that the personnel philosophy of Western Electric, of which counseling is an expression, was a direct response to unionism. The famed Hawthorne Experiment, followed by the "old interviewing program,"[31] dates back to the decade of the twenties, when unionism was at low ebb, and indicates the company's long interest in "good employee relations."[32]

On the other hand, the Hawthorne Works is one of the few large units in basic mass-production industries that has been able to resist the penetration of "outside" unionism.[33] Organizing attempts of IBEW-AFL and UE over the past few years seem to have had no effect. Other union representatives have reported the belief that Western Electric is "too tough a nut to crack,"[34] this despite apparent employee dissatisfaction with the independent Communications Equipment Workers (CEW), who have represented the shop since 1937. One employee, commenting on the grievance of another, remarked, "And he said if his supervisor wouldn't do anything about it he'd go to his department chief. If he wouldn't take care of him, he'd go to his boss. Why he'd take it all the way to [the works manager] if he had to! And if that failed, he was going to the union."[35]

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[29] "Have Employee Relations Policies Had the Desired Effect?" in American Management Association, *Maintaining Two-Way Communication: Company Experiences and Techniques* ("Personnel Series," No. 134 [1950]), p. 7.

[30] "Deep Therapy on the Assembly Line: Moo, moo, moo, say the cow sociologists, but they don't even give skimmed milk" (*Ammunition*, VII, No. 4 [April, 1949], 48). "There are increasing signs," says this scorching attack on the human relations ideology, "which point to the happy day when the NLRB will declare the use of the deep interview an unfair labor practice and will at the same time award the worker concerned a back-frustration up until the time he was talked out of his grievance by a company-employed industrial psychologist" (*ibid.*, p. 47).

[31] Over 21,000 employees were interviewed from 1928 to 1930 as part of a plan for improving supervision. The findings of that study inspired the present personnel counseling program.

[32] There is one bit of evidence that for a three-year period Western Electric abandoned "enlightened" practices—and its interest in using the tools of social science to study its employees—for more direct methods. The company discontinued its Hawthorne interviewing and observations from 1933 to 1936—pointing to an unfavorable business outlook as the reason (Roethlisberger and Dickson, *op. cit.*, pp. 204, 593). During those same years, however, Western Electric paid out $25,825.73 for espionage (*Report of the [U.S. Senate] Committee on Education and Labor* [2d sess., 75th Cong.] [Report No. 46, Part 3 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1937)], p. 88). The writers do not know whether the Hawthorne Works itself found it expedient to use such services.

[33] Until the 1940's such unionism made very little headway in the entire Bell System (though organizing drives were carried on as early as 1910). At present, however, the Western Electric chain as a whole has been partially organized by several national unions, including IBEW-AFL, IUE-CIO, and CWA-CIO. The independent union at Hawthorne, established after the Wagner Act made the company's employee representation plans impractical, affiliated in 1939 with the NFTW, "a loose confederation in which each union remained autonomous, with no limitation on its right to negotiate contracts" (Senate Subcommittee on Labor-Management Relations, *Labor-Management Relations in the Bell Telephone System* [Report No. 139 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1951)], pp. 14–16). Cf. *Hearings*, pp. 48–50, 469. When the NFTW attempted to establish national bargaining policies after the war, Hawthorne's union withdrew.

[34] Personal interviews.

[35] In the course of his talks with employees in his territory and discussions of the counseling experiences of his colleagues, the counselor comes to hear a great range of opinion on almost any topic—pro

There has never been more than a threat of a strike at Hawthorne in its entire history.[36] It would be impossible to isolate the role of counseling here from the over-all industrial relations equipment used. However, occasional comments both from within the counseling organization and penetrating the organization from top management would indicate that some are convinced that its contribution is not to be ignored. The report dealing with the postwar layoff situation discussed above makes a special point of the role of counseling in "Stabilizing Employee Management Relations" during crisis-loaded periods:

By the active role the counselor is playing in the present situation such things as quality of work, accident-proneness, and other things are being affected indirectly, but most important of all is the effect on employee-management relations. . . . When employee-management relations suffer, good will and reputation decrease and the result is likely to be a long-run effect. Needless to say, this is costly to the Company in many respects, because upon employee-management relations lies the strength of an organization. The counseling organization is keenly aware of this and is trying to do its utmost to keep employee-management relations in harmony.[37]

As one of its contributions to such harmony, the counseling organization considers interviews with CEW representatives as part of the normal counseling routine.[38] It is not uncommon for union representatives to refer cases they have given up, or want no part of, to the counselor. At Hawthorne the steward is in a position to pass on the chronic griper, the personal problem case, the border-line grievance, or—if the steward is especially lazy or ineffective—even a contractual grievance to the counselor for nondirective treatment. The counselor tries to develop relationships with the union representatives in his territory comparable to those he has with the supervisors. As the head of the counseling organization states:

In this relationship the shop steward may talk about his problems as a union representative. In many ways the shop steward's problems resemble those of the supervisor in that he is often in the position of dealing with demands from among his constituents which he can do little about. These can build up to a point where he feels uncomfortable in his relations with them and insofar as counseling can alleviate these minor irritations, it makes the shop steward's job easier and more agreeable.[39]

W. J. Dickson denies that his counseling organization represents any threat to the union:

Since the counselor does not transmit information to supervisors or management, his activity in no sense undercuts the union. Also since he gives no advice or direction to the individual it cannot be said that he seeks to divert complaints or grievances away from union channels. . . .[40]

One would have to be extremely naïve, however, to claim after a perusal of forty or fifty case histories like those discussed that counseling does not drain off grievances that might otherwise find expression in other channels. Moreover, we have the organiza-

and con. In three years of listening at Hawthorne one of the writers, despite a conscious effort to get such a range of opinion on the CEW union—has never heard firsthand or secondhand what could be construed as a favorable employee comment about this union. The closest one comes to a favorable attitude is the statement reported above—which pictures the union as a last, not a first, resort. Many negative comments are expressed.

[36] The only work stoppage sponsored by the CEW in its entire history was a four-hour walkout in 1945 protesting an NLRB trial examiner's finding that the union at Western Electric's Kearny plant was company-dominated (72 NLRB 738 [see also 747 ff.]). During the telephone strike of 1947, Western Electric Installers (who do not work at Hawthorne) established a picket line at Hawthorne. CEW respected the line, and some of the workers refused to cross; but the plant kept open, and the effort disintegrated within forty-eight hours.

[37] "Information Regarding Personnel Counseling Activity . . . ," *op. cit.*

[38] According to the union-management contract in effect at the end of 1950, the company recognizes a maximum of fifty-five shop stewards.

[39] W. J. Dickson, "An Approach to the Human Factor in Work Relations," in *The New Industrial Relations* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1948), p. 117.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 116.

tion's own assessment of the value of counseling: "serves to modify excessive demands" and "dissipates many complaints and grievances before they develop into serious disturbances."[41] If we assume that grievance handling is the core of an active local union's function,[42] we must conclude that the connection between "good employee relations" and a "tame" union is more than coincidental. In more militant unions stewards are known to "shop" for grievances as well as play the role of confessor;[43] at Hawthorne it is the company counselor, in a sense, who does most of the shopping.

If the complaints and grievances that come to the counselor were all rooted in personal problems—or problems beyond the control of the company—a union could object only on the grounds that (1) the company is competing with it for the loyalty of the worker by offering him free psychological services and that (2) the company is trying to embrace the worker's total existence—and this is unhealthy in its totalitarian implications.[44] But competition for the loyalty of the worker is not necessarily bad—and a union is free to perform many of these services itself. Moreover, like the many institutions and associations in modern society that cross-pressure the worker for his allegiance, unions, too, move to expand hegemony over more and more areas of the member's life.[45]

The point is that the complaints and grievances that the counselor deals with—while concentrated in the "personal" area—do include a substantial portion of concrete job problems. In fact, the supervisors who use counseling most seem to define the service as a way to alleviate friction arising from company policies. Of a total of 599 cases referred to the counselors in the fourth quarter of 1949 by 322 supervisors (representing 37 per cent of supervision in territory covered), 80 per cent involved "company" problems; only 20 per cent "personal situation."[46]

To the extent that the counselor is successful in getting the worker to talk himself out of these job-centered complaints, he clearly diminishes resentments that could become the basis for a more powerful union organization.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The counseling organization emphasizes the potentialities of counseling as a control mechanism every time it presents demon-

[41] Personnel Service Branch, Training Department, "Basic Supervision Course: Outline and Supplementary Material, May, 1948" (mimeographed), p. 22. These are two among eleven "values in counseling" listed. Others: "Carries directly to the individual additional evidence of Management's sincere interest in him personally. . . . Aids in reducing turnover, absenteeism, and sickness due to emotional disturbances. Improves employees' overall attitudes toward the Company," etc.

[42] Cf. Joel Seidman, Jack London, and Bernard Karsh, "Leadership in a Local Union," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVI (November, 1950), 229–33; Bernard Karsh, "The Grievance Process in Union-Management Relations: Buick Melrose Park and the UAW-CIO, Local 6" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1950); Jack Barbash, *Labor Unions in Action* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1948), p. 58. See also any one of two-score union and university publications on handling grievances.

[43] Karsh, *op. cit.*, pp. 68 ff.

[44] Following Simmel's analysis, one could argue that the functional specificity of the power exercised by the modern industrial enterprise is the check on bureaucratic violation of the integrity of the individual personality (control over the worker is impersonal and is confined to a narrow segment of his life); but here we have a company that consciously tries to encompass the worker's whole existence—much in the manner of the master in his relation to the journeyman of the Middle Ages. On the "objectification of super-subordination" see Simmel, *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, trans. and ed. Kurt H. Wolff (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950), pp. 284–85, 203–4, 263–64.

[45] It is recognized that a union is generally more accountable to its membership than the corporation is to its employees—and hence may have a better case for its expansionist tendencies along this line.

[46] "Company" problem referrals in descending order of frequency were classified as follows: "Layoffs; Downgradings, Demotions and Transfers; Job difficulties; Poor efficiency; Difficulty with fellow employees; Pensions; Attitude toward supervisors; Schedule Reduction; Discrimination in layoff policy; Other." "Personal Situation" categories include: "Employee 'acting peculiarly'; Personal difficulty—marital, family, etc.; Poor health; Alcoholism; Death in family; Financial difficulties; Absenteeism; Chronic Gripes" ("Use Made of Personnel Counselors through Supervisory Referrals of Individuals, 4th Quarter, 1949" [typewritten]).

stration cases to management and supervision designed to play up worker adjustment to employer needs. The counseling process was early heralded as "a new method of human control." Its present advocates are passionate in their conviction that their activity helps the company.

Yet, with all this enthusiasm, personnel counseling as practiced at Hawthorne has never spread widely—either within the Bell System and its subsidiaries or within American industry as a whole.[47] Only five of the twelve Western Electric manufacturing plants have counseling. Even within the Hawthorne Works almost a third of the employees have not been covered.

Why has not the Hawthorne program taken deeper root? Two possible explanations are that (1) it does not square with management's needs and that (2) management does not see its great potentialities because of the subtlety of its contribution. Let us examine these explanations in our attempt to appraise the function of Hawthorne-style counseling.

1. IS COUNSELING COMPATIBLE WITH THE GOALS OF EFFICIENCY, STABILITY, AND CONTROL?

a) Any organization, regardless of its purposes, is faced with certain internal imperatives affecting its decisions.[48] From the standpoint of efficiency of operation the Human Relations Approach to problems of industrial control may be inferior to the more direct way in many cases. The resistance of even sympathetic supervisors to counseling when faced with day-to-day pressures of the job may point to some incompatibility between counseling and the imperatives of action and efficiency in the large-scale industrial enterprise. An employee may have real need for emotional catharsis, but production has to go on, the schedule has to be met, etc.

b) It could also be argued that the counselor's own orientation may conflict with organizational imperatives. As we have indicated, many counselors identify with the worker in his job troubles, most think they are helping workers help themselves to their own solutions (which are not necessarily in the best interests of the company), and all have considerable leeway in their handling of the employee.

The writers feel that these arguments are not decisive. It is true that a network of organizational pressures may make the supervisor resist counseling of his employees and

[47] During World War II there was a mushrooming of personnel counseling organizations (as there was of labor-management committees) to cope with the special dislocations of the war. Most appeared in companies having a large proportion of women workers. Some of these have survived. But none that the writers have read about in the literature or heard about directly compares either in scope or in technique with the Hawthorne program. At least one of the following is usually involved: employee induction, vocational guidance, advice-giving, exit interviewing, an emphasis on ferreting out trouble spots with subsequent action by management. These programs in other companies are apparently more integrated with traditional personnel functions. See *The Employee Counselor in Industry: A Report Prepared for Metropolitan Group Policyholders* (New York: Policy-holders Service Bureau, Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.); "Prudential's Employee Counseling Service Cuts Down High Cost of Worry," *National Underwriter*, July 21, 1950; and *Factory Management and Maintenance* (Albany: McGraw-Hill), issues of January through April, 1945, for elaboration on specific counseling programs in other companies. Unions, too, have in some areas launched "union counseling" programs with a focus on advice-giving and referral to community agencies that offer concrete aid. The Chicago CIO Community Services Committee, e.g., has trained twelve hundred such union counselors since 1945. None of them is full time, and at least one-third are completely inactive. It would seem probable that mobilization for war would again mean an expansion of counseling activity both by management and labor.

[48] Cf. Chester I. Barnard, *Organization and Management* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948), pp. 40–42, 27, 30. With reference to his analysis of the limits of "industrial democracy," Barnard points to two general questions to be asked of every system of governance: "Does it adequately determine action adapted to the external conditions? Does it secure the subordination making such determinations effective?" In all of this, Bernard says, "we need always to keep the feeling of the irresistible flow of vital action"—survival for an organization depends in part on "its internal efficiency, that is its capacity of securing cohesiveness, coordination and subordination of concrete acts."

the application of human relations techniques. But these same pressures by a gradual process shape the counseling function to the needs of the enterprise. The counselor chooses his moments of attack so as to minimize his interference with production. Many of the interviews can take place while work continues. As for the interview itself, we have traced the process by which the counselor becomes sensitized to the search for nonjob factors in the attempt to help the employee adjust to the situation. The redirection of employee attention away from his original definition of his grievance through the "multi-valued way of talking" is held up as an ideal to the counselor. Especially in crisis periods—like a mass layoff—is the counselor able to adapt his techniques to serve company ends.

The writers would therefore judge that, whatever incompatibilities may exist between personnel counseling and the goals of efficiency, stability, and retention of managerial functions, the counseling operation contributes more than it detracts from these goals. Counseling has helped protect management's freedom to promote, downgrade, transfer, train, discipline, lay off, apply a variety of rewards and sanctions (with a minimum of interference from a relatively cooperative union)—in short, it has helped the company retain its control over the worker.

2. DOES MANAGEMENT UNDERSTAND THE POTENTIALITIES OF COUNSELING FOR WORKER CONTROL?

The case for counseling, as we have seen, is difficult to grasp. Some evidence is there, but it is always beclouded. The fact that the problem of selling counseling exists even at Hawthorne indicates why full comprehension of its contribution to management needs is rare among American business executives in general.

a) The counseling organization can and does point with pride to its cases of "adjustment." But the counselor's reports are highly subjective, and any number of factors other than counseling may have entered the picture. Besides, the uninitiated would add, it all looks like so much silly chatter (indeed it does, unless it is grasped in its totality).

b) Counseling advocates claim, too, that counseling improves productivity and reduces accident rates through improving morale, smoothing interpersonal relations, and reducing "obsessive thinking" (one of them said the counselor organizes "disorganized daydreams"). The counseling organization has been unable to produce any research that could demonstrate its efficacy in this regard. Extension of generalizations derived from artificial experimental situations like those of the early Hawthorne studies to real life is hazardous. No new Hawthorne experiments have been undertaken. Besides, say the uninitiated, you have to figure the definite lost time spent in counseling rooms and elsewhere against an alleged gain in productivity.

c) It is claimed that counseling is a builder of good will. Many an employee has been known to exclaim, "How wonderful this company is to provide so many services for its employees!" upon the conclusion of a pleasant interview. Even where the counselor goes out of his way to disassociate himself from company practices and policies (he is told to be neutral), the objective consequences may be the same or even better from the company's viewpoint: "Here the company provides someone who will listen to me call the foreman names and not do anything about it!" But, say the uninitiated, "why does the counselor sit there and nod his head at all those lies the worker is telling him about the way Western Electric operates? Whose side is he on, anyway?"

d) Finally, there is the claim that the counseling organization, because of its intimate knowledge of conditions and relationships in the plant, can be used as a kind of management intelligence service. We have seen the limitations of present arrangements along that line. The uninitiated see the restrictions due to the confidential nature of the job as sabotage: "What good does it do us in your files?"

When the chips are down, the counseling organization falls back on faith:

> How much "good" the Hawthorne Club, the gymnasium, the grass and bushes around the premises, or vacations do, cannot be measured accurately. So it is with Counseling. Some things, however, have to be accepted at least partially on faith.[49]

Counseling advocates can very correctly point out that

> activity such as public relations is not subjected to the careful scrutiny and questioning which is applied to Counseling, even though there is probably no better appreciation and understanding of what it contributes. The difference appears to lie in its having attained a position of "respectability" which makes it acceptable to conservative, conventional thinking. Counseling has not yet achieved this status.[50]

The counseling operation at Hawthorne must be seen as part of management's search for tools to cope with the challenge to its power and functions that comes from government, unions, and the recurrent minor crises attendant upon the constant changes in its own internal requirements.

In the case of Western Electric, even if personnel counseling did *not* assist in meeting the internal imperatives of the organization, and even if top management did *not* have a clear understanding of its contribution, the program would doubtless survive. Having imbedded itself in every respectable academic library, in every major university curriculum, in the jargon of every specialist in employee-management relations, the "Hawthorne Experiment" will never die. It would come as a shock to the interested public if the lessons of the experiment were abandoned at its point of origin. Public good will is important to a public utility like AT and T, and its supply unit is no exception.

As a public relations venture alone, the counseling program's third of a million is a small cost measured against the budget, let us say, for institutional advertising—effects of which are probably open to greater question.[51]

There are some signs, however, that top management is convinced that counseling has more than a public relations value. One of the key executives known to support the counseling venture recently stated:

> We can never achieve industrial harmony merely by dealing with the demands of organized labor. We must go beyond this and find ways of *building up the human organization within our plants so as to satisfy needs which otherwise result in frustrations and irrational demands*. . . . The encouraging note to me is that if we state the problem this way, we have a goal toward which we all can work from day to day as we go about our jobs. *It doesn't call for a new plan or a new policy or for the expenditure of money. Rather it calls for a skill in human relations*. . . .[52]

Through a battery of manipulative devices aimed at supervision, workers and union representatives alike, Hawthorne's management seems to have brought "harmony" to its working constitution in a way that is unique in American industry. The company has developed a network of lower-level functionaries to drain off hostility and has integrated into its structure those forces which represent a potential challenge to its control over the worker.

CHICAGO

[49] "Minutes of Personnel Counseling Conference . . . ," *op. cit.*, p. 5.

[50] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

[51] The price of twenty full-page ads in *Life* magazine tops the estimated annual cost of the whole Hawthorne counseling program (including employee lost time).

[52] Levinger, *op. cit.*, pp. 3–4. (Italics ours.)

IN MEMORIAM

EDWARD ALSWORTH ROSS, 1866-1951

On July 22 Professor Ross passed away in his home in Madison, Wisconsin, at the age of eighty-four years, seven months, and ten days. A large assembly of his friends was present at his funeral in the First Baptist Church. He is survived by three sons by his first wife, who died in 1931, by nine grandchildren and one great-grandchild, and by his second wife, Helen Forbes Ross. He was buried by the side of his first wife in beautiful Forest Hills Cemetery in Madison. Thus one more of the men who helped to make the University of Wisconsin well known passed from the scene.

In an article published fourteen years ago I described some of Professor Ross's most striking characteristics as I had learned to know him at that time—his wholehearted devotion to the development of sociology and his almost evangelical zeal in spreading abroad its principles; his cordial and generous attitude toward his colleagues; his refusal to take offense from his critics; his intellectual and moral courage in teaching and proclaiming what he believed to be the truth and defending the right of those who held opposing views to do the same; his self-confidence and his happy family relationships in spite of his busy professional life.[1]

Since Ross wrote his *Seventy Years of It* in 1936, he has published one new book, *New-Age Sociology* (1940), and a revision of his *Principles of Sociology* (1938). In 1948 he published *Capsules of Social Wisdom*. He was still working on an expanded edition of the latter up to almost the end. With the title of the latter he was never satisfied; moreover, he did not consider this work primarily sociological. Several articles also have come from his pen during this period.

During his lifetime he published a total of twenty-eight books and about two hundred articles. These were written during the years he was carrying a regular teaching load with large classes, lecturing widely over the country, and traveling over the world observing life among different peoples, the results of which came out as articles in journals and in such books as *The Changing Chinese*, *South of Panama*, etc. When one remembers that every word was written in longhand, and not once but often many times, in order to produce that easy style and happy phrasing for which he was famous, one can easily picture the long hours he must have spent in producing this large literary output. Yet, in spite of his struggle to clarify his ideas and to perfect his style, Ross was interested primarily in understanding society and making that understanding clear to others; in short, in seeing that sociology developed and received recognition. In the Preface to his *New-Age Sociology* this is well brought out. He wrote: "In case sociology goes on surmounting crest after crest, this system of mine, outcome of endless toil, will by the close of our century look so pitiful that, were I alive then, I might be tempted to make a bonfire of all my sociological works! Gesture of chagrin? Not at all. Early obsolescence of my lifework would cheer me if it were to be the outcome of sociology's advance in scientific recognition and popular acceptance." That this was no idle pretense is shown by the enthusiasm he has manifested for the recent emphasis on research by some of the younger sociologists and for theoretical developments beyond the limits of his presentation. He did not consider his a closed system of sociology. Even increasing age did

[1] In the January, 1937, number of this *Journal* I published an article entitled "The Personality of Edward Alsworth Ross." In it I tried to give the reader something of his history and to point out his outstanding characteristics as I knew them after a close association of twenty-five years.

not cause him to close the windows of his mind to the fresh breezes blowing from the later ripening fields of scholarship. Even his *New-Age Sociology* shows developments beyond his *Principles of Sociology*.

Moreover, Ross with increasing age did not sour on his fellow-men, nor did he lose his optimism as to the future of the human race. He never shared the sentiment attributed to Carlyle that the English people consist of thirty million souls, mostly fools, or that said to be held by Mark Twain, "the G—— d—— human race." He exemplified that by what he wrote in his *Capsules of Social Wisdom:* "The wise is never above learning from the moves of his opponent." Or: "Whenever a body of knowledge ripens into a science, bright youths master it, thereby overtaking their elders." His pessimism shows in the *Capsules* in Topics XXXIII, "Newspapers"; XXXIV, "Radio"; XXV, "Deceitful Propaganda"; and XXXVI, "Business." But that cloud of pessimism has a silver lining: "So long as Popular Education, Free Press, and 'Government by the People' *are realities*, fear not loss of our liberties!" While to the last he held to his belief that the big businessmen were trying to control the economic, political, and social life of the country, to the end he held that enough people in the United States believed in the importance of our constitutional civil liberties to prevent the accomplishment of the schemes of big business. He never lost hope that the working people and the farmers will hold them in check.

Professor Ross was one of the American pioneer sociologists. Ward had written his *Dynamic Sociology* in 1883. Sumner was teaching a course in social science in 1885, but it was not until 1892 that Columbia announced a single course in sociology, and only in 1893 did the University of Chicago with its opening organize a department of sociology. Ross began to teach sociology in 1891, but in 1894 he definitely began seriously to think about the systematization of one field of sociology developed first in articles and then in his first book *Social Control*, and then in his *Foundations of Sociology*. Social processes became the foundations of his system. After that he was wholly committed to his career.

Professor Ross's interest in the new discipline, the system he developed, even his espousal of free silver and his antipathy to big business, can be understood by consideration of his background as described in his *Seventy Years of It*, chapters iii–vi. He was a son of the Middle West. Also his diary shows that even during his period of study in Germany he reacted against German philosophy and classical economics. But it was only after he returned to the United States that he became acquainted with the writings of Lester F. Ward. They pointed out a path through the wilderness. But the rural society of Iowa in which he grew up had left an indelible mark upon his system of values.

There are some things in his system of sociology, which, as he anticipated, are bound to be rejected by future sociologists, but there is much which will be found woven into the warp and woof of the texture of sociology. Moreover, his moral courage, his intellectual honesty, his inspiring personality, and his generous nature light the path of all future scholars and throw a brilliant luster upon the statement of the Regents of the University of Wisconsin, a statement of policy cast in enduring bronze on the tablet affixed to the front of Bascom Hall: "Whatever may be the limitations which trammel inquiry elsewhere, we believe that the great State University of Wisconsin should ever encourage that continued and fearless sifting and winnowing by which alone the truth can be found."

JOHN L. GILLIN
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NEWS AND NOTES

University of Akron.—Harmon O. DeGraff is continuing his research and teaching interests as emeritus professor, having retired as head of the department of sociology after twenty-one years' service on the faculty.

Charles Rogler has taken over the duties of department head.

Samuel C. Newman has come to the department from the national Office of Vital Statistics in Washington, D.C., where he was chief of the marriage and divorce analysis branch. Dr. Newman has served on the sociology faculties of Ohio State University, the University of Louisville, and American University.

Anthropologisch-soziologischen Konferenz.—The conference met in late September in Johannes-Gutenberg University in Mainz, under the chairmanship of Professor Leopold von Wiese, president of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Soziologie. Sessions on the first day were devoted to the topic "Growth, Maturity, and Senescence," with papers dealing with the biological, anthropological, psychological, medical, juristic, and philosophical aspects of the three processes. The sociological viewpoint was presented in a paper by Max Horkheimer, of the Johann-Wolfgang-Goethe University, Frankfurt-am-Main. The theme of the second day was "European Man," also reviewed from the points of view of the various social disciplines, the sociological being stated in two papers: Karl Gustav Specht on "The Emigrant from Europe" and Leopold von Wiese on "Tendencies to Association and Disassociation in Europe."

Carleton College.—Samuel M. Strong, chairman of the department of sociology and anthropology, was a visiting professor of sociology in the summer at the University of Nevada.

Herbert Menzel, of the University of Wisconsin, was appointed instructor, teaching courses in criminology and anthropology.

Dave M. Okada has been promoted to assistant professor.

University of Chicago.—Ernest W. Burgess has become professor emeritus of sociology. He will, however, continue his association with the department as chairman during the current year. Professor Burgess joined the department in 1916 and has been with it ever since.

William F. Ogburn, who joined the department in 1927, has also become professor emeritus of sociology. He, too, will continue his association with the department during the current year. Professor Ogburn has been granted a Fulbright Award to India and left in September with Mrs. Ogburn for a six months' stay there.

Herbert Blumer has returned to campus after a year's leave of absence, during which he taught at the University of Hawaii.

Philip Hauser is on a year's leave, which he will spend in Burma as an adviser on the census and vital statistics to the Burmese government.

Everett C. Hughes has returned to campus, having taught in the summer session at Columbia.

Donald Horton has joined the department as assistant professor of sociology. He will offer a seminar on communication. Professor Horton is completing a survey of television in Chicago.

Otis Dudley Duncan has joined the department as assistant professor of sociology. He is offering courses on social change and demography.

Louis Wirth returned to campus in September. During the summer he was in Paris in connection with his duties as president of the International Sociological Association and also attended meetings of the UNESCO.

The first center to combine research and advanced training of specialists for service in a program of family-life education was opened in September at the university, established with $80,000 provided by the Grant Foundation of New York City. The grant will be expended over a five-year period. Nelson N. Foote, formerly assistant professor of sociology at Cornell University, has been appointed co-ordinator, and a university advisory committee representing different fields of research in the family, and headed by Ernest W. Burgess, chairman and professor emeritus of sociology, will assist in the operation of the center. The center is open to students qualified to work for an advanced degree in the fields of family-life education, parent-child relations, family and marriage counseling, family research, and teaching college and high-school courses on preparation for marriage and family living. Other members of the center committee are: Maurice L. Hartung, associate professor of the teaching of mathematics; Robert J. Havighurst, professor of education and chairman of the Committee on Human Development; Hazel Kyrk, professor of home economics; Ruth O. McCarn, assistant dean of students and assistant professor of education; Max Rheinstein, Max Pam Professor of Comparative Law; Albert J. Reiss, Jr., assistant professor of sociology; Julius Seeman, assistant professor of psychology; and W. Lloyd Warner, professor of anthropology and sociology.

Professor Foote, co-author of a report which surveys the unmet needs for research and service in the field of family life, will be an assistant professor in sociology at the university as well as co-ordinator of the center. He has been associated with Cornell and Wayne universities during the last ten years and served on the staff of the Office of War Information.

The Jacob Levy Foundation Fellowship Award for one year of study at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, valued at $2,000, has been won by Philip Rieff, an instructor in the social sciences in the College. The contest, which was conducted for the foundation by the American Friends, had as its theme, "The Hebrew University: A Challenge of Our Times."

University of Cologne.—K. G. Specht has edited and now has in press a volume in honor of Leopold von Wiese. About thirty sociologists of various countries have contributed papers, some in English, concerning the present state of sociological work in a variety of fields. Information concerning subscription to the volume may be had from Dr. Specht, Ferdinand-Schmitz Str. 5, Cologne-Zollstock, Germany.

Cornell College.—Haridas T. Mazumdar, of the University of Wisconsin, has joined the staff this fall with the rank of professor of sociology. He will teach courses in general sociology, the Far East, and social work.

University of Edinburgh.—The department of sociology and anthropology has recently expanded the scope of its program of field investigations in modern communities and in race relations. Research now in progress includes the study of a sheep-farming community in the Shetland Isles. Four separate studies of different aspects of the racial problem in Britain are also in progress, including the relations of white and colored workers in industry and colonial immigration into the United Kingdom. The department hopes to obtain comparative material from other European countries, including France. Research has also begun into the social structure of the Westernized Creole community of Freetown, West Africa.

Johns Hopkins University.—The Institute of the History of Medicine announces the award of three fellowships in the history of science and medicine for the academic year 1951–52. The awards, each of which carries a stipend of $3,000, involve no formal obligations other than residence and provide for association with appropriate staff members of the medical institutions and of the School of Higher Studies. Those receiving the fellowships for next year are John B.

Blake, of Harvard, in the history of public health; R. Gordon Gilbert, of the University of California, in the history of basic scientific concepts; and Rashi Fein, of Johns Hopkins University, in medical economics.

The institute also announces the appointment of Alexandre Koyré, of L'École Pratiques des Hautes Études in Paris, as visiting professor in the history of science for the first semester, 1951–52.

Medical Correctional Association.—The association, an affiliate of the American Prison Association, will be pleased to accept new members. Eligible are physicians and social workers and professional persons employed in correctional or penal institutions or jails or engaged in research on the medical aspects of crime. The annual dues are $2.00. Application for membership and dues can be sent directly to the Secretary-Treasurer, Ralph S. Banay, M.D., 709 Park Avenue, New York 21, New York.

University of Michigan.—The department of sociology has substituted for the individual M.A. dissertation a two-semester research practicum for all first-year graduate students. At present the practicum is linked to the Detroit Area Study, an interdepartmental project for a continuing series of investigations of metropolitan Detroit. The study is closely integrated with the Survey Research Center. This year the study will focus on participation in community affairs, with particular reference to group membership and political activity. Students in the practicum will participate in designing the study, selecting the sample, preparing schedules, interviewing, coding, and analysis. Field expenses of students will be met by the study. Several advanced graduate students have appointments as research assistants on the staff of the study. Ronald Freedman, of the sociology department, is director; Morris Axelrod, of the Survey Research Center, is assistant director.

Michigan State College.—Various members of the department are engaged in a study being made by the Association of Land Grant Colleges financed by the Fund for Adult Education, Inc., of the Ford Foundation. Primary attention is being given to the three subjects of the Ford Foundation, namely: international understanding for peace, economics, and democracy. The sabbatical leave of Charles P. Loomis, head of the department of sociology and anthropology, has been extended so that he may direct the survey, which, it is expected, will take from three to six months to complete.

The department of sociology and anthropology in co-operation with the department of textiles, clothing, and related arts in the School of Home Economics held in August the second seminar on the Social Aspects of the Purchase and Use of Clothing. Wilbur Brookover, social psychologist, and Gregory P. Stone, who is doing research in the satisfactions and use of clothing, represented the department in the planning and conduct of the seminar.

The Fifth Annual Rural Leadership School for rural clergy and lay leaders interested in the rural church was held in July. Paul A. Miller, extension specialist in sociology and anthropology, was chairman of the program and planning committee.

Olen E. Leonard joined the department as professor of sociology and anthropology on September 1. Dr. Leonard will assist in the co-operative program of Michigan State College and the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences at Turrialba, Costa Rica.

John H. Useem taught during the summer session in the Foreign Services Institute of the Department of State at Washington, D.C.

Raymond Scheele, assistant professor, has been granted a leave of absence for one year effective September 1, 1951. Dr. Scheele will work in co-operation with the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences on technical assistance programs in certain Latin-American countries.

Appointments as graduate assistants for 1951–52 include Robert Hicks, Archer C. Bush, Jack J. Preiss, and Antonio Arce.

Recent bulletins of the Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station are: Special Bulletin 369, *A Study of Hannahville Indian Community (Menominee County, Michigan)*, by Kenneth Tiedke; Special Bulletin 367, *Mortality Differentials in Michigan*, by Paul M. Houser and J. Allan Beegle; and Special Bulletin 370, *Distribution of Medical Doctors and Osteopathic Physicians in Michigan*, by J. F. Thaden.

Paul Honigsheim, Lewis and Clark University; Rudolph Heberle, Louisiana State University; Walter Firey, University of Texas; and Norman Humphrey and Ruth Useem taught classes in sociology and anthropology during the summer.

Princeton.—The Educational Testing Service is offering for 1952–53 its fifth series of research fellowships in psychometrics leading to the Ph.D. degree at Princeton University. Open to men who are acceptable to the graduate school of the university, the two fellowships each carry a stipend of $2,375 a year and are normally renewable. Fellows will be engaged in part-time research in the general area of psychological measurement at the offices of the Educational Testing Service and will, in addition, carry a normal program of studies in the graduate school. Competence in mathematics and psychology is a prerequisite for obtaining these fellowships. The closing date for completing applications is January 18, 1952.

Information and application blanks will be available about November 1 and may be obtained from: Director of Psychometric Fellowship Program, Educational Testing Service, 20 Nassau Street, Princeton, New Jersey.

San Francisco College for Women.—The Yucatán Project for Sociological Research, which is undertaken in affiliation with the Universidad Nacional del Sureste, Mérida, Yucatán, is directed by Allen Spitzer. The purpose of the project is to promote the development of research in the Yucatán area along lines already begun by Robert Redfield and Asael T. Hansen in the fields of sociology and social anthropology. The aims are to facilitate field-work studies for colleagues and graduate students who have limited funds and wish to devote short-term summer periods to field work; to develop a program of field work in urban sociology in the capital city of Mérida; to develop a program of rural sociological field work in and around the Chichén Itzá area; and to establish a self-supporting, co-operative team of workers whose findings might be collated for monograph presentation.

The results of the first field season (July and August, 1951) may be stated briefly as: inspection of the Mérida and Chichén Itzá areas; initial interviewing for data on the role of religion in changing Yucatán; gathering of statistical data on crime; official recognition by the National University; arrangements with the management of the Hotels Mérida and Mayaland to establish field headquarters for the future; and the appointment of a medical adviser in Yucatán, Dr. Carlos Rubio.

Studies will include an investigation of the role of religion in Yucatán; an analysis of social disorganization; studies based on Dr. Hansen's materials, with a view to possible eventual collaboration with him on aspects which he considers pertinent. The project will continue indefinitely, usually in summer field seasons of one to two months. Colleagues and graduate students in sociology and social anthropology who are interested in this project are invited to write the San Francisco headquarters for further information.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Soviet Union: Background, Ideology, Reality. A symposium edited by WALDEMAR GURIAN, Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1951. Pp. vii+216. $3.50.

This is a collection of eight essays, by eight professors, on various aspects of Soviet and eastern Europe domestic and foreign policy. The essays were originally presented at a symposium at the University of Notre Dame in February, 1950. The authors and the titles of essays of interest to sociologists are: Waldemar Gurian (Notre Dame), "The Development of the Soviet Regime from Lenin to Stalin"; Michael Karpovich (Harvard), "The Historical Background of Soviet Thought Control"; Naum Jasny (Stanford), "Results of Soviet Five-Year Plans"; Philip E. Mosely (Columbia), "Soviet Policy and Nationality Conflicts in East Central Europe"; Vladimir Petrov (Yale), "Aims and Methods of Soviet Terrorism"; N. S. Timasheff (Fordham), "Religion in Russia, 1941–1950"; and Francis Dvornik (Harvard), "Church and State in Central Europe."

The common theme is stated in the Preface: "The Soviet advance has been marked by the establishment of police states, by economic exploitation and religious oppression. To these features of Soviet totalitarianism, its constriction of the human spirit and its methods of penetration and exploitation, the present volume devotes particular attention." Despite this common interest, however, the book seems to this reviewer to lack unity and completeness. Each of the essays leaves the impression of being an abridged chapter out of a separate book by its author.

The sociologist will not be so interested in the catalogue of Soviet crimes as in the explanations offered. These, however, are of the most general character and are developed only incidentally. Gurian, emphasizing the continuity of Soviet policies under Lenin and Stalin, finds the source of Soviet conduct in a "political religion which ascribes to one group, the party, knowledge of the aim of history and society, and believes that this aim can be realized by economic-political measures and reorganizations." Karpovich takes virtually the same position, tracing the Soviet system of thought control to "the utopian ideal of a human society in which the totality of cultural endeavors is being planned, regulated and shaped by an omnipotent and omniscient ruling elite." Karpovich (like Gurian) emphasizes the continuity of Soviet development; in addition, he stresses its discontinuity with the tsarist past.

Kertesz offers in a few paragraphs, a similar, though somewhat narrower, explanation. Although he pays his respects to historical influences in a footnote, he concludes that "the decisive factors in Soviet Russia's internal and foreign policy lie overwhelmingly with the personal background and mentality of its Communist leaders." "The Communist leaders are conspiracy-minded," he states. "They have an overwhelmingly underground horizon. . . ." This fits with Karpovich's conclusion that the one genuine historical link between Soviet and pre-revolutionary Russian autocracy is in the "maximalism, ideological fanaticism and, in some cases, authoritarianism" of the nineteenth-century Russian revolutionary underground.

On the other hand, Dvornik, one of the most profound church historians of our time, finds important sources of the present central European struggle of church and state in developments dating from the ninth century. "You will say that this is all an old story long since forgotten," he writes. "Yes, it is an old story, but not forgotten. Nothing is forgotten in Central Europe." And in regard to the relation of the present Russian church to other churches, he writes: "It is true that modern Russia is thoroughly different from tsarist Russia. Nevertheless, Soviet Russia is in many respects the heir of medieval and tsarist Russia."

Apart from these and a few other statements of a similar order of generalization, little attempt is made by the various authors to explain the gloomy phenomena which they describe. The implication throughout, however, is that the explanation is to be found in the hunger for power and for perpetuation of power. It is striking that Timasheff, the one sociologist in the group of authors, offers no explanation of a sociological nature for the development of re-

ligious tolerance (as contrasted with religious liberty) during the past decade of Soviet history.

It is the opinion of this reviewer that if the authors attempted to develop in a systematic way some theories of totalitarianism, or of revolution, they would find it necessary to add to their description a whole range of facts which are omitted from this book. The situation inside Soviet Russia is far more complicated than the picture here presented indicates. The "monolithic" control of Soviet society by the Communist party does not explain in a satisfactory way the rise of a new managerial class, the return to legality in certain important spheres of life, the re-emphasis of family stability, the survival of the peasant household despite collectivization of agriculture, and many other features of Soviet society which are hardly mentioned in the book. Nor does it satisfactorily explain some of the features which are treated seriously, such as the concessions which have been made to widespread religious beliefs and practices.

Gurian makes the interesting point that the political religion of the Soviet rulers "contains many elements characteristic of modern secularistic society: belief in the decisive importance of technical progress, the assumption that economic organizations and psychological manipulations are almighty, the concentration upon work and activity in this world." But Gurian and almost all his co-authors seem to accept as "almighty" for the Soviet order the economic, political, and psychological engineering of the Communist party. It is perfectly obvious, however, that the Communist party in Russia has been forced again and again to adapt itself to conditions beyond its control. Without an analysis of those conditions, and of the party's adaptations to them, the portrait takes on the "monolithic" quality of the thing portrayed.

HAROLD J. BERMAN

Harvard University

Soviet Politics—the Dilemma of Power. By BARRINGTON MOORE, JR. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950. Pp. xviii+503. $6.00.

Professor Moore is living proof that one does not have to be an ex-Communist, ex-Menshevik, ex-Trotskyite, or some other kind of "ex" to be able to produce a conscientious study on the U.S.S.R. Lucidly presented, unified in content, the book under review, which is based in large measure on primary sources, represents an attempt at cautious analysis and objective interpretation of an extremely complex and highly controversial subject.

One of the chief pursuits of the study is expressed in its subtitle, "The Role of Ideas in Social Change," which the author undertakes to treat on the basis of answers to another central question, namely, What part of their ideological baggage did the Bolshevik leaders find it necessary to relegate to the background after the revolution? A third and related question, of even greater import, is posed in the following terms: "Does the organization of modern industrial societies have an inner logic of its own that compels the societies to adopt certain similar features whether their members wish it or not? Is organized inequality an inevitable feature of modern industrial society?" (p. 10). This question, in fact, presages an answer in the affirmative and was in essence raised as early as 1920 by Bukharin, who pointed out that an engineer or technician must give orders to the workers and "must therefore stand *over* them" and that the same is true of officer and soldier in the Red army, "an inner, purely technical, objective logic is involved, which must remain in any social order" (see p. 161). The author concentrates on the development of ideas and practices concerning the organization of political authority and economic institutions. Such questions as the status of the family, school, and church and the problem of ethnic minorities are not considered. In following up the chosen subjects, the author addresses himself particularly to the Bolshevik attitude toward authority, discipline, the role of the leaders and the led, the leaders' reaction to the impact of political responsibility in domestic and foreign affairs, and the difficulties and social tensions resulting from "the contrast between promise and fulfillment."

The promise embraced not only the transfer of the means of production to society as a whole but such equalitarian aspects of the Bolshevik doctrine as Lenin's conceptions: that the Soviets, replacing the older governmental machinery, will consist of representatives elected and subject to recall by the people and combining legislative and executive functions; that "universal arming of the people" will take the place of the army and police; that all officials will receive no more than workers' wages; and

that workers will exercise powers of control over production and distribution. The fulfilment fell wide of the mark, however. While recurring unemployment was eliminated and the means of production were socialized, the other goals nurtured by bolshevism as a protest movement were not realized. And, instead of a progressive whittling-down of the coercive and incentive features characteristic of earlier societies and a concomitant increase in mass participation in political control and decision-making, there was reared in the U.S.S.R. an authoritarian society based on a hierarchy of status and rewards. Power is concentrated in the Communist party, with the Soviets at best serving as executive extensions of the latter. Decision-making is maximized at the peak of the party pyramid—the Politburo utters the voice of command; the masses and their institutions execute, implement, and obey its directives. That in sum is what has become of the celebrated principle of "democratic centralism," which was to provide a check upon the prerogatives of the leaders. The chasm between millennial ideal and sordid reality has produced stresses and tensions in the body politic from time to time. But the leaders have been able to escape retribution and retain power by creating a "vested interest in confusion," i.e., by setting up conflicting administrative organs which must rely on the top leadership to arbitrate their differences, and by "directing the hostility of the masses against local nodules of power in the lower levels of the bureaucratic system." The abyss between original theory and actual practice is not due to any unprincipled abandonment of fundamental faith but to the economic dictates of an industrialized order and the political necessities of an elite in pursuit of self-perpetuation in power. In no small measure it is also due to conceptual elasticity. "On the whole," the author concludes, "one is likely to be more impressed with the flexibility of Communist doctrine than with its rigidity" (p. 416). Moore devotes much space to a discussion of the social structure. He differs from other writers in the field by arriving at the dual conclusion that there is no class society in the Soviet Union now but that one will take shape in the future. His elucidation of this point, however, is somewhat ambiguous. Arguing that, unless one can show that differences in earnings, power, and deference are transmitted from one generation to the next, it is wiser not to label a given populace as a class society, he concludes that the span of three decades of the Soviet regime is not sufficient to offer clear evidence on the question (p. 237). At the same time, not only does he call attention to such facts as continued social antagonisms, a widespread urge to get out from manual to mental occupations, and official emphasis on opportunities for social mobility by way of Stakhanovism, but he finds that there is inbreeding on the part of the intelligentsia through mingling in leisure time, marriage within the group, etc., and that high officials pass on to their offspring advantages in the form of education, material welfare, and associations with power-holders. And these forces, he predicts, "will eventually result in the emergence of a class system resembling in many ways that in the United States excluding the South" (pp. 236–46, 407). Finally, to answer the question posed in the subtitle, the author ends the volume with a "theoretical construct" outlining a schematic series of stages of ideological and institutional growth on the basis of the Bolshevik picture which he drew.

Moore's contribution is particularly strong on the subjects of bureaucracy, local soviets, labor, and management. The book has been criticized for putting up a straw man, for posing a "dilemma of power" which is only a dilemma in the author's mind, since both Marx and Lenin mixed authoritarian and democratic ideas and both foresaw dictatorship, violence, discipline, and tutelage over the workers over an undefined transitional period on the road to universal homogeneity. This criticism, however, overlooks the difference in situations and doctrinal needs of a party which is out of power and one which is in the seat of government. Marx was never the head of a state and, in fact, reached more intellectuals than workers, while after November, 1917, Lenin and Stalin faced the masses, who for the most part deduced from all the abstractions of ideology mainly the millennial promises as something attainable in their lifetimes. Hence the dilemma of the Soviet leaders in power.

This reviewer doubts the propriety of interpreting the multiplicity of administrative bureaus as a "vested interest in confusion" (p. 296). Whatever its contribution to the party's control, it is more a product of trial and error than of a costly, deliberate design. Whether the meager evidence of the present already warrants conclusions concerning inbreeding by the intelligentsia (pp. 245–46) is likewise doubtful. The author speaks of "the transformation of revolution from a goal into a tech-

nique" (p. 394) and believes that it is necessary to go back to 1929 or perhaps 1934 to find expressions of revolutionary optimism by a high Soviet leader. The truth is that revolution remained both a goal and a technique, and, while ideology was played down during the first three years of the recent war, there has been a mounting emphasis on it ever since, including authoritative statements concerning the prospects of communism. In November, 1947, no less a party leader than Molotov stated publicly: "The convulsive efforts of the imperialists under whose feet the ground is shaking, will not save capitalism from its approaching doom. We are living in a century when all roads lead to Communism."

Despite these and other differences on points of interpretation, this reviewer would highly recommend the book as a rich addition to the literature on the most baffling and crucial problem of our day.

JULIAN TOWSTER

University of California

The Operational Code of the Politburo. By NATHAN LEITES. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1951. Pp. xv+100. $3.00.

It should be said at the outset that this volume is only a preliminary to a much larger work dealing more specifically with Soviet techniques. For the moment a more useful key is provided by Dr. Lasswell's *The Strategy of Soviet Propaganda* (1951) and perhaps by Barrington Moore's *Soviet Politics—the Dilemma of Power* (1950) and by F. C. Barghworn's *The Soviet Image of the United States—a Study in Distortion.* In his later volume Dr. Leites will deal more specifically with the analysis of Soviet techniques judged by the concrete political behavior of the Politburo. The present volume is based largely on extracts from the writings or speeches of important Soviet leaders, particularly Lenin and Stalin.

Some of this material is critical of tactics held to be peculiar to Russians. These are the matter of organization or interest in organization, and failure to "follow through" efforts that are started but not finished (p. 80). Under this head come also some favorable comments on American interest and capacity in political affairs. Second there is elaborate comment on material that is far older than the Politburo. For example, here is discussion on the importance of deceit, of violence, of deals not to be kept. But much of this might be found far earlier and far better in Machiavelli, in Hindu literature, and even in the Greek (note Aristophanes' Sausage Seller, etc.). Not even the open and unashamed advocacy of all these techniques and tricks is new in the history of political theory and political practice.

Many other sections of the volume deal with strategies that are not new or impressive; for example, it is not surprising to discover that attacks must be met by counterattacks (p. 78). It can hardly be said that this was discovered by the Russians. Nor is the statement that if the enemy begins zigzagging, the defense must zigzag also; or the comments on retreat and advance which have long been considered by military and political experts. That there are dangers in victory is not a new political proposition. "The evening of the day of victory," said Napoleon, "is more dangerous than its dawn."

On the whole, the strategy of the Politburo as outlined in this interesting volume does not present much that is new to the student of political strategy. Machiavelli and the precursors of the Florentine statesman are more suggestive. Undoubtedly, however, the forthcoming volume by Dr. Leites will deal far more fully and effectively with the emerging techniques of the Russian strategists in recent days.

CHARLES E. MERRIAM

University of Chicago

The Chinese in Southeast Asia. By VICTOR PURCELL. New York: Oxford University Press, 1951. Pp. xxxvii+801. $11.50.

Dr. Purcell, formerly Protector of Chinese in British Malaya, brings years of personal experience and lengthy study to the problem covered in the present title. This experience makes it possible for him to treat the material in a comprehensive and insightful manner. He manages to cover the vast territory involved, discuss most of the significant aspects of the problem, present the different views that have arisen, and provide his own interpretations quite competently.

The Chinese moved into the Nanyang some time before the first European traders arrived in the region. Chinese settlements were formed in Malacca, Java, and Tumasik as early as the thirteenth century. In 1951 they remain as one

of the major nationality groups throughout the region. It is thus obvious that the author who sets himself the task of outlining their history, demography, and socio-economic and political roles in Southeast Asia has indeed to exhibit the characteristics of perseverance and determination. These qualities Purcell certainly has.

In order to encompass his task, the author provides the reader with an Introduction and a "Conclusion" covering the broad general aspects of the Chinese movement into Southeast Asia, as well as one section directed specifically to area-wide matters. Apart from this, he includes seven sections covering the position and historical development of the Chinese community in the various countries of Southeast Asia from Burma through the Philippines.

Each area section devotes chapters to demography, history, local problems, Chinese education, economic role, and to what may be called the "aftermath of World War II." In each section he attempts to place the Chinese in their setting, describe their major activities, indicate the character of their relations with local inhabitants, discuss their ties with mainland China, and evaluate their contribution to the local scene. Thus each section of the book is almost a complete entity in itself, dealing with the Chinese in a given part of the Nanyang. He does not, however, allow his book to get as "chopped up" as this procedure might at first glance indicate; for, through it all, he pursues what might be called the "comparative approach" and the reader secures an excellent picture of the similarities and differences in the position of the Chinese community in each part of Southeast Asia.

In order to make this detailed survey Purcell has had, in good part, to rely on secondary source materials and, as should be expected, the account tends to be spotty. A monumental survey of this sort must be expected to exhibit gaps, nor does its author pretend that he has avoided them. Also, as one would expect, reliance on secondary materials can at times lead to distorted or inaccurate generalizations. On the whole, however, his scholarship has done much to avoid a plethora of such failings.

That does not mean that the book is not without its faults. One can quarrel with some of the authorities he has chosen to follow, as well as with evidences of poor editing that, in a few cases, verges on the amusing. It is apparent that Purcell has had the assistance of a research staff in compiling the data on which the study is based, and it is equally apparent that his editing of the end-product has failed to remove some glaring repetitions and inconsistencies. At times one wishes he had taken a deep breath and plunged into the task of rewriting a few sections that suffer too obviously from "clip-and-paste" research techniques.

The problem of the Chinese in Southeast Asia is vast and obviously needs additional research by specialists from different disciplines and on the different regions. Purcell has done the job of bringing together in one volume the basic material on the region as a whole. Now that this massive text has been produced, scholars may use it both as an excellent background and reference tool and as a point of departure for further work. Nor is it fair to call the book a "text," because Purcell knows much about the Chinese in Southeast Asia, particularly in Malaya, and has woven his material in with many valuable and sensitive insights that make it much more than a text.

The literature on the Chinese in Southeast Asia has been clogged with too much of puerile evaluation based on the personal prejudices of the several observers. Purcell has gone to the facts and upon them has built an evaluation that goes far in correcting some of the more ludicrous of previous generalizations. He has also, by careful scholarship, been able to present data to correct a number of popular misconceptions regarding the Chinese in Southeast Asia, as, for example, their alleged role as unscrupulous moneylenders.

The result is a book that provides a wealth of material, excellent insights, and dispassionate reasoning. It is given an orderly framework, ample footnoting, a useful Index, and a good Bibliography. There is also a number of interesting appendixes on special topics. Seen as a whole and despite its minor shortcomings, it is doubtful that it will be replaced for quite some time to come.

R. I. CRANE

University of Chicago

African Systems of Kinship and Marriage. Edited by A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN and DARYLL FORDE. New York: Oxford University Press, 1951. Pp. viii+399. $6.00.

Students familiar with *African Political Systems*[1] will welcome this companion volume pro-

[1] Edited by M. Fortes and E. E. Evans-Pritchard (London: Oxford University Press, 1940).

duced under a grant from UNESCO. The editors have assembled an outstanding group of contributors, who have co-operated in presenting a "general view of the nature and implications of kinship in Africa." As Radcliffe-Brown notes in his Introduction:

> For the understanding of any aspect of the social life of an African people—economic, political, or religious—it is essential to have a thorough knowledge of their system of kinship and marriage. This is so obvious to any field anthropologist that it hardly needs to be stated. But it is often ignored by those who concern themselves with problems relating to economics, health, nutrition, law, or administration amongst the peoples of Africa, and it is hoped that this book will be read not only by anthropologists but by some of those who are responsible for formulating or carrying out policies of colonial government in the African continent [p. 1].

The Introduction itself is concerned with the scientific study of kinship systems in their structural and functional aspects and represents Radcliffe-Brown's matured views on this important topic. He does not limit himself to the African materials but considers the whole range of kinship phenomena, including our own. He proposes a preliminary classification of kinship systems into four major types—father-right, mother-right, cognatic systems, and double lineage systems—and discusses the African data with reference to these types.

The individual papers advance very considerably our knowledge of African social structures, and several of the essays contribute in important ways to methodological problems as well. Hilda Kuper and Monica Hunter consider the Swazi and Nyakyusa, respectively, in terms of the patterns of kinship grouping and behavior in different varieties of the East African patrilineally oriented and age-graded societies. The role of cattle in these societies, especially in marriage and family life, is clearly delineated, as are the effects of European interferences with the *lobola* exchanges. I. Schapera continues his studies of the Tswana tribes of Bechuanaland with an analysis of preferential and prohibited marriage patterns derived from extensive genealogies and statistically treated. Max Gluckman compares and contrasts the Zulu of Natal with the Lozi of northern Rhodesia, thus bringing into clearer relief the essential differences between patrilineally organized and bilaterally organized social systems. Audrey Richards' important paper, "Some Types of Family Structure amongst the Central Bantu," gives us our first clear picture of the interesting matrilineal kinship structures in Central Africa. She finds several varieties of family structures within this region, based primarily on residence patterns; these she interprets in terms of social and economic factors. Meyer Fortes clarifies the problems involved in the descent patterns of the Ashanti and indicates the effects of recent social and cultural changes on their kinship institutions. Daryll Forde's account of "Double Descent among the Yakö" gives us our first modern description of this important type of social structure as it affects the kinship system, marriage patterns, and the balancing of rights and obligations. S. F. Nadel finds the same phenomena in two of the ten tribes he studied in the Nuba Hills and shows, by comparative analysis, that the dual descent system is an efficient mechanism of social control. In the final paper E. E. Evans-Pritchard continues his important studies of the Nuer by analyzing the complex relationships of kinship and the local community in Nuer society.

These papers provide a sound basis for a comprehensive study of African kinship structures, as well as a number of hypotheses for further testing. The importance of detailed comparisons within each type or class of social structures is beginning to be realized, and an awareness of the significance of social and cultural change for kinship studies is apparent. What is less apparent is the utilization of the documentary and historical records which exist for the reconstruction of the recent past. Radcliffe-Brown rightly inveighs against the pseudo-historical speculations of the classical evolutionists, but his statement that "we cannot have a history of African institutions" is, in this reviewer's opinion, too extreme. By a combination of comparison and analysis, on the one hand, and historical research and inference, on the other, it should be possible to work out a valid outline of the broad stages of social development in different regions of Africa, and even to specify certain of the details.

FRED EGGAN

University of Chicago

The Desert People: A Study of the Papago Indians. By ALICE JOSEPH, M.D., ROSAMUND B. SPICER, and JANE CHESKY. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949. Pp. xvii+287. $6.00.

This book is another of the studies of Indian tribes known as the "Indian Educational Research Project Series." It follows the general lines of research already laid down in *The Hopi Way*, *Warriors without Weapons*, and *The Children of the People*. The Indians here dealt with are the Papago of Southern Arizona, and the method of presentation is by a threefold division of the material. Part I, entitled "People on the Desert," by Miss Spicer, is a short one-hundred-page sketch of the main features of Papago culture, which adds little to what is already known from the work of earlier anthropological inquirers, particularly Ruth Underhill. This section is a well-written summary, however, with particular stress on the family and local organization and the effects upon these of recent Papago history.

Part II, by Miss Chesky, is entitled "Growing Up on the Desert" and attempts to deal with the Papago answer to that perennial question, How does culture become internalized in the individual? To answer it, she patiently assembles a large number of observations of Papago childhood behavior and traces the life-development of the "average" Papago from the cradle to adulthood. As is usual in this type of study, the details are interesting, but the end-product of the conditioning process is not shown to be in any way a *necessary* result of those particular details. The reader is not surprised that the particular Papago adult personality emerges from the Papago type of childhood conditioning, but neither would it be surprising if five or six other types of personality emerged from it. Most of the attempts to relate childhood experiences to adult personality among the simpler societies seem to suffer from this same lack of specificity.

Part III of the book, "The Personality of the Papago Child," is written by Dr. Joseph and is elaborately psychological. All sorts and types of tests—intelligence, performance, projective—were administered to Papago children and the results collated and interpreted. The chief finding seems to be that there are regional differences in the acculturation of the Papago and that these cause differences in test results. But, as the anthropological sections have already documented the differences in the acculturation situation of the western and the eastern Papago, the fact that such differences are revealed by the tests is hardly a major discovery. The heavy batteries of the test program seem, on the whole, to bring forth only the small and familiar mice.

For anybody living with or intending to live with the Papago, this book is essential reading. For people interested in the application of psychological tests to people of other cultures than our own, it should also be essential reading, if only to give them some conception of the magnitude of the difficulties.

C. W. M. HART

University of Wisconsin

Frontier Mother: The Letters of Gro Svendsen. Translated and edited by PAULINE FARSETH and THEODORE C. BLEGEN. Northfield, Minn.: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1950. Pp. xix+153. $2.50.

In 1862 a young Norwegian woman came to settle in Iowa with her newly wedded husband. Her letters from this period up to her death in early middle age in 1877, cherished in Norway, have now been translated. What do these letters tell us?

Gro Svendsen was humanly concerned for her growing family and its economic security; she was humanly homesick for her friends and relatives in Norway; and it is largely with these concerns that her letters are filled. We may be disappointed to learn so few facts about life in a Norwegian community and on the American frontier and look in vain for the promised "multitude of details of the foreigner turning into an American." Perhaps the fact is that Gro never did really become an American, that to the end of her life she distinguished her neighbors as "Americans" and "Norwegians" and was far more interested in the latter than she ever became in the former. Gro tried to learn some English, but seven years after her coming she writes to her parents of a newly founded newspaper: "The paper is nicely gotten up and is considered to be quite good. Since the paper is printed in English, which we read with some difficulty, we have not subscribed for it." Yet her attitude toward the threat of Indian attack, not very great, actually, for settlers in Iowa, might be, one imagines, that of a typical American frontiersman or woman of the time: "I might tell you that the Indian revolt has been somewhat subdued, so we feel much safer than we did awhile ago. It isn't enough merely to subdue them, I think that not a single one who took part in the revolt should be permitted to live. Unfortunately, I cannot make the decision in

the matter. I fear that they will be let off too easily."

For one brought up in the Abolitionist tradition it may be something of a shock to find her writing despairingly of her husband's being drafted into the Union Army during the last year of the Civil War: "You may wonder why Ole became a citizen and thus was obliged at once to do military service. You may well wonder.... The fact remains that Ole cannot be released. He was coaxed and threatened—told that anyone taking a homestead would have to be a citizen." (Ole returned safe and sound after a year's service, having taken part in combat only once.) Yet modern American isolationism stems from the same natural feeling for guarding one's own security rather than promoting principles of justice and freedom. Gro Svendsen expressed virtues of thrift, fortitude, and piety, and one is sure that her children became solid American citizens. A reading of these letters may remind us of some of the less romantic elements in America's settlement.

MARGARET PARK REDFIELD

Desplaines, Illinois

The Biology of Human Starvation, Vols. I and II. By ANCEL KEYS, JOSEF BRAZEK, AUSTIN HENSCHEL, OLAF MICKELSEN, and HENRY L. TAYLOR. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1950. Pp. xxxii+763; viii+1385.

Human starvation should be of interest to sociologists. There may be nearly a billion people, largely in the Orient, who are badly undernourished and certainly many millions who are living on such a low diet that it may be designated as one of semistarvation. Starvation may be a prolonged process, so weakening human resistances that the body becomes a prey to a variety of parasites. Reports on the prison camps in Japan, China, and Germany have focused attention on the social conditions surrounding a semistarvation diet.

The University of Minnesota has a laboratory for experimental study on human beings instead of the usual laboratory animals. From this laboratory has come a major study, the result of many years' work on human beings, in which the effects of a semistarvation diet were comprehensively measured. Hitherto, scientists had been dependent a good deal on remarks and the reports of casual observers.

The report from Minnesota under the direction of Dr. Ancel Keys is in two volumes, which contain nearly fourteen hundred pages. There are eighty-seven pages of Bibliography and forty pages of Index. The tables number nearly six hundred. The subdivisions of the study, after four chapters of background, are "Morphology," "Bio-chemistry," "Physiology," "Psychology," and "Special Problems."

Readers of the *American Journal of Sociology* may be interested to know how this relates to sociology. The answer to that question depends upon one's conception of what sociology is. Conditions of semistarvation have, of course, much to do with social conditions; and, for those who view sociology as largely social psychology, semistarvation effects psychological interaction between individuals and groups. The section of this monumental undertaking which deals with psychology is particularly interesting. Measurements of the relation between semistarvation and psychological behavior are perhaps not so adequate in isolating factors as are the other measurements, but the experimenters have produced a good deal of measurement, even though they have had difficulty in holding factors constant. We have, for some time, known that a marked shortage of thiamine, that is vitamin B_1, produces a condition in human beings of great apathy. Descriptions which individuals on minimal dosages of thiamine have made of themselves in this condition are almost carbon copies of some of the descriptions of neurasthenia which we get from the early literature. It has been demonstrated several times that this condition disappears as the intake of thiamine is increased to normal. Dr. Keys's young men who volunteered to undertake this experiment report an increased irritability and apathy, a greater feeling of tiredness, an increased appetite, greater sensitivity to noise, a decline in ambition, a lessening ability to concentrate, a loss in self-discipline, a decline in mental alertness, an increase in moodiness, a descent into deeper depression, a lessening of the drive to activity, a greater inability to comprehend, and an increased feeling of apprehension. There was also almost a disappearance of sex drive. Conversation about sex topics practically ceased, and enormous time instead was given to discussions of food, a replacement of one appetite by another, so to speak. These observations recall the reports on a recent expedition to Brazil where one of the tribes whose name I have forgotten is reported to show very little interest

in the discussion of sex. But they show an accentuated amount of talk and discussion about food, a topic of great interest. Food is reported to be very scarce in this particular hunting area. Curiously, the experimentees had no particular increase in night dreams about food. Perhaps this may be explained by the lack of repression in talking about food during the waking hours.

For those who are more impressed by case histories than by statistics, the authors have a number of extremely interesting case histories showing the psychological reaction along the lines just indicated.

There is a very interesting chapter on changes in personality. The inventory known as "STDCR," meaning social introversion, thinking introversion, depression, cycloid tendencies, and rhathymia (meaning "carefree disposition"), all show an increase during the starvation period, except for the R value. The inventory "GAMIN," meaning general activity, ascendancy, masculinity, inferiority feelings absent, and lack of nervousness, shows declines as the starvation increased, except masculinity, which showed no change.

One wonders what light these laboratory studies throw upon the possibilities of revolution. We have going on at the present time in the Far East a revolution very much greater in extent than either the French Revolution or the Russian revolution. Of course, Keys's experiments could not attack this problem directly. One might guess that prolonged starvation would probably not favor revolution. Observers of depressions in the United States before the period of great relief occurred point often to the great amount of despondency among the unemployed, and we know strikes occur more in periods of prosperity than in periods of depression. Revolutions are, of course, encouraged by the breakdown of authority as well as by increased activity on the part of the people. There are many other aspects of social behavior than revolution.

These studies on semistarvation cover a period of recovery from starvation, which is discussed at length in these two volumes. These observations may have considerable bearing on many areas of the world if and when better nutrition is obtained.

Before closing this review, the reviewer would like to speak a word in praise of the great effort made by Keys and his associates to make this study as rigorously scientific as possible, and on this ground it is commended to the readers of the *Journal*.

W. F. OGBURN
University of Chicago

Personal Aggressiveness and War. By E. F. M. DURBIN and JOHN BOWLBY. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1950. Pp. vi+154. 8*s*. 6*d*.

This book formed part of a symposium on war and democracy published in 1938, and first appeared separately in book form in 1939. A major portion (50 pp.) of the book is devoted to the presentation of two negative theses: first, that man is not basically good and peaceful and, second, that wars are not the result of sinister economic or political machinations by which peace-loving citizens are induced to kill one another. In an appendix twice as long as the text presenting these theses, the psychological and anthropological evidence supporting them is examined. Here the authors demonstrate the ubiquitous nature of aggressive tendencies by examples from the behavior of primates, from fighting among primitive societies and among children and adults in modern society. For these examples the authors rely mainly on the National Socialistic persecution of the Jews and on the studies of four authors: Isaacs (her various studies of children), Zuckermann (*The Social Life of Monkeys and Apes*), Davie (*The Evolution of War*), and Frazer (*The Golden Bough*). Much of the book consists of quotations from these authors. This reviewer feels that it is more profitable to read the originals than the secondhand selections presented here.

Of chief interest in this book now is the realization such rereading brings, that to view war and human aggressiveness within the framework of psychoanalytic psychology was new and advanced thinking in 1938, whereas today this is common knowledge and makes for dull reading. Is this simply a reflection on our increasing knowledge, or does it also imply that we are more complacent about human aggressiveness after having been through another world war? The thesis that war is due to human aggressiveness rather than to economic or political forces seems so new to the authors that they elaborate on it almost exclusively and devote too little space to the more important question of how such aggressiveness might be controlled, and hence wars be avoided.

Specifically, the authors stress that "war occurs because fighting is a fundamental tendency in human things. Nations *can* fight only because they are able to release the explosive strengths of transformed aggression, but they *do* fight for any large number of reasons." These reasons are spelled out in detail, but the enumeration is hardly new. At one point in the book, great stress is laid on the fact that, in order to get people to fight, the issue needs to be personalized. Thus the country is symbolized as a person whose possession must be made secure—just as the baboons tear one another apart in order to make their possession of females secure, with the result that often the female prize is torn apart in the process, and everybody is the loser. Parnell is quoted as having said, "You would never have got young men to sacrifice themselves for so unlucky a country as Ireland, only that they pictured her as a woman. That is what makes the risks worth taking." Maybe there were, indeed, more fortunate times when people fought for the possession of a woman, or a country represented as such, rather than out of the fear that, unless they destroy the enemy first, the enemy's atomic bombs will totally destroy them.

Be that as it may, after reading this treatise, one is even more keenly aware of the need for a psychoanalytic exposition not of why people make war but of what might make them stop killing one another like baboons, children, and primitives. We are now ready to admit the psychoanalyst's observation that we have many bad things in common with them. What we need is to know how we may become more different from them, at least in avoiding destruction.

BRUNO BETTELHEIM

University of Chicago

Fighting with Property: A Study of Kwakiutl Potlatching and Warfare, 1792–1930. By HELEN CODERE. New York: J. J. Augustin, 1950. Pp. viii+136. $3.00.

The well-known potlatch ceremony of the Kwakiutl Indians of the Northwest Coast is here put in historical perspective, with illuminating results. Numbering some fifteen hundred individuals in 1900 and living on Vancouver Island and the adjacent mainland, the Kwakiutl have been made famous by the researches of Franz Boas and the interpretations of Ruth Benedict. But the Kwakiutl at the turn of the century were in the process of adjusting to the new social and economic conditions which white contact had brought about, and the accounts of their social institutions, detailed as they are, are often difficult to interpret.

By utilizing the historical documents, as well as the ethnological accounts, Dr. Codere has clarified the significance of the potlatch and has indicated its changing functions in the contact situation. The economic aspects of the potlatch are here placed in relationship to the social order: "A basic dynamic of the Kwakiutl potlatch . . . is to be found in the relation of the arbitrarily determined scarcity of potlatch positions to the superabundance of some economic goods" (p. 68). As a central feature of the socio-economic system, the potlatch survived attempts to suppress it and went "underground."

The historical record indicates some important shifts in the potlatch complex. The decline in population, due to European-introduced diseases, led to more status positions than adult individuals in some tribes. Furthermore, the Kwakiutl adjusted well to the introduced economy and increased their surplus wealth very considerably. And, most interestingly, with the suppression of warfare around 1850, the Kwakiutl turned from "fighting with weapons" to "fighting with property," and rivalry for social prestige became the all-important contest. Part of the excesses and destruction which accompanied these contests are related to the winter dance ceremonials, but the nature of this relationship is not too clear.

Despite his extensive studies of their social organization, Boas never clearly delineated Kwakiutl social structure, so that the role of the potlatch as an integrating device in tribal life is not adequately presented. Nor does the author deal too adequately with the reservation period, which brought distant Kwakiutl groups into close contact with one another and forced them to establish their relative social positions by way of the potlatch mechanism.

But these are minor criticisms, and the non-specialist will be grateful for the excellent way in which Dr. Codere has organized the vast mass of materials and the light she has thrown on the changing role of the potlatch institution. Economists in particular should be interested in the financial aspects of the potlatch, and sociologists will note some familiar processes in "fighting with property" in a status-bound society.

FRED EGGAN

University of Chicago

The True Believer: Thoughts on the Nature of Mass Movements. By ERIC HOFFER. New York: Harper & Bros., 1951. Pp. xiii+176. $2.50.

A new Simmel has come among us, and with a timely topic. This little book integrates psychological and sociological approaches in its treatment of historical data to a degree which has perhaps yet to be achieved by either a psychologist or a sociologist. The author is, in fact, a self-educated longshoreman, with no academic training or identification. He presents what amounts to 125 numbered "thoughts," covering 166 pages of text, on the quality of mass movements in their active or revivalist stage. It is thus, on the surface, a study of the psychology of the fanatic, i.e., the type of person found most frequently in the early stages of such movements. Beneath the surface the study deals broadly with the dynamics of social change, thanks to the author's attention to the special populational subgroups from which fanatics are most easily recruited and the historical circumstances which allow those subgroups to provide a supply of fanatics.

Throughout this book the reader may at any moment be jolted by clear, terse insights which could be termed "hypotheses" were they more cautiously advanced. Those who look to theory to stimulate research will like the book, as will those who look for a deeper understanding of the mass enthusiasms which precede historical change.

HERBERT E. KRUGMAN

Yale University

Christians and Jews: A Psychoanalytic Study. By RUDOLF M. LOEWENSTEIN. New York: International Universities Press, Inc., 1951. Pp. 224. $3.25.

Dr. Loewenstein's thoughtful and undogmatic book is a valuable addition to the growing number of psychological studies on anti-Semitism. Many of the ideas recently presented in the "Studies in Prejudice Series" (sponsored by the American Jewish Committee) are confirmed by Loewenstein's book. At the present state of social science methodology, such concurrence in concepts and conclusions by different persons working independently on the same subject matter is encouraging and reduces the uncertainty and doubt which rightly hamper confidence in the results of any one single study.

Loewenstein's contribution, however, does more than confirm the work of others. The most distinctive feature of *Christians and Jews* is the broad scope of the approach. Each of the volumes in the "Studies in Prejudice Series" focuses on a particular aspect of anti-Semitism, explored by a particular method. Loewenstein, in contrast, deals with the entire complex phenomenon in all its aspects. The material which he presents and interprets stems only to a small extent from psychoanalytic practice; largely it is drawn from history, economics, political science, social philosophy, and theology. This diversity of material is unified by the application of psychoanalytic theory as an interpretative scheme suitable for explaining all forms of human actions, be they performed by individuals or groups, by a culture or a religious institution, at present or in the past.

The inevitable disadvantage inherent in so comprehensive an interpretation lies in the fact that little new material is produced and that some of the generalizations made have to be taken on credit, as it were. To be sure, Loewenstein's argumentation is plausible and in accord with psychoanalytic theory; and there is indeed much need for scholarly and dispassionate analysis of all aspects of so complicated a matter as anti-Semitism, much as Loewenstein has performed it. It is largely a matter of temperament and training whether one wishes to enlarge knowledge by a reinterpretation of what is known or by the discovery of new relations or by a combination of both. The point to be made here is, of course, not a criticism of Loewenstein's choice in this matter but to emphasize the need for other approaches too.

Loewenstein's main conclusion is the postulation that Christians and Jews form a "cultural pair," dependent on each other for their very existence and the continuity of their faith and tradition. Quoting Maritain in this context ("That is why the fierce fanaticism of anti-Semitism always turns in the end into fierce fanaticism against Christianity itself"), Loewenstein demonstrates from recent and ancient history that the continued existence of Judaism and of Jews is an essential element of Christianity.

Loewenstein's most original and, in a sense, courageous contribution consists in his analysis of Jewish character traits. The days are hopefully over when an outraged sense of justice induced many intellectuals to distort (out of good

ethical motives) the facts of life to the extent that they denied psychological and social differences between dominant and underprivileged or persecuted groups. These differences exist. Loewenstein infers them from general observations and from psychoanalytic theory and experience about typical responses of "victims." In this context he speaks about the tendency among Jews to turn aggressive drives against themselves, to repress violent forms of behavior, and to be neurotic even more frequently than the rest of the population; about Jewish resilience, their close-knit family life, their occupational specialization, and many other features which are still frequently decried as unjustified stereotypy. He is careful to point out that these traits cannot be regarded as "racial" and hereditary, without much further research, but are the result of historical and social conditioning, perpetuated by the fact that Jews and particularly Jewish children find themselves much more frequently than others in "exceptional situations" which produce exceptional reactions.

It is in the discussion of Jewish character traits that carefully designed research is most needed to complement Loewenstein's inferences.

It is almost superfluous to add that Loewenstein's penetrating analysis of anti-Semitism which avoids oversimplification does not lead to a solution of the urgent social problem that anti-Semitism presents. Those Christians and Jews who are fighting its ugly manifestations *and* have maintained their "faith in reason" will nonetheless be encouraged by this book.

MARIE JAHODA

New York University

These Are Americans: The Japanese Americans in Hawaii in World War II. By JOHN A. RADEMAKER. Palo Alto, Calif.: Pacific Books, 1951. Pp. viii+277. $5.00.

Nearly a decade ago the Japanese Americans encountered an unprecedented social crisis—they were "put on the spot" because of a death struggle between Japan and the United States. This crisis situation was effectively utilized by a corps of social scientists, particularly by sociologists and anthropologists, as an ideal social laboratory for the study of human behavior under undue stresses and strains. Articles and books appeared in a rapid succession, and many of them bore the earmarks of the untiring labor of social scientists in their eagerness to observe and record objectively "facts" and events as they unfolded before their very eyes. In varying degrees of objectivity, most of these works told a single tale: a tragic experience of a people caught in a situation beyond their control and in the failure of our society to cope intelligently with the problem of how better to reorder multigroup relations. Thus, in one form or another, these works have clearly demonstrated the fact that in times of major social crises the prior processes and attitudes play crucial roles in determining the course that events are most likely to take.

Unlike the literature on the plight of the Japanese Americans on the West Coast in World War II, the book under review is a story of successful social experimentation. *These Are Americans* by John A. Rademaker is in essence a case study of a community which has faced squarely and has met realistically the problem of how better to integrate the Japanese Americans within the framework of American democracy. The book discusses succinctly in what manner the available human resources of the Hawaiian Islands were mobilized and implemented toward the achievement of a common goal. It shows how the peoples of Hawaii have demonstrated that the power of democracy is greater than that of other ideological systems. Democracy, like other cultural values, is nurtured in real life-situations; its efficacy rests not in empty promises freely given to its constituents but on its ability to foster from its component members an active participation in common life. Democratic sentiment is a fruit of this participation.

To the peoples of Hawaii, especially to the Japanese Americans, democracy is a hard and cold fact of life. By virtue of their participation in Hawaii's racial mores, the Nisei have come to cherish an undivided loyalty in the preservation of its value. They have come to define democracy as an exclusive cultural value. In the final analysis, how strongly an individual adheres to what he believes to be the supreme value can be measured in terms of his willingness to sacrifice his own personal comforts and even to give his own very life in the defense of its right to survive. Accordingly, in chapters i and ii Rademaker tells what the Japanese Americans in Hawaii did immediately before, during, and after the blitz bombing of Pearl

Harbor by the Japanese navy. This is followed by a detailed description of the Nisei in military service (chap. iii).

Hawaiian democratic value, being live and active, has had a pervasive effect on everyone who came under its direct influence. So the Issei, although they are denied American citizenship, participated actively as civilian defenders of democracy on the home front. Their activities, along with those of Nisei and Sansei, are described in chapter iv. In the concluding chapter the author raises the question: "What does this add up to?" to which he gives an answer. He writes: "We have demonstrated beyond any question that the American principle of racial equality and democratic participation in our national life is far superior and more efficient as a means of getting along with other people than is the Nazi doctrine of race superiority, inferiority, enslavement, and extermination" (p. 258).

These Are Americans is the work of a sociologist in the role of newspaper reporter. Rademaker has reported the unfolding events in Hawaii in much the same spirit as a good newspaper reporter would write an account of a series of dramatic human events. Like a good reporter, the author shows little inclination toward editorializing but demonstrates empirically that the problem of multigroup integration is more than an academic question. It is primarily the problem of society and of living human beings.

In the opinion of the reviewer, *These Are Americans* is an excellent book. It is beautifully done, with eighty pages of text and two hundred pages of pictures. If human memory is short-lived, a book of this nature should help to preserve for a long time the contribution of the Japanese Americans in Hawaii in World War II. To the people in other parts of the world the book provides conclusive evidence that democratic participation is by far superior to other forms of human relations. To students of social sciences the book is valuable as case material bearing on successful social experimentation. While those looking for explicit generalization at a higher level of sociological theory may find the book somewhat disappointing, nevertheless this is a "must" book for students interested in race relations.

JITSUICHI MASUOKA

Fisk University

Rural Cuba. By LOWRY NELSON. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1950. Pp. x+285. $3.50.

With *Rural Cuba*, Lowry Nelson has added a creditable new chapter to the growing body of rural sociological research in the Latin-American field. The materials for the study were gathered during 1945–46 while Nelson was serving for a year as rural sociologist with the United States Department of State. During this period the Cuban Ministry of Agriculture collaborated in the conducting of intensive surveys of eleven local communities representing various types of farming. From those special surveys, the Cuban population census of 1943, and preliminary releases of the 1946 agricultural census, the author has presented an impressive array of statistical data.

This book is broad in scope, covering such diverse subjects as population structure, land systems and tenure practices, types of farming, social class structure, levels of living, and the educational system. Because of this encyclopedic embrace, there is a certain lack of continuity between chapters, but this does not present a major defect in a work of this type. Somewhat more serious is the author's superficial grasp of the social system which he seeks to portray, being most clearly revealed in his chapters on the social class system. Nelson anticipated his critics on this score, but that has not compensated for his own recognized inadequacies of treatment. It is difficult to understand why he has developed a Warneresque (three upper, three lower, no middle classes) classification primarily on the basis of occupation, after contending that tradition and sociopsychological factors are the main determinants of social status (pp. 159–60).

To point out the few flaws while neglecting to mention the many praiseworthy features of the work would be gross injustice. The author has done an excellent job of analyzing the population structure, demographic processes, settlement patterns, and, especially, the land system. However, in the final chapters ("The Cuban Family," "The Level of Living," "Education and the Schools") one has the feeling that a rapidly approaching deadline reduced the author's analysis to a minimum interpretation of the voluminous statistical data. Even so, a valuable service has been performed in making those materials available in a convenient form.

In a summary chapter, Dr. Nelson has listed the basic problems of rural Cuba: low income for the laboring classes, inadequate transportation and communication systems, a general lack of housing and sanitary facilities, failure of formal education to reach the masses, and a concentration of farm landownership. With regard to this final item—an explosive subject in Cuban politics—the author takes a cautious stand. The question of land distribution, he feels, can no longer be ignored in this land, where 8 per cent of the farms possess more than 70 per cent of the cultivable land. However, any workable land policy must be based on fact, not on fanaticism. "Small proprietorships, while representing an ancient ideal, are not to be regarded as an automatic guarantee of security and welfare in the modern world" (p. 104). Especially is this true in Cuba, where sugar-cane production requires large holdings for efficient and profitable operation.

The author closes with recommendations embodying extended agricultural field service, promotion of farmer organizations, a program of road construction and maintenance, scientific research in the fields of social and economic problems, and an intelligent land-reform policy. Appendixes on the special survey areas and a glossary complete the work. It is to be hoped that similar studies in other Latin-American countries will soon provide factual material for generalizations in a broader field than hitherto possible.

THOMAS R. FORD

University of Alabama

The Student Looks at His Teacher. By JOHN W. RILEY, JR., BRYCE F. RYAN, and MARCIA LIFSHITZ. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1950. Pp. xi+166. $2.75.

This study reports in clear detail how the authors set about to reveal to the teachers at Brooklyn College how "others see us." In that endeavor they had the full co-operation of President Gideonse and the faculty.

The teachers were grouped into three categories: arts, sciences, and social sciences. The criteria by which the students judged their social science teachers were, when arranged in the order of the students' *ideal* conceptions, as follows: encouragement to thought, organization of subject matter, tolerance of disagreement, knowledge of subject matter, ability to explain, attitude toward subject, speaking ability, fairness in examinations, personality, and attitude toward students.

How the students *actually* rated their teachers, as a group, is reported in the following rank order of these attributes: knowledge of subject, attitude toward students, ability to explain, speaking ability, fairness in examinations, and encouragement to thought. The change in rank order of "encouragement to thought" from ideal first place to actual last place is discouraging, to say the least.

The performance of the entire faculty was analyzed by the age groupings twenty to thirty-nine, forty to forty-nine, and fifty to sixty-nine in each of the attributes. The percentage ratings "above the median for their major field" showed those in the oldest age bracket to excel those in the youngest age bracket in only one attribute, namely, "knowledge of subject." They were farthest below them, in terms of the measurement, in "organization of subject matter" and "tolerance to disagreement."

I agree with the authors that "without this knowledge the professor may well be a voice crying in the wilderness" and that "without *expression* by the student there can be no *impression* for the professor," or at least a badly informed one (p. 33).

The view of the dissidents among the Brooklyn faculty, of whom there appear to be few, is perhaps summarized in the comment of one of them: "The whole idea is a miserable concession to an age that is more and more moving away from respect for authority" (p. 33). He appears to believe that the student's "place" is to *stay in it*. I feel sorry for him.

I risk the observation that the teachers at Brooklyn College are Everyman.

EARL S. JOHNSON

University of Chicago

ERRATUM

The *Journal* regrets an error in the heading of the review of *The Negro in Brazil: A Study in Acculturation* which appeared on page 206 of the September issue. The author, Dr. Octavio da Costa Eduardo, professor of anthropology at the Escola Livre in São Paulo, was not named. The book is No. XV of the "Monographs of the American Ethnological Society," of which Dr. Marian W. Smith is editor.

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IN THIS ISSUE

Lewis M. Killian, assistant professor of sociology at the University of Oklahoma, is chief analyst for the Disaster Studies Project of the Institute of Community Development. In his study of four communities stricken by explosions or tornadoes, reported in this issue, he presents the individual as being compelled to make a quick choice among the possible roles he may play in the emergency.

In "Agrarian Reforms in the Far East" J. H. Boeke argues that technical aid to underdeveloped countries, as long as it comes from above, will never bring about their modernization. More promising measures are the reconstruction of social values among the villagers followed by the development by them of a local agrarian policy. The author is professor of Eastern economics and rector magnificus of the University of Leyden.

A study of crime news in four Colorado newspapers establishes that the relation between crime rate and crime news is instable but that the public, with some qualifications, derives its notion of actual crime from reported crime. The findings are reported by **F. James Davis,** formerly of Western State College of Colorado, now assistant research sociologist working on an Air Force project at the University of Washington.

Austin L. Porterfield, chairman of the department of sociology at Texas Christian University, specializes in the study of crime and delinquency. In this issue he compares suicide and crime in folk and in secular societies and concludes that crime characterizes the depressed folk community, while suicide typifies the urbanized secular society.

The character of an ethos is determined by the interplay of the ideal (i.e., the value-system) and the behavioral: a society will be in static or in dynamic equilibrium as these two forces are in harmony with each other or not. This is the proposition stated in "Ideological Momentum and Social Equilibrium" by **Ralph Pieris,** lecturer in sociology at the University of Ceylon.

Morton H. Fried, instructor in anthropology at Columbia University, presents evidence from a field trip to challenge the idea, conventional among Western scholars, that the military are held in low regard in China. He finds that the scholar-gentry despise the military but that the peasantry esteem it as a means for achieving higher status. **Shu-Ching Lee,** formerly a professor of sociology at Tsing Hau University, now living in Chicago, disputes the proposition in an appended statement.

A study of premarital pregnancies in Scandinavia and Finland by **Sydney H. Croog** reveals high and largely similar rates in all but Norway. The author, instructor in sociology and anthropology at the University of Connecticut, regards the discrepancy as evidence that Norwegian culture is something apart from what has always been thought of as the common culture of these countries.

Seymour M. Lipset, assistant professor of sociology at Columbia, and **Reinhard Bendix,** associate professor of sociology at the University of California, contribute to this issue the first instalment of their two-part report on social mobility. In a study of over nine hundred wage-earners picked at random in Oakland, they find so much changing from one occupation to another that present occupation is a very dubious index of permanent social status.

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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MULTIPLE-GROUP MEMBERSHIP IN DISASTER

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ABSTRACT

Multiple-group membership is recognized as a salient feature of modern social life, creating psychological problems for the individual and affecting social organization. In a study of four community disasters it was found that the resulting crises made apparent the latent conflict between ordinarily nonconflicting group loyalties, creating dilemmas for individuals and affecting the reorganization of the communities. Conflicts were found to arise between the family and secondary groups; "heroic" roles and prosaic occupational roles; "the company" and fellow-workers; and the community and extra-community groups.

Although the importance of multiple-group membership as one of the salient features of modern social life is widely recognized by sociologists and psychologists, the task of exploring its many implications has only just been begun. Cooley, a pioneer in the study of the importance of group membership for the individual, recognized the existence of multiple-group memberships, describing the individual in modern society as a point through which numerous arcs, representing different group memberships, pass.[1] Before him, William James declared that a man has "as many social selves . . . as there are distinct groups of persons about whose opinions he cares."[2]

In recent years other students have begun a more systematic exploration of the implications of identification with several different groups for the individual and for the society of which he is a part. The creation of psychological problems for the individual and the development of new strata in the social structure as the result of some types of multiple-group membership are discussed in the work of Robert E. Park,[3] Everett Stonequist,[4] and E. C. Hughes.[5] Hughes has demonstrated that possession of contradictory roles in different groups may create "dilemmas and contradictions of status" for the individual.

Muzafer Sherif, in his elaboration of the concepts of "membership group" and "reference group," has furnished valuable conceptual tools for the analysis of multiple-group identifications and conflicting group loyalties.[6] He suggests, furthermore, that identification with numerous different ref-

[1] Charles H. Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902), p. 114.

[2] William James, *Principles of Psychology* (New York: Henry Holland & Co., 1890), I, 294.

[3] "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIII (1928), 881–93.

[4] *The Marginal Man* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937).

[5] "Dilemmas and Contradictions of Status," *American Journal of Sociology*, L (1945), 353–59.

[6] *An Outline of Social Psychology* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1948), pp. 122–25.

erence groups and the lack of a unitary ego are the keys to the understanding of inconsistencies in certain types of behavior, such as intergroup relations.[7]

In a study of the reactions of people in four Southwestern communities to physical disasters—explosions and tornadoes—made by the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, it was found that conflicting group loyalties and contradictory roles resulting from multiple-group membership were significant factors affecting individual behavior in critical situations. The dilemmas created by the disasters also brought to light latent contradictions in roles not ordinarily regarded as conflicting.

In spite of the fact that multiple-group memberships do create dilemmas and inconsistencies, the majority of people in modern urban society manage to function efficiently as members of many groups, often being only vaguely aware of contradictions in their various roles. Sherif points out that the individual is often not aware of the derivation of the "cross-pressures" which cause inconsistent behavior.[8] Newcomb declares that many role prescriptions are "relatively nonconflicting" and says:

> Most of us, most of the time, manage to take quite different roles, as prescribed by the same or by different groups, without undue conflict. . . . Indeed, it is rather remarkable how many different roles most of us manage to take with a minimum of conflict.[9]

He points out that many roles are "nonoverlapping." A man may play the role of a businessman, acting in terms of the work situation, during most of the day. For a few hours in the evening he may play the role of "the family man," leaving his work at the office. In a small community he may, on certain occasions, act as a functionary of the town government, as a volunteer fireman, or as a town councilman. Simultaneously, he has other group memberships which call for certain behavior—in a social class group, in a racial group, in the community of which he is a citizen, and in "society-at-large."[10]

When catastrophe strikes a community, many individuals find that the latent conflict between ordinarily nonconflicting group loyalties suddenly becomes apparent and that they are faced with the dilemma of making an immediate choice between various roles. In his classic study of the Halifax disaster, S. H. Prince noted this conflict when he wrote:

> But the earliest leadership that could be called social, arising from the public itself, was that on the part of those who had no family ties, much of the earliest work being done by visitors in the city. The others as a rule ran first to their homes to discover if their own families were in danger.[11]

People who had been present in the explosion port of Texas City and in three Oklahoma tornado towns during disasters were asked, among other questions, "What was the first thing you thought of after the disaster struck?" and "What was the first thing you did?" Their answers revealed not only the conflict between loyalties to the family and to the community, described by Prince, but also dilemmas arising from conflicting roles derived from membership in other groups. The individuals concerned were not always conscious of the dilemmas or of the existence of "cross-pressures," but even in such cases the choice of roles which the person made was significant in affecting the total pattern of group reaction to the disaster. In some cases subjects indicated that they recognized *after* the emergency that their reaction had been of critical social importance. On the basis of the experiences of people involved in these four community disasters it is possible to suggest the types of groups between which dilemmas of loy-

[7] "The Problems of Inconsistency in Intergroup Relations," *Journal of Social Issues*, V (1949), 32–37.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

[9] Theodore Newcomb, *Social Psychology* (New York: Dryden Press, 1950), p. 449.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 544.

[11] *Catastrophe and Social Change* ("Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law," Vol. XCIV [New York: Columbia University Press, 1921]), p. 61.

alty may arise in modern communities. Tentative generalization as to how these dilemmas will be resolved and as to their significance for *group* reactions to disaster may also be formulated.

The choice required of the greatest number of individuals was the one between the family and other groups, principally the employment group or the community. Especially in Texas City, many men were at work away from their families when disaster struck and presented a threat to both "the plant" and "the home." In all the communities there were individuals, such as policemen, firemen, and public utilities workers, whose loved ones were threatened by the same disaster that demanded their services as "trouble-shooters." Even persons who had no such definite roles to play in time of catastrophe were confronted with the alternatives of seeing after only their own primary groups or of assisting in the rescue and relief of any of the large number of injured persons, regardless of identity. Indeed, only the unattached person in the community was likely to be free of such a conflict.

How these conflicts between loyalty to the family group and loyalty to other membership groups, including the community and "society-at-large," were resolved was of great significance for the reorganization of communities for rescue, relief, and prevention of further disaster. In Texas City, at the time of the first ship explosion, many men were working in oil refineries, where failure to remain on the job until units were shut down could result in additional fires and explosions. In all the communities studied, failure of community functionaries, such as firemen and policemen, to perform the duties appropriate to their positions could result in the absence of expected and badly needed leadership in a disorganized group. This, in turn, could cause costly delay in the reorganization of the community for emergency rescue, traffic control, and fire-fighting activity. Preoccupation of large numbers of able survivors with their own small primary groups could result in the atomization of the community into small, unco-ordinated groups, again delaying reorganization into a relatively well-integrated, unified, large group. As Prince indicated in his statement, quoted above, this would increase the dependence of the community on outside sources of leadership.

The great majority of persons interviewed who were involved in such dilemmas resolved them in favor of loyalty to the family or, in some cases, to friendship groups. Much of the initial confusion, disorder, and seemingly complete disorganization reported in the disaster communities was the result of the rush of individuals to find and rejoin their families. Yet in none of the four communities studied did the disastrous consequences contemplated above seem to have materialized. In the first place, there were important exceptions to the tendency to react first in terms of the family. Most of the refinery workers in Texas City did stay on the job until their units were safely shut down, as they had been trained to do. The significance of conflicting group loyalties in a disaster situation is underlined, however, by the importance of the actions taken by a few exceptional individuals in each town who were not confronted with such conflicts. In Texas City the chief of police remained at his post from the moment of the first explosion until seventy-two hours later, never returning to his home during the entire period and playing a vital part in the reorganization of the community. He ascribed his ability to give undivided attention to his official duties to the fact that he knew that his family was safely out of town, visiting relatives, at the time of the explosion. One member of the volunteer fire department of a tornado town told of the thin margin by which his community escaped a disastrous fire following the "twister":

> I was at my home, right on the edge of where the storm passed, when it hit. Neither me nor my wife was hurt. The first thing I thought of was fires. I knew there'd be some, so I went to the fire station right away. On the way I could see that there was a fire right in the middle of

the wreckage—a butane tank had caught fire. I got out of the truck, drove over there, and fought the fire by myself until the army got there to help me.

All the rest of the firemen had relatives that were hurt, and they stayed with them. Naturally they looked after them. If it hadn't been that my wife was all right, this town probably would have burned up. It's hard to say, but I kind of believe I would have been looking after my family, too.

Devotion to the family as the primary object of loyalty did not always redound to the detriment of aid to other groups, however. Many people who served as rescue workers, assisting injured people whom they did not even know, were drawn to the areas of heavy casualties because of concern for members of their own families whom they believed to be there. Apparently they found their identification with society-at-large, and the emphasis of American culture upon the importance of human life, too great to permit them to pass an injured stranger without assisting him. Hence, many stayed to assist in the common community task of rescuing the injured, in both Texas City and in the tornado towns. In one of the latter a man sensed the approach of the tornado only minutes before it struck. In spite of great personal danger he rushed through the storm to a theater where his children were attending a movie. There he prevented the frightened audience from pouring forth into the storm by holding the doors closed. Later he was acclaimed as a hero whose quick action had saved the lives of many of his fellow-citizens. He himself denied that he had any thought of taking the great risk that he took for the sake of the anonymous audience itself; he was thinking only of his own children.

A second, but less common, type of conflict was found in the case of people who were confronted with the alternatives of playing the "heroic" role of rescue worker and of carrying out what were essentially "occupational roles." In terms of group loyalty, they were impelled, on the one hand, to act as sympathetic, loyal members of society-at-large and to give personal aid to injured human beings. On the other hand, they were called to do their duty as it was indicated by their membership in certain occupational groups.

One such person was a minister in Texas City who, upon hearing the explosion, started for the docks with the intention of helping in the rescue work. On the way he became conscious of the choice of roles which confronted him. He said:

After I heard the first explosion my first impulse was to go down to the docks and try to help there. But on the way down I saw two or three folks I knew who had husbands down there. I saw then that my job was with the families—not doing rescue work. I had a job that I was peculiarly suited for, prepared for, and I felt that I should do that.

More important for the reorganization of a tornado-stricken town was the choice made by a state patrolman between his role as a police officer and his role as friend and neighbor to the people of the community in which he was stationed. His story was:

As I drove around town after the tornado had passed I realized that the best thing I could do was to try to make contact with the outside and get help from there. I started out to drive to the next town and try to call from there. As I drove out of town people I knew well would call me by name and ask me to help them find their relatives. Driving by and not stopping to help those people who were looking to me as a friend was one of the hardest things I ever had to do.

As a result of this difficult decision, this man became the key figure in the development of organized rescue work, after he recruited and organized a large force of rescue workers in a near-by community.

A similar dilemma faced many public utilities workers who were forced to disregard the plight of the injured if they were to perform their task of restoring normal community services. Unlike the minister and the patrolman, these workers reported no awareness of a conflict of roles, regarding it as a matter of course that they concentrated on their often quite dangerous jobs.

Some indicated that preoccupation with the job was so intense that they were scarcely aware of what went on around them. Yet the instances of devotion to prosaic duty cited above were exceptional. Many policemen, firemen, and other functionaries acted heroically but quite outside the framework and discipline of their organizations.

For people whose usual occupational roles bore little or no relationship to the needs created by a disaster, identification with the community as a whole and disregard of their occupational roles came still more easily. Many merchants and clerks rushed from their stores to aid in rescue work, leaving both goods and cash on the counters. The postmaster in one tornado town left the post office completely unguarded, even though the windows were shattered and mail was strewn about the floor. This was, it is true, an extreme case of abandonment of the occupational role.

A third type of conflict of loyalties was that between the loyalty of employees to "the company" as an organization and to fellow-employees as friends and human beings. It might seem that the choice, essentially one between life and property, should have been an easy one; but the fact that different choices were made by men with different degrees of identification with other workers reveals that a basic conflict was present. In Texas City many plant officials were also residents of the community and friends of the workers. After the explosions, in which several top executives were killed, some men found themselves suddenly "promoted" to the position of being in charge of their company's damaged property. At the same time men with whom they had worked daily for several years were injured or missing. The most common, almost universal, reaction was to think of the men first and of the plant later. One plant official, active in rescue work in spite of a broken arm and numerous lacerations, described his reaction to the sudden, dramatic conflict between loyalty to the company and loyalty to the workers as follows:

> Property! Nobody gave a damn for property! All that was important was life. I've often wondered just how it would be to walk off and let a plant burn up. That was the way it was. We didn't even consider fighting the fire.

In sharp contrast to this reaction, however, was that of a man in charge of a neighboring plant. While he was in Texas City at the time of the first blast, he had never lived in the community and scarcely knew his workers. He described his first reaction in the following words:

> I got in my car and drove over to another refinery to find out what had happened. The assistant superintendent told me that their top men had been killed and asked me what I thought he should do. I told him, "You should take charge of the company's property. That's what the president of your company would tell you if he were here. You look after the property. I'm going over to Galveston to call our president, and I'll call yours at the same time."

While this reaction was exceptional, it is significant as suggesting an alternate way of resolving the conflict between loyalty to "the company" and "the men."

Finally, some individuals suddenly discovered, in the face of disaster, that there was a conflict between loyalty to the community and loyalty to certain extra-community groups. At the time of two of the disasters telephone workers in the Southwest were on strike. In both communities the striking workers were allowed to return to duty by union leaders but were ordered to walk out again a few days later. In both cases the union officials considered the emergency to be over sooner than did the townspeople of the stricken communities. In one town the workers obeyed the union's orders only to find themselves subjected to harsh criticism by their fellow-townsmen. In the other community the workers resigned from the union rather than forsake their loyalty to their other membership group. It was almost a year before union officials were able to reorganize the local in this town, and some workers never rejoined.

As was pointed out earlier, the individual may, under normal circumstances, carry out roles appropriate to membership in several groups without having to make a choice between basically conflicting group loyalties. He may even do so without seriously impairing his performance of any of his roles. The worker may wish that he could spend more time at home with his family but resigns himself to the fact that he cannot if he is to keep the job he wants. On his way to work he may pass the scene of a fire and be vaguely conscious that, as a citizen, he is indirectly responsible for the protection of life and property; but he assumes that the limit of his direct responsibility for action extends only to notifying the fire department, if it is not already there. The employer may, within certain limits, think of the workers as persons and friends and still not be disloyal to the company's interests. In the crisis induced by disaster, however, these individuals may find that it is impossible to serve two masters, to act in two roles. An immediate choice is demanded, but it may be difficult because the demands of the competing groups may appear equally urgent. The nature of the choice made by the individual, particularly if one of his roles is associated with a key position in the community, may have important consequences for the reorganization of the community. Large-scale reorganization, co-ordination, and direction of efforts is necessary to speedy rescue work and the restoration of normalcy. Activities carried on in terms of the demands of many diverse, competing groups act as an impediment to this reorganization.

Further research is needed to make possible the prediction of the choices that will be made by individuals in these conflicts. The frequency with which individuals thought and acted first in terms of family and close friends suggests that loyalty to primary groups stands first in the hierarchy of group loyalties, as might be expected. On the other hand, important exceptions in which persons played relatively impersonal roles as leaders or working with matériel, rather than people, indicate that some factors, such as training or feelings of responsibility, may predispose the individual to adhere to secondary-group demands even in a disaster. Knowledge of what these factors are and how they may be induced would contribute to greater understanding of group reactions to disorganization and of methods of facilitating group reorganization.

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

AGRARIAN REFORMS IN THE FAR EAST

J. H. BOEKE

ABSTRACT

The measures of agrarian reform in the Far East aim at the removal of three evils. The small productivity of farm labor is to be increased by increasing the use of capital. The extreme density of rural population is to be reduced by migration to more sparsely populated areas or by transfer to nonagricultural pursuits—industry and trade. The low standard of living of the small tenants is to be raised by drastic restriction of the size of individual landholdings. None of these reforms can bring about the desired reforms.

Any essay on the economy of an Eastern country must take into account the fact that 70-80 per cent of the population is engaged in small farming, that farm labor is characterized by its small productivity, and that, as a consequence, the standard of living is very low. In addition, it is usually pointed out that the extreme density of the rural population has resulted in family holdings so small that only a scant living for the mass of the population can be made from the soil, even at the cost of the most intensive labor. Third, it is commonly stated that the low standard of living arises in part from the parasitical character of the landownership: typically, the landlord receives half or more of the cultivators' crops, although he has neither occupied himself with its production nor made any capital expenditure in connection with it. It is upon these three aspects of the problem that the question of agrarian welfare policy in Eastern countries is usually based.

The very low productivity of agriculture —estimated, for example, in the case of China to be about 7 per cent of that in the United States[1]—must be increased. In particular, in order to accomplish this purpose, it will be necessary to increase the use of capital in agriculture, to develop new and profitable market crops, and effectively to control diseases and pests.

In addition, the density of the rural population must be reduced in part by migration to more sparsely populated areas suited to the production of food crops and in part by transfer to nonagricultural pursuits, to industry and trade. The latter, in this view of the matter, can be assured of a market based upon the increased productivity in agriculture.

The reforms designed to eliminate the consequences of parasitical landownership may take the form of a drastic reduction in rents; of equally drastic restrictions on the size of individual landholdings, with expropriation of the surplus by the government; or the most thorough form, as in Communist China, in which all holdings beyond what the farmer himself can exploit by the traditional methods are confiscated and the farmer becomes the owner of his fields. Relieved of the burden of payments in kind and left, therefore, with the disposition of his entire crop, the farmer will dispose of at least twice his former income. On the assumption that all or a part of this increase will be used for productive ends, for better implements, seed, artificial fertilizers, and the like, it may be expected that a cumulative process of increased prosperity may begin and a strong market for an expanded industry be assured.

This reasoning considers the methods by which, as is usually argued, a higher level of economic welfare can be achieved in the Far East. It is the purpose of this paper to show that these several proposals cannot possibly come up to expectations and, indeed, may be wholly impracticable. This is the result of the fact that in the discus-

[1] John Lossing Buck, "Some Basic Agricultural Problems of China," *Proceedings of the Tenth Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, September, 1947* (New York, 1947), p. 7.

sion of these proposals either cause and effect are confused, numerical and spatial relationships are disregarded, or only symptoms are attacked.

First, then, the relation between the standard of living and the productivity of labor. In Western economic literature this relation is explicitly put as one of cause and effect: the productivity of labor fixes the wages, and the real wage fixes the standard of living. Therefore, this standard of living is only the resultant of the productivity of labor, or, as Taussig formulates it: "High wages depend fundamentally on high productivity of industry. . . . A high standard of living brings nothing to pass."[2] Indirectly, however, the standard of living may influence the wage level and thereby the productivity of labor. That is a statement which has been accepted in economic theory since Ricardo. This indirect influence makes itself felt in two opposite directions: it may give a certain level of wages the opportunity to maintain itself, and it may lead to a decline of real wages. The first will be the case when a social group succeeds in defending the level of welfare it has reached by limiting its labor supply, either with the aid of birth control or by organizing to keep outsiders out of the labor market. But the standard of living will take effect in the opposite direction when the broadening of it leads to a rapid increase in population and when the increased supply of labor, in its turn, beats down the wages (the "iron law of wages"). In both cases, however, the modern theoretical economist will keep to the standpoint that in these ways the standard of living, by its influence on the labor supply, also may *influence* the wage level but that, nevertheless, the labor productivity exclusively *determines* the wage scale and that this productivity of labor depends not on the standard of living but solely on the measure of support given to labor by real capital.

Throughout this argument the standard of living appears as a social and economic level that, locally and temporarily, may be stabilized but that, fundamentally, remains passive and adjusts itself to the level of real wages. Now in the countries of the Far East, in so far as they reached, many centuries ago, an enormous density of rural population, the relations between the productivity of labor and the standard of living lie the other way round. Once it is seen that here the conditions of production in agriculture—by far the main occupation—have tended toward a certain standard of living and that this agriculture is not capable of any important and essential development, the conclusion is inescapable that in this way the standard of living of the overwhelming majority of the population is immovably fixed, upward at least, because by an increase of population the level of existence may be pressed still further downward. By this fixing of the standard of living of the rural masses, the supply of unqualified labor remains so redundant and its price so cheap that no expansion of the demand for it is capable of raising its level and that thereby *any mechanization of the production process soon becomes unprofitable.* In this way the small productivity of labor tends to perpetuate itself and so, too, the standard of living. No dynamic forces can break through the circle of low standard of living–low wages–low productivity of labor-low standard of living. The exactness of this line of thought for the countries of the Far East is to be shown by a demonstration of facts, drawn mainly from Indonesia, not only because on this country the data are well documented but also because the archipelago is a sample of conditions appearing in different countries of the Far East.

Now what are the facts to prove that the standard of living is the immovable element and that mechanization has to adjust itself to it? A modern American factory in Java has partly to demechanize, because it appears to be cheaper to use more labor and less machinery.[3] In the

[2] F. W. Taussig, *Principles of Economics* (4th ed.; New York: Macmillan Co., 1939), II, 261, 269.

[3] Th. A. Fruin, *Het economische Aspect van het Indonesische Vraagstuk* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Vrij Nederland, 1947), p. 41.

mechanization of cane cultivation the exemplary Java sugar industry lags far behind its younger sister in Hawaii, where the legislation of the thirties, favorable to organized labor, together with the federal Fair Labor Practices Act, produced marked increases in wages. The equally exemplary Deli tobacco estates began, only after the second World War, to employ tractors and trucks, which until then they had avoided meticulously, and they did it only as a reaction to the local labor scarcity, the go-slow policy, the decline of the quality of labor, and the inflation, which caused an undue rise in wages. Perhaps they, too, will demechanize when the disturbing conditions disappear.

But perhaps it is more convincing if the examples are drawn from what, at this moment, is proposed and in part applied in behalf of the Far Eastern countries. New welfare policies are elaborated in tens, perhaps even in hundreds, of plans. But at this stage of the argument only one of them, published by the International Labor Office, in preparation of the regional labor conference at New Delhi, in 1947, will be referred to. It indicates the ways by which it is proposed that both the rural and the industrial problem may be solved and the standard of living of the South and Southeast Asiatic masses raised. This is a Herculean task, involving at least five hundred million people. It would require enormous migrations, by which tens of millions of laborers would be removed from the countryside to urban centers in pursuit of new occupations in industry and trade. Concerning these new occupations, the report declares: "These occupations should be of high productivity in order that the living standards of the persons leaving agriculture may be raised."[4] When this has been accomplished, the increased purchasing power, combined with the increased per capita land area of the remaining agriculturists, will, it is believed, raise living conditions in the countryside as well. In this way a general increase of the standard of living of the whole community will be achieved.

The report states that "a rapid increase in the amount of capital equipment" (p. 148) must serve as the generator of this process. A capital injection in behalf of innumerable new industries is the final prescription from this international economic physician. The rise of standards of living will, it is supposed, follow automatically.

Indonesia received capital injections of that kind and experienced the organization of new industries outside native agriculture for decades before the second World War. Moreover, the pace at which the investments were made and their amount, in a relatively small area like the parts of Java and Sumatra laid open to foreign capital—at least two billion guilders in a thirty-year period against a population of, at most, fifty million souls—give a standard by which no social reformer, however considerable be the capital at his back, can compete where the five hundred million South and Southeast Asiatics are concerned. Therefore, the question is justified: Did the fast and enormous investment of foreign capital in parts of Indonesia and the creation of thousands of large estates and plants outside native agriculture produce any of the results which the International Labor Office expects as the automatically ripening fruits of the welfare policy it recommends? Nobody denies that in these three decades the appearance of Indonesian society has altered profoundly. But did the buying power, the level of welfare, the standard of living, of the rural masses increase? No one would so argue: rather, one would point to general impoverishment, to social decline. But statements of this kind are vague and subjective and therefore debatable; sober facts are more eloquent and unassailable.

From among many sources, one may choose, by way of example, a monograph on two neighboring districts in the regency of Pati, north-middle Java, entitled "Com-

[4] *The Economic Background of Social Policy Including Problems of Industrialization*, prepared by the Preparatory Asiatic Regional Conference of the International Labor Office (New Delhi, 1947), p. 143.

parison of the Economic Condition of the Districts Tajoe and Djakenan," a publication by Dr. D. H. Burger, at that time local civil service officer.[5] Burger found the motive for his inquiry in the striking contrast of the two districts under his administration. The one district, Djakenan, consists of poor, infertile lime soils, has few possibilities of irrigation, is a secluded tract, and its 93,000 inhabitants are thrown on their own resources. Tajoe, on the other hand, has fertile, technically irrigated fields, is open to all traffic, is an important center of kapok cultivation, and had at the time of the inquiry (1928–29) two sugar mills, two rubber estates, of which one was government-owned, and one trass exploitation company. Here, therefore, in an area already blessed by nature, large amounts of capital had been invested, and Western concerns of high productivity had been organized in the midst of a population of not more than 110,000. In short, all factors combined to make likely a high level of general welfare.

Now what facts appear from the inquiry? Of course, in Tajoe, money economy has penetrated much farther. But it has a denser population: 410 persons per square kilometer, fields, compounds, and fishponds included, as against 370 in Djakenan district. Moreover, in the peak seasons of Tajoe, when kapok and sugar cane are harvested, from all sides wage laborers, traders, and artisans come in, sometimes from hundreds of miles away, to earn money. Twelve times as many Chinese and fifty-two times as many Europeans live in Tajoe as in Djakenan.[6] Also, the number of those assessed in the income tax for occupations outside agriculture (marginal assessed income 120 guilders per year) in Tajoe is 2.3 times that in Djakenan (1,638 in Djakenan as against 3,755 in Tajoe). But, when the amount per assessment is compared for the two districts, it appears that the average for Djakenan is 3.41 guilders and for Tajoe 3.69 guilders, although in the first-named district the traditional occupations, which are the least profitable, preponderate. This slight difference in average assessment and therefore, too, in average income from industry and trade is of fundamental significance. It proves that Western influence and important capital investments have not been able to raise the buying power, the level of welfare, or the standard of living in the nonagricultural occupations of the small folk to any extent. It is undeniable that important social changes have come to the society of Tajoe as a result of Western influence; it is equally undeniable that a good 770 Chinese and more than 100 Europeans have found a living there; but the great mass of village people have reacted to the increase of their means of subsistence, including the capital investments, only by growing in number.

Other facts must be taken into account. As indicated above, the inquiry referred to was carried on in the years 1928 and 1929. Shortly afterward the world crisis broke out, and the depression that came in its wake wrought havoc in the economy of the Netherlands Indies. Before the country could recover from this, the Pacific war and the Japanese occupation occurred. Tajoe had to bear the full measure of these calamities. At the beginning of the thirties the sugar mill Pakkies, whose whole area of cultivation was within the district, was closed in consequence of the sugar restriction,[7] and all cane cultivation was stopped. The other sugar mill, Trangkil, was kept working under the restriction, but the Japanese changed it into a cement factory, a plant of only slight importance to the population. The rubber estates also came under severe restriction, greatly reducing

[5] D. H. Burger, *Vergelijking van den economischen Toestand der Districten Tajoe en Djakenan (Regentschap Pati, Afdeeling Rembang)* ("Economische Beschrijvingen," Vol. IV [Weltevreden: G. Kolff & Co., n.d.]).

[6] In Tajoe the Chinese compose 0.7 per cent of the population; the Europeans, 0.1 per cent.

[7] See J. H. Boeke, *The Evolution of the Netherlands Indies Economy* (New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1946), pp. 40–47.

their demand for labor and their remuneration of it. And as to kapok, by far the most important market crop of the villagers, its price fell from more than 100 guilders a quintal in 1928 to less than 27 guilders in 1935 and, although war preparation caused a rise in price, the increase did not bring it above 45 guilders in 1940. After that year, lack of shipping and the Japanese occupation put a stop to all export and caused people to cut down their kapok trees for firewood and charcoal. One should not forget that the small buying power in the interior means that the least expansion of market production makes export necessary and that export means dependence on the vicissitudes of international demand. Therefore, it would not be surprising if a repeated inquiry into the economy of the two districts would bring to light the view that Western influence and capitalistic development, instead of raising the welfare of the Tajunese countryside, has faced the people with unknown and insuperable difficulties. Djakenan, on the contrary, could show its immunity from all those tribulations.

The argument set forth above is aimed at proving that Western welfare policy in the shape of capital investment and the promotion of modern industry cannot raise the general standard of living, not even that of the directly affected groups of small people. Labor remains dirt cheap, its cheapness impedes mechanization and thereby secures the continuance of a low level of productivity. Only small groups of Western or Westernized people profit by it.

There are other arguments: one could trace the influence of technical irrigation, in Java and India,[8] on the small agriculturists. However, the plain facts already mentioned may suffice for the point.

The second form of welfare policy in the densely populated Eastern countries is the thinning-out of the rural population to increase the land area per capita available to the remainder. Although in the over-populated South and Southeast Asiatic countries the extent of the holdings may diverge in consequence of different fertility and climatic conditions, a general characteristic of native agriculture is its excessive labor intensity and the low level on which it keeps its producers. This is not a recent phenomenon but has been so for thousands of years. With primitive methods of cultivation, nothing but a very low standard of living could be expected.

One could reason that the farmers, having got used to this low standard of living, reduced the extent of their holdings with improved methods of cultivation, so as to keep the output in accordance with their modest needs. It might be argued that they did not want more and had no use for more, apart from tributes and charity. However, another line of reasoning is possible and probably more in accordance with historical facts: that the area tilled has always been determined by the labor capacity of the farmer and his family, that progress in the systems of cultivation has been slow and gradual, and that even rice culture on irrigated fields at first was rather labor-extensive, as, for instance, is still the case in Cochin China. But, even so, wet rice cultivation requires much labor, especially during peak periods. Even in the eighth century A.D. in Japan the periodic allotment of holdings was based on an individual share of not more than 1 hectare, and in Java the term *bahu*, which means "shoulder," a superficial measure of 71 ares, denotes the area that can be tilled by one rice farmer.

It has to be taken into account, as well, that irrigation, however primitive it may have been, never was the work of one single farmer and that, on the contrary, larger complexes were always irrigated or otherwise prepared for the cultivation of rice, and hence every individual holding was inclosed. Whenever the need of fields and the labor capacity increased in accord with changes in the composition and extent of the family, the farmer had to find his fields elsewhere and his holdings became scattered. This was not too onerous as long as

[8] For India see Malcolm L. Darling, *The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt* (London: Oxford University Press, 1928).

the number of villagers did not increase too much. Where this was the case, scarcity of land made itself felt: the peasantry could not abandon its landownership and the occupation of tilling without losing its status and independence. Hence, too, came the rule of equal inheritance, lest any member of the family should suffer by loss of status.

All went well as long as there remained enough waste ground for clearing and so long as under the checks of a riotous and merciless nature and of social unrest, numbers increased slowly or not at all. However, during the last century and a half all this has fundamentally changed. The supply of arable land within reach has been used up, the number of persons requiring land has increased, even faster than the population itself. In this way, almost imperceptibly, the farmer has entered a new phase. At first, the agriculturist could till his fields with extensive use of labor and still use his full capacity. Then he had to intensify his use of labor to get the same output from a smaller patch but still could exploit his labor force to the full. In the third phase, however, the labor intensity reached its limit; but nevertheless a smaller or larger part of the labor capacity of the peasant family remained unused. As a result of this, the standard of living of the peasantry continues to decline, and, what is even more serious, there arises a class of unpropertied villagers, whom no one knows how to deal with, living at the expense of the farmers and with no new way of securing a living.

It is understandable that both in the past and today means are sought to reduce the rural population to such a size that the remaining peasantry can again employ its full labor capacity. The 1947 report by the International Labor Office on the economic background of social policy, mentioned above, set forth proposals alarming in their naïveté. For instance, it is declared that "the density of the agricultural population could undoubtedly be greatly lowered by urbanisation and industrialisation,"[9] as if settling in an urban center automatically creates the means of subsistence!

It is not unlikely that the author of the ILO report has borrowed his ideas about the reduction in the size of the rural population from a little book by an Indian author, Tarlok Singh, published in 1945 under the title *Poverty and Social Change.*[10] This reformer thought out his ideals much better, traced different consequences, and made statistical calculations about the numbers of villagers to be removed from the countryside if his plans were to be realized. To begin with, he came to the conclusion that in India the density of the rural population is so great that mechanization has become impossible, at least within a foreseeable period of time. Mechanization would become possible only when rural welfare had risen so high that the majority of the population could find existence outside agriculture. If this be so, nothing should be changed in the intensive character of agricultural labor. Instead, the farmers should again be given the opportunity to use their full time and capacity on their fields.

If this is to be accomplished, the owners should first pool their land for the purpose of joint management and retain only the right to receive an ownership dividend. Then, as the second step, the area should be divided into plow-units, each manageable with a pair of bullocks. The extent of these plow-units will have to depend upon the quality of the soil; but, for instance, for the province (now the state) of Madras it is fixed at 10 acres, a little more than 4 hectares. Every plow-unit should give full employment to one and a half farmer families, which means that, with the help of a pair of bullocks, a family can manage only $2\frac{2}{3}$ hectares. Taking an average of three full workers per family,

[9] P. 163.

[10] Tarlok Singh, *Poverty and Social Change: A Study in the Economic Reorganisation of Indian Rural Society* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., 1945).

this makes 90 ares per full worker, just about the mean of the figure for Japan and Java already discussed.

An individual area of that size is based upon a method of cultivation characterized by extreme labor intensity and very low labor productivity and permitting only a very modest standard of living, with minimal buying power. This whole plan of agrarian reform results only in a return of the Eastern farmer from the third phase to the second, in which he lived before the great increase in population density.

Tarlok Singh also calculates, province for province, the numbers required to be removed in this rural exodus. The calculations are bewildering. The estimate is detailed only for Madras. Here, in 1941, the number of farming heads of families was a little over 7,924,000, having at their disposal for the cultivation of annual crops an area of 40.5 million acres. This makes 4.05 million plow-units and 6.08 million work-units. The surplus of farmer families in 1941, therefore, was 1,844,000 average families or 23 per cent of the rural population. And, even so, we have not yet reached the final number, because to them should be added the unpropertied villagers who live at the expense of the village and are estimated by Singh to make another 6 per cent of the rural population. Besides, it appears that Madras is below the average of density of the rural population. For the whole of British India (without the states) the percentage of superfluous farmer families is 28 per cent, which, with the 6 per cent of nonagricultural villagers, makes 34 per cent, more than a third of the rural population.

Singh is of the opinion that these tens of millions can be absorbed by new industries. But in that case buying power would have to increase rapidly and enormously, and that of the rural society to begin with. But is a supposition of this kind justified? It has been pointed out that the traditional over-intensified methods of cultivation continue to be of low productivity. And, when from $2\frac{2}{3}$ hectares not only the peasant family but also two-thirds of a bullock team and perhaps ownership dividend, land revenue, and the inevitable production costs have to be defrayed, there remains a surplus too small to buy any but a very small amount of industrial products and one utterly insufficient to form a paying market for the products of a gigantic industrial army. But, if this is true, the whole rural reform scheme falls to the ground. This is true even without reckoning the probable difficulty that the increase in rural welfare for the time being will cause an acceleration of the increase of population both by the decrease in the death rate and the increase in the birth rate, in which case one generation will suffice to wipe out the effect of the entire reform. In view of this possibility, Singh makes the condition that his plans be accomplished within fifteen years.

Only a few words need be said about this reform when aided by colonization. Its possibilities are far more restricted. Which Eastern countries contain vast tracts of waste lands suitable for mass colonization? Where are the millions to come from to finance the preparation of the fields for the colonists and to carry them over the first years of colonization? Who can point out even the smallest dynamic element in this mass removal of petty food farmers? In Indonesia, where the transmigration from the interior of Java to some tracts in the other isles was taken in hand by the government on a grand scale, not even the goal of checking the population increase of Java was achieved. Therefore, it is advisable to remove colonization from the programs of rural reform in Eastern countries.

The third proposal for the reforms of agrarian policy in Eastern countries is the one most generally applied and with which the highest expectations are connected: the abolition of landlordism or absentee ownership. Here is a reform that appealed to the imagination of the farmer, even when its realization could not be so simple as in China. In China the Communist party passed a basic agrarian program (September

13, 1947)[11] beginning with the following resolutions:

ARTICLE 1. The agrarian system of feudal and semi-feudal exploitation is abolished; the agrarian system of "Land to the Tillers" is to be realized.

ARTICLE 2. Landownership rights of all landlords are abolished.

ARTICLE 3. Landownership rights of all ancestral shrines, temples, monasteries, schools, institutions and organizations are abolished.

ARTICLE 4. All debts incurred in the countryside prior to the reform of the agrarian system are canceled.

In the valuation of large landownership one has to take into account that never and nowhere in these countries has landownership been combined with large-scale exploitation. Often the rights are incomplete and do not include the right of tilling. But more important is the fact that large-scale exploitation, if not highly organized in a modern capitalistic way, if not based on strict scientific principles, and if not specialized for international markets, cannot compete with the small food-crop farmers. Here the whole family co-operates; there is no need of checking and supervision, and the rents which tenants are prepared to pay are so high that no yield of an estate could equal them. This explains why all landed property is nothing else than a complex of more or less scattered small holdings tilled by poor and petty farmers in a traditional way to produce ordinary food crops.

A highly important consequence of this situation is that the distribution of the large landed properties among the tillers means no more than that henceforth these ex-tenants and ex-sharecroppers may keep the entire output of their fields and no longer must pay off 40–80 per cent of their crop, but instead they are assessed for land taxes and have to bear the whole cost of production. They remain, otherwise, what they always were: self-providing farmers, growers of food crops, ignorant of markets and trade, and selling their crop only in so far as they are compelled to by the necessity of getting money. So long as they were tenants, they could not keep enough for themselves to provide for their needs the whole year round. Hence members of the family had to leave home and village to earn money as wage laborers, traders, or artisans. Often they had to endure scarcity, at times famine. Mortality, especially among small children, reached an alarmingly high level. Now, suddenly, all this alters for the best; now at last they can give themselves a treat, eat their fill, marry, beget children and keep them living. But the rest of the society, outside the villages, no longer get their contingent of foodstuffs; fewer products of village industry are offered and at higher prices; fewer day-laborers are available, and wages rise. The self-sufficiency of the villages rather increases than diminishes, and contact with the outer world grows less rather than more. Further, an acceleration of the increase of population may be expected, and the government will find itself obliged to get its revenues directly from the small farmers.

But—and this matters most—these petty farmers, almost every one of them, remain self-providing agriculturists who only perforce and as little as possible bring their crops to the market; who are not familiar with these markets and rather avoid them; for whom money remains a strange thing, at least the money they have to earn and to pay outside their village; who rather do not use it as capital in their production but view it as a final good. Moreover, the density of the rural population remains excessive, even threatens to increase, not only because there are more births and fewer deaths but also because fewer men and women and boys and girls have to leave the village to supplement the income or lighten the budget of their family.

The picture drawn here differs widely from the expectations of the Western welfare politicians and even more from those nourished and expressed by the Eastern Communists: that the peasants will market

[11] Frank C. Lee, "Land Redistribution in Communist China," *Pacific Affairs*, March, 1948, p. 30.

the surplus left to them; that their buying power will increase; that they will use this money for productive purposes to buy better seeds, better implements, and artificial fertilizer; that, hence, the productivity of their labor will rise considerably and they will be able to bring still more produce to market; that the demand for industrial products will rise steeply and that the new industries will absorb the rural surplus population; that the higher level of welfare will lead to birth control; and that, by all these improvements, not only will the population problem find its final solution but a cumulative process of development will be set going, opening perspectives even more favorable than those of the old Western countries. Is it self-conceit or pedantry to declare that the view of the probable course of things set forth in this paper is more exact and more real?

In the fight against the large landed property the starting point is the feudal and semifeudal landownership, and the main villains are the absentee landlords, parasitical figures related to the tillers only by the tie of consumption that can be sundered without harm either to agriculture or to the rural economy. But, in reality, they are not the only, or even the most important, category of landowners. At the outset it should be clear that another standard has to be applied to measure large landownership. In these countries of mere crofters, anybody who has more land than he can till himself in the traditional way is a large landowner. The saying holds good that in the kingdom of the blind the one-eyed man is king. According to this measure, there is a group of rural landowners, which might be compared to the Russian *kulak* and whose members in India are called *sowcar* or *bania*. To prevent a possible misunderstanding it must be pointed out that these "large" landowners are many times not even agriculturists. They do not even need to have landed property but may be content with a mortgage or only with the right to a part of the crop. In the first place, they are traders, not landowners. In several ways they are rather a contrast to the feudal, urban landlords: they live in the country, in the villages, are in daily contact with the farmers, share their way of living, and have no distinct status, although as a rule they are not born and bred in the village where they ply their trade. Furthermore, they have a productive function. They are not rentiers but fill an indispensable place in the village community, bridging the chasm between the village and the outer world. The small farmers are, on the whole, self-providing food-producers who are nevertheless obliged to sell part of the crop. For this selling business they need a forestaller, a middleman, to collect the small quantities, transport, and trade them. Furthermore, they want money for an increasing variety of payments. They have to do without disposing of regular money income, and hence there is a frequent money scarcity which no organized credit institution is able to satisfy. Only the moneylender with his one-man business can do that: he or she knows every villager by reputation, knows the credit each is good for, may be called on for aid at any hour of the day and within easy distance, demands no formalities but helps without delay, lends even the smallest sums, has no objection to accumulation and renewal of debt (rather the reverse), and is prepared to treat and keep the business confidential. Besides, in his double function as forestaller and moneylender he has the opportunity of accepting payment in kind and of making superfluous the troublesome necessity of finding money. In Western eyes he is the usurer, the exploiter, the impostor, who fleeces the stupid villagers mercilessly, and should be combated as enemy No. 1. In his own eyes he is the practitioner of a precarious and highly hazardous profession, who continuously has to be on the alert and in harness to earn a sober livelihood. And in the eyes of the villagers he is the rescuer in emergencies, the adviser in trying situations, the possessor of accomplishments beyond their comprehension, an exacting creditor who does not leave them in peace so long as they possess anything, but one who treats them

CRIME NEWS IN COLORADO NEWSPAPERS[1]

F. JAMES DAVIS

ABSTRACT

The amount of crime news in each of four Colorado newspapers varies independently of both the amount of crime in the state and the amount of crime news in the other newspapers. The data lend some support to the hypothesis that public opinion about crime trends reflects trends in the amount of crime news rather than in actual crime rates, but some of the evidence is inconclusive and some seems to contradict this hypothesis.

The study here reported was designed to test two hypotheses: (1) there is no consistent relationship between the amount of crime news in Colorado newspapers and the state crime rates, either for (*a*) total crime or for (*b*) various types of crime, and (2) public opinion about Colorado crime trends reflects trends in the amount of newspaper coverage rather than in actual Colorado crime rates.

The first hypothesis seemed plausible in the light of studies such as Wiseheart's,[2] which show that newspapers may increase their crime coverage out of all proportion to increases in crime in the belief that a "crime wave" is occurring. The second hypothesis is consistent with the general thesis that newspapers mold their readers' opinions rather than reflect them, or at least that they influence reader opinions under certain conditions.

METHODS

Three sources of data were utilized: (1) column-inch measurement of crime news in four Colorado newspapers from January 1, 1948, to July 1, 1950; (2) a state-wide public opinion poll, taken in July, 1950; and (3) the *Uniform Crime Reports* of the Federal Bureau of Investigation for 1948, 1949, and 1950.

For purposes of the newspaper content analysis, crime was defined in the legal sense. All news items from any part of the country that in any way pertained to a municipal, state, or federal crime were measured, irrespective of what stage in criminal law procedure was involved.[3] Legislative investigations into alleged Communist party activities were excluded, as also were accounts of international crimes.

Tabulations were made both for news about total crime and for three types of crime—stealing, rape, and violent crimes. Stealing was defined to include robbery, burglary, larceny, and auto theft, each as defined by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in its *Uniform Crime Reports*. Violent crimes included murder, nonnegligent manslaughter, and aggravated assault, each as defined in the *Uniform Crime Reports*.

Crime news in the entire paper was measured rather than just that on the front

[1] The writer wishes to thank President P. P. Mickelson of Western State College of Colorado for a generous grant of money which made the study possible. Invaluable assistance was rendered by William N. McPhee of Research Services, Inc., Denver; Gordon M. Connelly, research analyst, the *Denver Post;* and students Lester W. Turner and Virginia Kreger Christensen.

[2] M. K. Wiseheart, "Newspapers and Criminal Justice," in *Criminal Justice in Cleveland* (Cleveland: Cleveland Foundation, 1922), pp. 544–46.

[3] Thus, first accounts of crimes prior to arrest, news about criminal "manhunts," arrests, fines, interrogation during detention, grand jury hearings, trials, incarceration, prison breaks, release of notorious offenders, criminal statistics, and public statements about crime were all included. See Frank Harris, *Presentation of Crime in Newspapers* (Minneapolis: Sociological Press, 1932), pp. 6–7, where he upholds the use of a very narrow legal definition of crime for this purpose, saying that a news story should be considered crime news only when legal probes result in indictments. It seems unlikely that the reading public draws such a fine line as this.

page.[4] Streamers, headlines, and photographs were included in the measurement on the assumption that the reader considers them an integral part of the crime story and is influenced by them considerably.[5]

A sample of every sixth newspaper was used for the measurement rather than the complete files. For the sake of convenience the first day of each month was used, the seventh day, and so on. All four newspapers have Sunday editions, and Sunday was counted like any other day. This sampling procedure was not decided upon arbitrarily: different types of samples were experimented with, and before the sample was settled upon it was tested for each of the four newspapers as follows.

The crime news for two months, one early in the two-and-one-half-year period and one late, was measured in entirety and the mean for each month computed, Then the sample of every sixth day was taken for each of these months as described above and the means computed. Tests were then made for the significance of the differences between the universe means and the sample means,[6] and in all cases the differences were not significant at the .05 level.

The opinion poll was taken by Research Services, Inc., of Denver, an organization which regularly conducts state-wide polls in Colorado. The area sample plan was used,[7] and numerical estimates of crime trends were elicited. For example, the question pertaining to total crime was: "If Colorado had 100 crimes of all types in a certain period back in 1948, how many crimes would you guess we have *in the same period of time now?*" Similar questions were asked for each of the three types of crime except that 10 was used as a base figure in- instead of 100.[8] This may seem a questionable procedure, but the pretest results were much more favorable for it than for percentage questions. All interviewers were trained, regular members of the staff of Research Services, Inc., and they were furnished with a set of special instructions designed to help them obtain the estimates in the desired form without suggesting particular figures. However, a good many of the 435 interviewees were unable to make numerical estimates (see Table 4 for the number of "Don't Know" answers for each crime category). Both hypotheses required time-series analysis, as will be explained.

FINDINGS

The first hypothesis necessitated a comparison of changes in newspaper crime coverage and changes in Colorado crime rates.[9]

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[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 48–62. Harris found a fairly high degree of correspondence between crime coverage on the front page and in the entire paper but not high enough for very accurate prediction from one to the other.

[5] In his study Harris included streamers, headlines, and photographs (*ibid.*, p. 27). See also Malcolm M. Willey, *The Country Newspaper: A Study of Socialization and Newspaper Content* (Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 1926), p. 47, for his explanation as to why headlines should be included.

[6] The procedure followed is outlined in Frederick E. Croxton and Dudley J. Cowden, *Applied General Statistics* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1941), pp. 307–11. The *t* table was used for reasons given *ibid.*, pp. 325–29.

[7] The plan involved random selection of counties, towns and rural places, blocks, households, and individual persons within households. Seventy-five per cent of the original random sample was successfully interviewed. Dates of field work were roughly June 25 through July 20.

[8] This was done in order not to give a false impression of the extent of violent crimes and rapes.

[9] Why compare crime figures for Colorado with news about crimes committed anywhere in the United States? First, most crime news in these papers is about Colorado crimes, so results probably would be similar if only news about Colorado were used. Second, it was assumed that readers form generalized opinions about crime and would make similar estimates for national and state trends. Comparisons with national trends may be made by consulting Table 2 in the 1949 semiannual bulletin and Table 1 in the 1950 semiannual bulletin of *Uniform Crime Reports*. These tables show that total crime increased 2.7 per cent from January–June, 1948, to January–June, 1949, and increased 1.9 per cent from January–June, 1949, to January–June, 1950. Both for total crime and types of crime the national percentage changes during the period studied were much smaller than Colorado changes. This may be due to sustained drives against crime in Colorado dur-

The semiannual *Uniform Crime Reports* figures were used, and, in order to have comparable periods, it was necessary to compute six-month moving averages of the column inches of crime news.[10] Because of the difficulty of interpreting this information, January–June, 1948, was used as a base period, and percentage changes from the base period were computed for each of the other six-month periods.

These percentage changes, for total crime, appear in Table 1, which shows that there is a marked lack of association between the percentage changes in total Colorado crime and in newspaper coverage. Percentage changes in crime coverage are entirely out of proportion with percentage changes in crime and are frequently in the opposite direction. Also, percentage changes in crime news vary tremendously from one newspaper to another.[11] Thus the evidence for total crime seems to bear out Hypothesis 1 (*a*). Tables 2 and 3 show similar comparisons for two of the newspapers[12] for stealing and violent crimes[13] and apparently verify Hypothesis 1 (*b*).

The first step in testing the second hypothesis was to analyze the opinion poll data, summarized in Table 4. It is apparent that the range of the estimates is great, that the estimates for different types of crime are quite different, and that the bulk of the

TABLE 1

PERCENTAGE CHANGES IN TOTAL CRIME AND IN TOTAL CRIME NEWS

PERIOD	PERCENTAGE CHANGES IN TOTAL CRIMES FROM THE JANUARY–JUNE, 1948, TOTAL*	PERCENTAGE CHANGES FROM THE JANUARY–JUNE, 1948, AVERAGE OF TOTAL CRIME NEWS†			
		Denver Post	*Rocky Mountain News*	*Daily Sentinel*	*Gazette-Telegraph*
July–December, 1948...	+ 4.8	− 3.1	+ 0.8	+ 13.2	−15.2
January–June, 1949....	+ 8.0	+10.0	+10.7	+ 66.5	−32.2
July–December, 1949...	+28.7	− 1.7	+ 9.6	+ 55.4	−35.3
January–June, 1950....	+21.8	+ 6.4	+26.7	+159.6	+44.9

* Cf. *Uniform Crime Reports*. There were 1,341.14 crimes per 100,000 inhabitants during this period. Six types of crime included are murder and nonnegligent manslaughter, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny, and auto theft.

† The January–June, 1948, averages were: *Denver Post*, 66.74 column inches; *Rocky Mountain News*, 46.26; *Daily Sentinel*, 7.26; *Gazette-Telegraph*, 24.96.

ing the period. The increase in Colorado's police department employees, however, was only slightly larger than for the nation.

[10] Harris, *op. cit.*, pp. 5–6. Because of large variations in the amount of crime news when days and months were used, Harris adopted the year as the basis for comparing shifts in crime coverage. Harris' finding that "crime news appears to be concentrated at irregular and unpredictable periods of time" is consistent with the findings of the present study.

[11] During this period the *Denver Post* gradually grew larger. In the four six-month periods following January–June, 1948, the *Post*'s total editorial column inches showed these percentage increases from the base period: 5.7, 6.1, 10.1, and 14.8. These calculations are based on information in a letter dated February 23, 1951, from Gordon M. Connelly, research analyst for the *Post*. These increases cannot account for the percentage changes in the *Post*'s crime news. No check of changes in newspapers' size was made for the other papers.

[12] The column inches of the three types of crime were recorded only for the *Post* and *News*. Only total crime coverage was recorded for the other two papers because of their relatively small size. The *Gazette-Telegraph* (Colorado Springs) ranks a very poor third in the state in circulation; the *Daily Sentinel* (Grand Junction) is sixth.

[13] Semiannual figures for rape are not available, so no such comparisons were made for rape crimes.

sample believed crime had increased considerably.

Tests were made of the significance of age and sex differences in the estimates made by the poll sample. The median estimate of the "40 and over" group was a little larger than that made by the "21–39" group, for all crime categories, but none of the differences was significant at the .01 level. The differences between the estimates made by males and females were much larger, and in all four instances the females made the greater estimates. The largest difference was for rape; the median male estimate was a 9.2 per cent increase, while that of the females was a 26.4 per cent in-

TABLE 2

PERCENTAGE CHANGES IN STEALING CRIMES AND IN NEWS ABOUT STEALING

PERIOD	PERCENTAGE CHANGES IN STEALING CRIMES FROM THE JANUARY–JUNE, 1948, TOTAL*	PERCENTAGE CHANGES FROM THE JANUARY–JUNE, 1948, AVERAGE OF NEWS ABOUT STEALING†	
		Denver Post	*Rocky Mountain News*
July–December, 1948....	+ 4.7	−37.4	−45.1
January–June, 1949.....	+ 7.9	+ 3.6	− 1.6
July–December, 1949....	+28.3	−13.1	− 5.1
January–June, 1950.....	+22.1	+ 3.7	+44.1

* There were 1,320.5 stealing crimes per 100,000 inhabitants during this period. The semiannual totals for stealing were obtained by adding the figures in the *Uniform Crime Reports* for robbery, burglary, larceny, and auto theft.

† The January–June, 1948, averages were: *Denver Post*, 14.2 column inches; *Rocky Mountain News*, 9.4.

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE CHANGES IN VIOLENT CRIMES AND IN NEWS ABOUT VIOLENT CRIMES

PERIOD	PERCENTAGE CHANGES IN VIOLENT CRIMES FROM THE JANUARY–JUNE, 1948, TOTAL*	PERCENTAGE CHANGES FROM THE JANUARY–JUNE, 1948, AVERAGE OF NEWS ABOUT VIOLENT CRIMES†	
		Denver Post	*Rocky Mountain News*
July–December, 1948....	+16.9	+41.0	+20.6
January–June, 1949.....	+12.6	+48.5	+57.3
July–December, 1949....	+53.2	+ 1.6	+14.3
January–June, 1950.....	+ 5.5	+10.9	+63.2

* There were 20.6 violent crimes per 100,000 inhabitants during this period. The semiannual totals for stealing were obtained by adding the figures in the *Uniform Crime Reports* for murder and nonnegligent manslaughter and aggravated assault.

† The January–June, 1948, averages were: *Denver Post*, 23.6 column inches; *Rocky Mountain News*, 16.0.

TABLE 4

ESTIMATES OF CRIME-RATE CHANGES, 1948–50

ESTIMATE*	TOTAL CRIMES		CRIME CATEGORY					
			Stealing		Rape		Violent Crimes	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Increased 100 per cent or more..	58	13.3	127	29.2	77	17.7	56	12 9
Increased 50 to 99 per cent.....	56	12.9	85	19.5	71	16.3	51	11.7
Increased 1 to 49 per cent.....	195	44.9	96	22.1	94	21.6	110	25 3
No change.....	58	13.3	67	15.4	116	26.7	152	35.0
Decreased.....	30	6.9	15	3.5	25	5.8	27	6.2
Don't know.....	38	8.7	45	10.3	52	11.9	39	8.9
Total	435	100.0	435	100.0	435	100.0	435	100.0

* Interviewees did not make percentage estimates. See text for the explanation of method.

crease. However, none of these sex differences proved to be significant at the .01 level.

The test of the second hypothesis rested on the assumption that newspaper readers' estimates of crime trends vary with the *total impact* of the press rather than on the assumption that each reader is directly influenced only (or mainly) by the particular paper(s) he reads.[14] Newspapers have, it was assumed, both a direct and an indirect effect. Thus, the column inches of crime news in the different papers were *added* for this analysis.

The three sets of data are compared in Table 5. It was assumed that the second hypothesis would be substantiated if the top row of figures (estimates) and the bottom row (crime news) corresponded very closely, while the middle row (crime rates) differed considerably from the other two. It would appear, then, that the data on violent crimes support the hypothesis very well, that the data on stealing support it fairly well, that the data for total crimes are inconclusive, and that the data on rape are contrary to the hypothesis.

TABLE 5

MEDIAN ESTIMATES OF CRIME-RATE CHANGES AND PERCENTAGE CHANGES IN CRIMES AND IN CRIME NEWS*

	Total Crimes	Stealing	Rape	Violent Crimes
Median percentage estimates of crime-rate changes†	+23.5	+47.2	+20.4	+11.1
Percentage changes in crimes	+19.0	+19.3	−36.2	− 2.4
Percentage changes in crime news	+29.1	+67.5	−72.1	+13.5

* For total crimes the averages of all four newspapers were combined by addition. For the three types of crime only the *Post* and *News* averages were added (see n. 12).

† Interviewees did not make percentage estimates. See text for the explanation of method.

In order to make the necessary comparisons, a base period different from that used in testing the first hypothesis had to be used. It will be recalled that the interviewees were asked to compare a "certain period back in 1948" and "now," which was midyear in 1950. Thus the crime rates and column inches of crime news for the entire year of 1948 were divided by two and the result compared with figures for the first half of 1950[15] and with the interviewees'

It should be noted that the marked decrease in news of rape is due mainly to the sharp decrease made by the largest newspaper, the *Denver Post*. The *Post* had a flood of news about a University of Colorado "sex murder" during the latter part of 1948 and early part of 1949, and it is possible that this sustained publicity sensitized *Post* readers (and perhaps most Coloradoans) to such news for a considerable time thereafter.[16] Consideration should also be given to the fact that the entire year of 1950 had to be used for rape in the comparison in Table 5 and that the final figures for

[14] Certain comparisons involving the latter assumption were made, however. The evidence for the *News* appeared fairly consistent with the hypothesis, while that for the *Post* was largely inconsistent with it. Since the *News* usually devotes the front page to one story—chiefly to streamers, headlines, and pictures—and since these often constitute the bulk of a crime story, it is conceivable that the direct influence of eye-catching devices on opinions about crime trends is great.

[15] Except that the rape rate used was for the entire year of 1950, since semiannual rates for rape were unavailable. At the end of 1950, twenty-three cities reported crimes known to the police, as against eighteen cities in 1948.

[16] By semiannual periods the percentage changes from the January–June, 1948, average of 1.66 column inches of rape news in the *Post* were: +635.4, +630.1, −48.8, and −68.8.

1950 involved a different population base (see n. 14). Perhaps, then, the data on rape can be explained away, but even so the second hypothesis is not convincingly verified.

Even if Table 5 fitted the expected pattern perfectly, the question of whether newspaper coverage *caused* the estimates to be what they were would still have to be answered, since association does not prove causation. In the attempt to bridge this hazardous gap, the polling interviewers were instructed to ask this open-ended question: "Concerning crime, what do you base your opinions on; that is, where do you get your information?" Eighty-six per cent included "newspapers" in their answers to this question, and 24.3 per cent gave "newspapers" as the sole response. This finding apparently strengthens the case for Hypothesis 2, but it is valid only to the degree that people are aware of the sources of their own opinions.

CONCLUSIONS

The findings of this study bear out the hypothesis that there is no consistent relationship between the amount of crime news in newspapers and the local crime rates. Semiannual percentage changes in crime coverage by Colorado newspapers were found to be at marked variance with Colorado crime trends, both for total crime and for selected types of crime. The four newspapers studied also varied markedly from each other in percentage changes in crime coverage. Evidently the amount of crime news in any one of these newspapers varies independently of both the amount of crime in the state and the amount of crime news in the other newspapers.

The findings lend some support to the hypothesis that public opinion reflects trends in the amount of crime news rather than in actual crime rates, but some of the evidence is inconclusive and some seems contrary to the hypothesis. This evidence would seem to warrant more definitive research, especially since the question involved bears upon the important problem of the relationship of newspapers and public opinions. This study dealt with the total column inches of crime news, and it is possible that a closer association might be found if only front-page news were used. Or investigation might be limited to the influence of the eye-catching devices—streamers, headlines, and pictures. Also, content analysis other than column-inch measurement might prove useful in studying the problem.

WESTERN STATE COLLEGE OF COLORADO

SUICIDE AND CRIME IN FOLK AND IN SECULAR SOCIETY[1]

AUSTIN L. PORTERFIELD

ABSTRACT

Some sociologists regard the secular society and the folk society as ideal polar types. The latter is hypothetically well integrated. The former is not. Hypothetically the former is more pathological in its manifestations of suicide and crime. In this study the theory of polar types is modified by the idea of a continuum, extending between the poles on both national and local levels, for which an index is provided. The comparison of indexes of suicide and crime along a continuum shows that suicide but not crime is an outstanding attribute of the secular society, crime being more characteristic of depressed folk groups.

In this study is examined the relationship of rates of suicide and crime to a hypothetical folk-secular continuum extending through states on the national level and local areas even within a single city. To achieve this purpose, an attempt is made to establish indexes of secularization, suicide, and serious crimes by states in the nation; to show how these phenomena are related in comparable periods; and by similar procedures to compare these phenomena by census tracts as local areas within an urban environment. Of necessity, the problems of definition and procedure are faced first, beginning with the concepts of secularization and of the folk-secular continuum.

THE MEANING OF SECULARIZATION

Secularization is the process by which a "sacred" gives way to a "secular" society. This process, as Howard Becker describes it, includes a lessening of the intensity of kinship bonds among a people; a loosening of friendship and neighborhood ties and the breakdown of primary and neighborhood groups; a reduction in the indigenous origins of regional and community populations, on the one hand, or a depletion of the local folk through migration, on the other, accompanied by much institutional dislocation; and, finally, a breakdown of the prevailing mores—morals, religious sanctions, class, caste, and prestige patterns—associated with the appearance of strange ideas, strange people, and strange machines. The new community, made up of fragments of other populations, of uprooted humanity, is already secularized.[2]

THE FOLK-SECULAR CONTINUUM

Becker and others have elaborated the concept of secularization in their writings.[3] Redfield and MacIver contrast the urban and the folk society in terms comparable to the secular and the sacred.[4] These are ideal polar types. As Ogburn and Nimkoff suggest, "actually there are not just two polar types, highly integrated folk societies and loosely integrated urban societies, but a series of communities varying in degree of integration which are distributed along

[1] Much of the information on which this study is based has been gathered under the auspices of a grant made the author by the Texas Christian University Research Committee operating with funds provided jointly by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and the university.

[2] Howard Becker, "Interpreting Family Life in Context," in Becker and Hill, *Family, Marriage, and Parenthood* (Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1948), pp. 19–37.

[3] *Ibid.*, and Becker's thesis, "Ionia and Athens" (University of Chicago, 1930). See Lawrence K. Frank, *Society as the Patient* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1949), chaps. x and xix, for kindred implications. See also the review of theories of "Solidary, Antagonistic, and Mixed Systems of Interaction," in P. A. Sorokin, *Society, Culture, and Personality* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1947), pp. 99–118.

[4] Robert Redfield, "The Folk Society," *American Journal of Sociology*, LII (1947), 293–308; R. M. MacIver, *Society: A Textbook in Sociology* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1937), chap. i; also pp. 143–65.

a continuum between these extremes."[5] Nobody, however, has gone far enough in developing indexes by which "a series of communities varying in degree of integration" can be "distributed along a continuum." This is the challenge which brings about this study.

FOUNDATIONS OF THE INDEX OF SECULARIZATION

Techniques of measurement, to be valid, must be hypothetically relevant to what in hypothetically being measured.[6] Thus, significant aspects of the process of secularization and of societies that have become more or less secularized should form the index for the continuum. It cannot be assumed, however, that an index can be established which will unerringly locate a series of populations inhabiting specific areas at exactly the points or in the exact order in which they belong along such a line. It is assumed that measures of urbanization, industrialization, nonmembership in churches, and nonnativity (as here defined) by states in our nation would be indicative, without such exactness, of the extent to which their respective populations feel the impacts of a secular society or culture, as analyzed by Becker and briefly outlined above.

The index of nonnativity,[7] for example, is established by adding the number of people living in 1940 but not born in the state to the number born in it but not living in it at that date and finding what percentage this total is of the prevailing population. Then the percentage of nonnativity for each state is compared with the corresponding percentage for all the states combined. Nonnativity (so defined) stands at 45 per cent for the nation as a whole. This measure is taken as the foundation of the index score 100, and the scores for the individual states revolve around the national ratio as percentages of it in the familiar manner. The percentage of nonnativity for Nevada is 111.3; for North Carolina, 25.7. Thus the former is seen to be 247 per cent of the rate for the nation as a whole; and the latter, 57 per cent. Then these percentages are simply read as scores or indexes for the respective states.

This index is full of significant implications. To leave a state for another lessens the kinship bonds, loosens friendship and neighborhood ties, reduces indigenous populations, and contributes to institutional dislocations at home, while adding to the population of the new state a stranger. In the meantime, another stranger may be entering the state which has lost an indigene, a kinsman, a neighbor, a friend.

Added to this are the processes or urbanization and industrialization for which indexes (in Porterfield and Talbert's *Crime, Suicide, and Social Well-Being in Your State and City*)[8] have previously been supplied. Since these processes may go on within a state, citizens shifting within instead of across state boundaries, it is not surprising that indexes of urbanization and industrialization, though positively related as series, are not so related to the nonnativity series in the forty-eight states. But since both contribute to the anonymity and impersonality of secular society, the three series can logically be combined by states, together with a fourth important series, which is highly correlated with nonnativity. This fourth series is made up of index scores for

[5] W. F. Ogburn and M. F. Nimkoff, *Sociology* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1950), pp. 291–92; cf. Sorokin, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

[6] When the particular problem has been chosen, and the nature of his data has been determined, the investigator is next faced with the method to be pursued in gathering his data. But facts themselves are hypothetical. Indeed, whatever the field of study, "factness" in itself, in either physical or social science, depends upon the configuration to which the items belong as parts of a whole which makes them what they are as objects of scientific interest. Their relation to the configuration makes facts relevant (cf. A. L. Porterfield, *Creative Factors in Scientific Research* [Durham: Duke University Press, 1941], pp. 120–21).

[7] Using the term "nonnativity" as defined by the index may be objectionable, but the writer can think of no better term.

[8] (Fort Worth: Leo Potishman Foundation, 1948), pp. 10–12, 34.

nonchurch membership by states as indicative of a type of institutional dislocation closely related to the breakdown in the mores. This index, like the others, is built around 100 as representative of the ratio of nonmembership in churches (in 1936)[9] for the nation as a whole. It is then assumed that the mean of the index scores of these four conditions in each state is a rough measure of its degree of secularization. Nevada, for example, has index scores for nonnativity, urbanization, industrialization, and nonchurch membership of 247, 70, 95, and 195, respectively. The mean of these scores is 151. The corresponding scores for Mississippi are 75, 35, 28, and 100, respectively, with a mean score of 60. Thus 151 and 60 are taken as indicating the relative percentages of secularization in the two states which stand at the top and the bottom of the series.

[9] This year was chosen of necessity, since the last dependable data on church membership are found in the *Census of Religious Bodies: 1936*.

INDEXES OF SECULARIZATION AND SUICIDE

Indexes of secularization by states thus established show that the Northwestern and Northeastern states stand at top of the list, with the Southern and Southwestern states at the bottom, with some notable exceptions. Indexes of suicide by states, previously established (in *Crime, Suicide, and Social Well-Being*),[10] when compared with indexes of secularization for two time periods (Table 1), are remarkably correlated with the latter in both periods (+.79 and +.78). The closest positive relationship of a single subfactor with suicide is that of nonnativity. For the first period, it is +.66; for the second (1939–48), it is +.55. Nonnativity (to the state) seems to be more important than urbanization in the incidence of suicide. Perhaps "nonnativity" is an index of unrest and escapism in general, of which sui-

[10] See chap. vii. The years for which separate indexes of suicide were established as the foundation for the mean index given in that work were 1930, 1935, 1940, and 1945.

TABLE 1

CORRELATION OF INDEXES OF SECULARIZATION, DEPRESSED FOLK, AND RELATED VARIABLES WITH INDEXES OF SUICIDE AND CRIME BY STATES FOR SELECTED PERIODS

Series	Suicide*		Homicide†		Serious Crimes‡	
	First Series	Second Series	First Series	Second Series	First Series	Second Series
Secularization	+.79	+.78	−.50	−.37	−.46	−.26
Depressed folk	−.53	−.59	+.92	+.77	+.94	+.72
Social status	+.50	+.58	−.75	−.71	−.55	−.68
Congregations	−.42	−.49	+.66	+.60	+.45	+.49
Membership	−.44	−.34	−.34	−.23	−.29	−.23
Ministers	−.15	−.17	−.02	+.01	−.10	−.09
Suicide(1)§	.....	+.96	−.35	.....	.....	.....
Suicide(2)	+.96	.....	.....	−.38	.....	.....
Homicide(1)	−.35	.....	.....	+.79	.....	.....
Homicide(2)	.....	−.38	+.79	.....	.....	.....

* The first suicide series is based on the mean of rates for 1930, 1935, 1940, and 1945; the second, on the mean for 1939–48.

† The first homicide series is based on the mean of rates for 1930, 1935, 1940, and 1945; the second, on the mean for 1939–48.

‡ The first "serious crimes" series is based on the mean of rates for 1937–39; the second, on the mean for 1937–39, 1943, 1946, 1948, and 1949.

§ The first series is marked "(1)"; the second "(2)."

cide is also an index. Perhaps nonmembership in churches is influenced by nonnativity ($\rho + .71$), which, in turn, is caused by unrest and attempts to escape from it in an atmosphere of insecurity, fear, and fallibility.

THE FOLK-SECULAR CONTINUUM, SUICIDE AND HOMICIDE BY STATES

It is an understatement to say that these aspects of a secular society which are positively correlated with suicide are not positively related to homicide and other serious forms of crime. If the index of secularization is presented in reverse as a folk-society index by states and compared with indexes of suicide and homicide in columns standing side by side with the secular index, the results are surprising. For in the very time spans in which the series for suicide and secularization are related positively ($+.79$ and $+.78$), the series for the latter and homicide are related negatively ($-.50$ and $-.37$) for the latter and six serious crimes, $-.46$ and $-.26$ (Table 1). The population of only six states more "secular" than the average may live up to the popular expectation that the secular society holds the life of the other man cheaper than the average. Its people, however, seem to hold their own lives less dear than in the folk society, since the suicide and secular scores are on the same side of 100 in thirty-six out of the forty-eight states in the first series; but the suicide and folk scores are on the opposite side of 100 in the same number of instances.

FACTORS CONDUCIVE TO CRIME IN AMERICAN FOLK SOCIETIES

The more primitive folk societies should, hypothetically, be less given to both suicide and crime than many present-day groups. Our data do not suggest that the less secularized populations are "more given to crime" just because they are less secular. It is *depressed folk societies in local conflict* which become involved in crime rather than the more urbanized, industrialized, nonnative groups with fewer church members. It is the society marked by a type of "rurality" involving depressed populations as indigenous or local groups trampling on one another's toes; the people with a status consciousness which may be ethnically slanted; the people whose convictions, rationalizations, and sense of infallibility set them at war with one another, though they are rooted on the same land.[11] In such a society there may be a greater tendency to strike the other down when he gets in your way and to find the act justified by the existing situation and the mores or at least understandable as the displacement of anger caused by depression. In the secular society the isolated and baffled suicide may be too far removed from others to hit anybody but himself—at least anybody against whom he feels resentment.[12]

The concept of depressed folk groups may be given a numerical definition as a composite of four subfactors: depressed classes, rurality, locality, and color. The index of depressed classes is simply the "index of social well-being" (as based on twenty-eight subfactors in Porterfield and Talbert's book) reversed. The index of rurality is the index of urbanization reversed. "Locality" is indicated by the number of churches (as nucleated institutions fixed on a spot) per 100,000 population by states as compared with the number in the nation as a whole; and the index of color is a comparison of the percentage of nonwhites in the population of each state with the percentage in the entire nation.

No one need be surprised that the inci-

[11] Cf. Robin Williams, Jr., *The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1947), pp. 49–77, for some propositions on intergroup hostility and conflict which have an important bearing on the origins, types, factors, and reactions of conflict situations. Cf. Logan Wilson and William L. Kolb, *Sociological Analysis* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1949), pp. 740–62.

[12] See Austin L. Porterfield, "Personality, Crime, and the Cultural Pattern," in *Current Approaches to Delinquency* (New York: National Probation and Parole Association, 1949), pp. 214–30, for a further discussion of rationalizations of criminal hostility through appealing to the mores.

dence of congregations is included in the index of depressed folk among status-conscious groups in conflict. A comparison of the indexes of congregations with indexes of depressed classes as a subfactor in the depressed folk composite shows the scores for both to be on the same side of 100 in thirty-eight states and on opposite sides only nine times. The coefficient of correlation is +.85. A similar relationship between depressed classes (as a subfactor in depressed folk) and the number of congregations (as another subfactor) prevails by census tracts in Fort Worth. The index scores for the two series in forty census tracts appear on the same side of 100 in twenty-nine of the areas but on the opposite sides only nine times.

The apparent reason for this high positive correlation is that a community of depressed classes and color groups—who are also depressed—requires more congregations than one where class and race divisions are not so sharp. Indexes of congregations and of depressed folk groups as a composite score when compared present a coefficient of +.89 on the interstate level. In Fort Worth it is +.71 by census tracts.

Comparisons of depressed folk and homicide for the two periods present coefficients of +.92 and +.77; of depressed folk and six serious crimes, +.94 and +.72 (Table 1). But the relationship of depressed folk to suicide proves to be highly negative by states in the same time periods (−.53 and −.59).

THE LIMITATIONS OF URBANIZATION AS AN INDEX OF SECULARIZATION

The data presented have indicatd that local "nonnativity" is more closely related than city life to suicide. Though urbanization has been taken as one index of secularization, the city is not entirely secular—indeed not wholly urban![13] No doubt, also, some areas in the mosaic of the city are more secular than others. Some areas within cities are inhabited by distinct folk groups as truly as any rural area.[14] These may belong to different social statuses but seem to be more numerous on depressed levels. In the process of ecological invasion, one of these worlds may come in conflict with another, a circumstance which may magnify crime rates.[15]

The city, then, belongs to the secular pole, within these limitations. Cities, too, may be measured along a more or less secular continuum, and areas within cities may be so measured, not categorized on the all-or-none principle.

THE FOLK-SECULAR CONTINUUM WITHIN THE CITY

This hypothesis, suggested by the existence of various social worlds within great cities as described by sociologists, particularly at the University of Chicago,[16] leads to the examination of the social structure of areas in a city in the Southwest. For this purpose attention is given, as suggested above, to forty census tracts in Fort Worth on which comparable data are available for various periods. Space limitations preclude a detailed outline of procedures. However, measures of socioeconomic status (as given) rest upon indexes of relief based on rates of clearance through the Social Service Exchange from 1936 through 1946; indexes of housing based on rents, overcrowding, and houses in need of major repair

[13] Adolph Tomars, "Rural Survivals in American Urban Life" (included from *Rural Sociology* for December, 1943, in Wilson and Kolb, *op. cit.*, pp. 371–78), makes this point clear.

[14] See Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *The City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925), pp. 168–69, for a sociological definition of the city which would admit this viewpoint. See especially the chapters on growth and ecology by Burgess and McKenzie. Harvey W. Zorbaugh, Louis Wirth, W. F. Whyte, James T. Farrell, and others have abundantly elaborated the hypothesis and demonstrated its truth.

[15] The bombing of houses and race riots, for example.

[16] My colleague, Robert H. Talbert, who has been very helpful to me in this paper, believes that recent studies, such as those by Warner and Lunt, though highly valuable, picture class as more sharply delineated than it is; that more emphasis should be placed on the separateness of social worlds than upon that of classes.

(1940); indexes of health based on deaths from tuberculosis, pneumonia, and prematurity (1945–47); and indexes of residential desirability based on heterogeneity of or transition in land use as indicated by the zoning map (1947).[17] Finally, these four series yield a composite mean here termed "an index of socioeconomic status," or simply social status.

The test of the hypothetical presence of folk groups in tract areas rests on three conditions: the presence or absence of depressed classes (the socioeconomic score reversed;[18] the number of churches per 1,000 people in each census tract (1948); and color, in this instance, based on the native white index reversed.[19] Even the rural folk in the city could be indicated by their churches, but it has not yet been done.

The mean of these scores constitutes the index numbers for depressed folk by census tracts in Fort Worth. The arrays containing these scores, though not included here, when placed side by side with arrays of suicide and arrests by census tracts for designated years, vary in the same direction with the latter and opposite to the former.[20]

THE CITY FOLK INDEX, SUICIDE, AND CRIME

It can thus be seen that the indexes of depressed folk, suicide, and crime vary in the same way on the intracity as on the interstate level of comparison, that is, in the same way if not always to the same degree. Table 2 presents these correlations.

TABLE 2

CORRELATION OF INDEXES OF SUICIDE, ARRESTS, AND OTHER VARIABLES BY CENSUS TRACTS IN FORT WORTH FOR SELECTED PERIODS*

Series	Suicide	Arrests	Social Status	Depressed Folk	Congregations
Suicide	.....	−.13(+.12)†	+.09	−.14	−.03
Arrests	−.13(+.12)†	.....	−.69	+.72	+.66
Depressed folk	−.14	+.72	.....	.....	+.71
Social status	+.09	−.69	.....	.....	−.46
Congregations	−.03	+.66	−.46	+.71	.....

* All arrests of adult males for the month of October, 1937, and all the juvenile city jail commitments for the year 1945 form the foundation for the crime series. The suicides are for the years 1930–49, and the index is based on the mean of three estimates, as shown in n. 22.

† The negative coefficient omits Tract 18, which includes the retail district and all hotels.

With reference to comparative rates of suicide and crime, the forty census tracts may be divided into five groups, as in Chart I. Eight census tracts have high suicide and low crime scores. Seven have low suicide and high crime scores. Five have high scores for both. Nine have low scores for both. In eleven areas the scores for both are medium. The graphic summary of the characteristics of these areas in Chart I shows that areas with high suicide and low crime scores are high in social status, high in the residence

[17] Much credit is due to Leonard D. Cain, Jr., for the work done on these items in his M.A. thesis, entitled "Ecological Patterns and Indices of Social Well-Being in Fort Worth, Texas, by Census Tracts" (Texas Christian University, 1948). More lately I have established also an index of business executive leadership by census tracts based on *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, and *e* groups (depending upon the number of employees) by place of residence. It bears a high relationship to Cain's series.

[18] The reverse of each score is based on its reciprocal.

[19] This includes folk elements in Mexican or "Hispanic" groups.

[20] I am reading all the news accounts of 445 suicides which occurred in Fort Worth from 1930 to 1949 inclusive. Case materials will be developed later on them. I plan to place them upon an occupational scale to determine a more familiar index of class status among suicides.

CHART I

CHARACTERISTICS OF CENSUS TRACTS WITH HIGH AND LOW INDEXES OF SUICIDE AND ARRESTS

I. Areas of high suicide and low arrests.

Suicide index	155
Arrests index	45
Social status	147
Congregations	63
Native white	111
Executives	233

III. Areas of high suicide and high arrests.

Suicide index	141
Arrests index	268
Social status	56
Congregations	216
Native white	105
Executives	41

II. Areas of low suicide and high arrests.

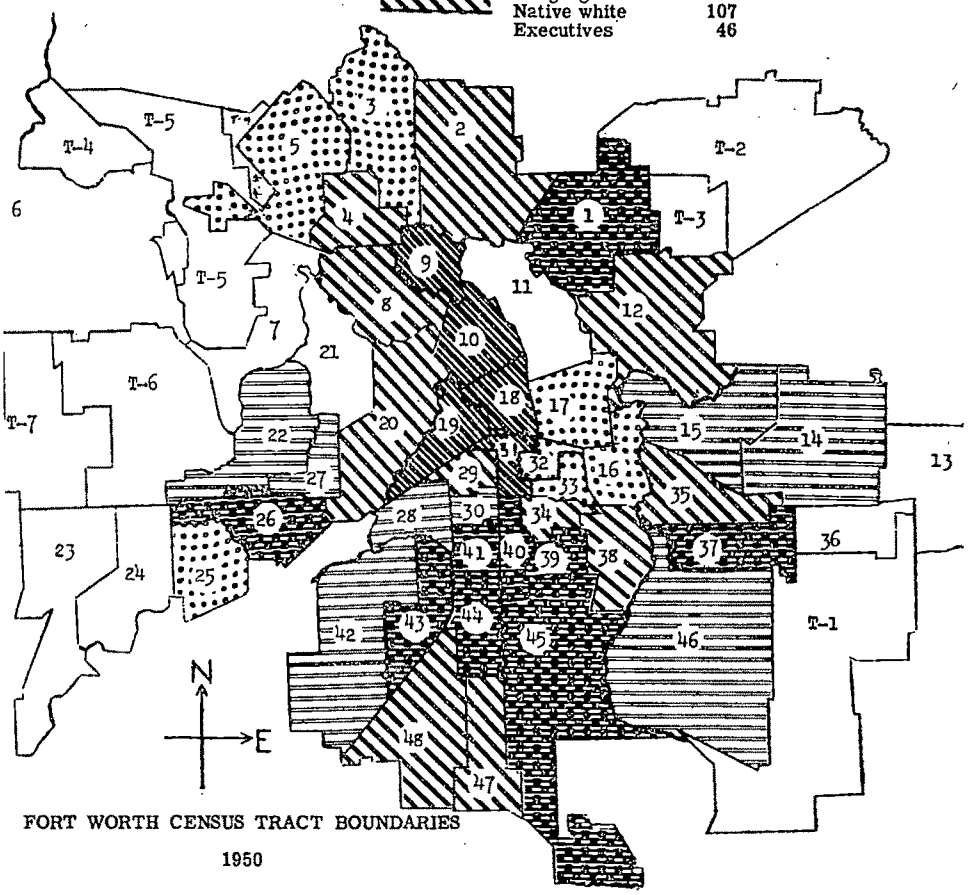
Suicide index	60
Arrests index	171
Social status	78
Congregations	155
Native white	65
Executives	24

IV. Areas of low suicide and low arrests.

Suicide index	61
Arrests index	43
Social status	125
Congregations	65
Native white	113
Executives	109

V. Areas of medium suicide and medium arrests.

Suicide index	105
Arrests index	73
Social status	99
Congregations	85
Native white	107
Executives	46



FORT WORTH CENSUS TRACT BOUNDARIES

1950

Each symbol *I* stands for five points of the index

of native whites and executives,[21] but low in the index number of churches. A glance at the accompanying chart shows that these tracts do not fit into the ecological or status pattern usually expected in the distribution of suicide.[22] Areas of low suicide and high arrests have low scores for social status, native white,[23] and executive residence, but high scores for churches. Areas high in both suicides and arrests do come nearer fitting into the expected ecological pattern—they are near the heart of the city. They are low in social status and low in executive residence but high in index numbers for native white population and congregations. Areas of low suicide and low arrests share the same concentric zones with three other categories or groups. They rate high in social status, low to high in executive residence and native white inhabitants, but low in congregations. Areas of medium suicide and arrests are low to medium in social status, low to high in congregation rates,[24] low in executive residence, and high in index numbers for native whites.[25]

The depressed folk index is high in the areas of low suicide and high arrests. It is low in the areas of high suicide and low arrests. Where suicide and arrest rates are both high, it is high; where they are both low, it is low; where they are both medium, it is medium. But over the whole series, as shown in Table 2, the coefficient of correlation of depressed folk and suicide is $-.14$; of depressed folk and arrests, $+.72$.

SUMMARY

This study has followed the folk-secular continuum through states on the national level and through similar series within a city—Fort Worth. The data seem to show that the secular, especially upper-class, society is more given to suicide, and the depressed folk society resorts more to crime,[26] both when studied by states and by cities.

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[21] See n. 17.

[22] The suicide score is the mean of three estimates based (1) on the number of suicides occurring between 1930 and 1949, inclusive per 1,000 population by census tracts; (2) the number per 1,000 population over twenty-four years of age (census of 1940); and (3) the number per 1,000 dwellings in 1940.

[23] Census Tracts 5 and 16 are notable exceptions in this category, having high native white scores.

[24] In this group congregations vary low to high but with the folk index within the areas.

[25] If homicides occurring in 1946–50 and cases referred to the juvenile court in 1950 were also to be included in the crime index, Census Tracts 4, 12, 34, 35, and 38 could be placed in Group I rather than in Group V; but it might be objected that an index of crime so based would depend too heavily on the later years covered by the study.

[26] If we knew how much "white-collar crime" belongs to the areas of high status, we might have to revise completely our theories of the ecological distribution of crimes in American cities. This is a part of the research that remains to be done.

IDEOLOGICAL MOMENTUM AND SOCIAL EQUILIBRIUM

RALPH PIERIS

ABSTRACT

In analyzing the constitution of an ethos, the crucial dichotomy is that of latent and operative sectors. The latter comprises the overt and covert culture of the society in question. If no discrepancy exists between them, the society is in perfect equilibrium and offers its members a maximum of security. In so far as there is a greater or lesser discrepancy between the sectors, the society is in dynamic or static equilibrium. If the rift in the value-structure widens so as to make the ethos self-contradictory, ideological momentum suffers entropy, security and authority are undermined, and anomie supervenes.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE ETHOS

This paper is concerned with that important problem in sociology whose *quaesita* is the discovery of the conditions under which societies maintain themselves as going concerns, the conditions under which binding norms and values lose their momenta and give rise to anomie. Max Weber has contended that what we call "culture" emanates from man's endeavor to relate empirical reality to value-ideas.[1] And this "culture," once it takes root in the collective consciousness, frequently acquires as it were a self-generating momentum which renders it normatively meaningful even in the face of changing external conditions which vitiate its original value-basis. Weber has also explained how one of the fundamental elements in the spirit of modern capitalism and modern culture—rational conduct on the basis of the idea of the "calling"—was the outcome of the spirit of Christian asceticism. But, once that "culture" took root in men's minds, "the idea of duty in one's calling prowls about like the ghost of dead religious beliefs," and men abandon their efforts to justify their attachment to duty. Thus, in the United States, the pursuit of worldly riches, severed from its original ideational base, acquires a fresh lease of life through association with mundane passions or acquisitive "instincts."[2] In the same way the caste system of India and Ceylon, divorced though it is from the sacrificial foundations which originally lent it force, persists even among the Christian converts, so much so that a Bull of Pope Gregory XV went to the extent of sanctioning caste regulations in Indian churches.[3] A bleak individualistic ethos can hardly be expected to give even a scintilla of meaning to the lives of men environed by the *Gemeinschaft* relations of feudal village communities. Here we have an admirable instance of what Karl Mannheim has called "the contemporaneity of the non-contemporaneous"; an ethos has been imbedded in the collective consciousness and operates as a *vis inertiae* which "tends at all times to keep most parts of the social structure as they are, in spite of their frequent incongruity with new forces."[4]

At times, however, the momenta of culture lose their vitality, and a condition of normlessness or anomie results. This paper is an attempt to elaborate a preliminary set of theorems whereby the bases of ideological momentum and social stability may be analyzed. For, as Talcott Parsons has rightly said, the problem of the role of ideas in social action cannot be solved by detailed accounts of specific cultures per se. The problem involves, rather, "systematic theoretical analysis of action, of the relation of

[1] "'Objectivity' in Social Science," in *The Methodology of the Social Sciences*, trans. E. A. Shils (Glencoe: Free Press, 1949), p. 76.

[2] *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Talcott Parsons (London, 1930), chap. v.

[3] Cf. C. S. Ghurye, *Caste and Race in India* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1932), p. 164.

[4] A. J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), IV, 133.

the same variables to many different concrete situations."[5]

Every society has a more or less articulate ideational basis, an ethos, which comprises the sum total of its norms and aspirations or goals, collectively designated "values." These values create in individuals attitudes or predispositions to action which consciously or unconsciously determine social behavior. The ethos of a society is constituted in the following manner: There is an operative sector and a latent sector. The values incorporated in the operative sector may be explicit (the overt culture) or implicit (the inarticulate major premises at the back of men's minds, described as the covert culture). The latent sector includes those values which a considerable proportion of persons belonging to the society deem to be desirable but which are considered to be too idealistic or utopian to be consistently practiced. Certain ethical precepts such as the commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," are ambivalent, since, despite definite legal sanctions against homicide, killing in warfare and in "manly" sports like boxing is tolerated and controlled. The overt culture prescribes the circumstances in which killing is wrong.

The crucial dichotomy is that of ideal and behavioral patterns, that is, operative and latent values, The focal issue, says Kluckhohn, is that of degree of sanction, often decided on arbitrary grounds, yet sociologically decisive.[6] The norms upon which behavioral patterns are based evoke a demand from a considerable proportion of the society that its members conform to the sanctions which make social organization possible. Sanctions are sometimes rigidly enforced. At the time of the Norman conquest of England, for example, the state being too weak to enforce obedience to its laws, outlawry was the recognized mode of punishment for serious crime. He who defied the law was placed beyond its pale and was treated as a wild beast whom anyone might kill at sight. On the other hand, sanctions may be of a diffuse character. The penalty for adultery in modern England is merely social censure which may take the form of derogatory gossip or social ostracism, for adultery is not a crime, though it may be the grounds for an action for civil damages.

In certain societies there is no discrepancy between the operative and the latent sectors of the ethos. Ideals and actions are one, norms embodied in institutions. Such a society offers its members a maximum of security, defined in the sociological sense, as the capacity to live up to the accepted standards and agreed rules of conduct of the society in question.[7] A society in possession of an ethos of this type is in perfect equilibrium. The *raison d'être* of social organization and social control is the maintenance of equilibrium, which may be either static or dynamic.

AUTISTIC EQUILIBRIUM AND STASIS

A society with an ethos of this type usually has an elaborate institutional equipment which ritualizes its ideational foundations to such an extent that there is no discrepancy between operative and latent values. It has an integral ethos. Satisfactions accrue to its members from the perceived values as well as from the prescribed ways of realizing them.[8] It is a situation of automatic mutualism (Durkheim's "mechanical solidarity"). There may be stratification, but every individual knows the role into which he is initiated and plays it without question. In terms of politics (viz., power distribution), the power group is recognized as dominant, and it is against the mores of

[5] Talcott Parsons, "The Role of Ideas in Social Action," in *Essays in Sociological Theory* (Glencoe: Free Press, 1949), p. 162.

[6] Clyde Kluckhohn, "Covert Culture and Administrative Problems," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XLV, No. 2 (new ser., 1943).

[7] Cf. the discussion in E. Manheim, "Security, Authority, and Society: An Ethnological Introduction into Sociology" (London University thesis, 1937).

[8] Cf. R. K. Merton's typology in "Social Structure and Anomie," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. III, No. 5 (1938).

the society to question its supremacy.

Such societies tend to ossify. Ideological momentum is so ritualized that it is transmuted into a *vis inertiae*, and the society reaches a condition of stasis, of permanent and perfect equilibrium. Habits of thought are confined to so narrow a universe that relativity or objectivity is inconceivable. Modes of interpretation of the external world are rigidly stereotyped by a dogmatic ethos which excludes eclectic ideas. Such autistic ways of thought barricade the ethos from external stimulation; the society is closed to alien modes. A characteristic feature of these autistic societies is the practice of generalized rituals not necessarily directed toward the achievement of any particular goal but aiming, rather, at maximizing *esprit de corps* and giving the ethos its momentum. What Frazer terms "public magic" is of this generalized nature, not directed to the attainment of a specific goal. Its ceremonial *as such* serves to enhance social solidarity and provides a self-generating ideological momentum. This self-generating momentum faces entropy only when public magic proves to be ineffective in providing relief in the case of a particular grievance, and the frustrated individual resorts to the holder of a foreign ritual, if such is at hand. It is in this way, says Hocart, that the Fijian nobleman, Vuetasau, was converted to Christianity. "He and his people were baptised because his own gods had failed to cure his daughter, while the Christian god succeeded. That accounts for a great many conversions."[9] Perceived inefficiency of a set of self-generating values and ritual in a society in stasis is symbolic of a loss of ideological momentum, of a creation of a schism in its value-structure. Such a situation is marked by the emergence of a latent culture at variance with operative values, thereby segmenting an integral ethos. It is a pathological symptom of societies in stasis and foreshadows disequilibrium, a concomitant of insecurity (i.e., an incapacity to live up to the accepted norms and agreed rules of conduct of the society, due largely to the inefficiency of operative values in a specific situation).

A society in perfect equilibrium does not as a rule accept alien values voluntarily so long as its own values and institutions provide a maximum of security. Empirically this fact has long been established. The Tasmanian tribesmen, for example, valiantly resisted European intruders until, reduced in numbers from thousands to hundreds, they were compelled to submit. These survivors were presented with sheep and received regular annuities from the European settlers. In comparison with the uncertain life of hunting tribesmen, they were surrounded with plenty and secured as to the morrow. In fine, when the European settlers transported them to Flinders Island and surrounded them with the outward semblance of well-being, they seemed to have the prerequisites of an idyllic existence. Yet they continued to die out; they had no desire to live. The changed social conditions had disrupted their inner life which, while entailing a degree of precariousness in the physical and economic sense, provided a maximum of security in the physical and economic sense, provided a maximum of security in the sociological sense by inspiring an *esprit de corps* which gave life a certain fulness. Tribal affairs were replete with social stimuli which, even if based on delusions, were socially creative. In contrast, their new environment gave rise to a widespread apathy. "A more and more dominant home-sickness began to afflict them." The birth rate fell alarmingly, while the death rate increased.[10] Similar conditions were observed in Melanesia where the natives, deprived of war and head-hunting, lost their chief interest in life.[11] "A native who is ill loses heart at

[9] A. M. Hocart, "Initiation and Healing," *Man*, XXXVII (1937), 54. See also H. G. Barnett, "Personal Conflicts and Culture Change," *Social Forces*, Vol. XX, No. 2 (1941).

[10] L. Krzywicki, *Primitive Society and Its Vital Statistics* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1934), p. 81.

[11] A. C. Haddon, *Head Hunters* (London: Watts & Co., 1932), p. 215.

once. He has no desire to live, and perhaps announces that he is going to die when the onlooker can see no ground for his belief," says Rivers.[12] The Aua Islanders described by Pitt-Rivers were likewise victims of mental illness, and their dejection "was reflected in an abatement or apparent suppression of all sexual desire until some native festival or other recurrent episode of their social life had succeeded in obliterating from their mind the coming menace of the white man's dominant interference."[13]

Anomic race suicide of this nature usually occurs in culture contact when some abnormal event dislocates communal life. Since social values give to life a certain attractiveness, men normally hesitate to make the experiment of taking their lives en masse. Suicide is the revolt of men who are deprived of values which give meaning to life, but, as Schopenhauer remarks, "it is a clumsy experiment to make, for it involves the destruction of the very consciousness which puts the question and awaits the answer." Most religious systems, however, create in man a fear of suicide by holding out the prospect of a future life. Man is indoctrinated with the idea that he cannot escape life even by dying. The virtuous Christian can look forward to heavenly bliss, while the sinner is tormented with the prospect of eternal hell-fire. Even in Buddhist philosophy, where annihilation of consciousness and the attainment of Nirvana is extolled as the ideal state, this perfect state "of neither consciousness nor non-consciousness" is not achieved by death alone, since man can be reborn. Escape from the endless cycle of rebirth, from the "wheel of Karma," is achieved rather by leading an exemplary life in this world.

In societies in static equilibrium, therefore, social participation in itself provides both a ready-made value-system as well as the ritualized means of achieving these values. But at times such a culture complex becomes so rigid that its disintegration spells death to the community. In other words, the permissive range of such an ethos is extremely limited. When a culture contains a latent reserve implicit in its modes of thought, reinterpretation, alteration, or expurgation of operative cultural facts is made possible. But if a society denies or refuses to admit the validity of anything other than the traditional meaning attached to its ritual and custom, that culture has no latent reserve and is in perfect equilibrium. It cannot adapt itself to external stimuli, whether they take the form of techniques or values. Its ways of thought preclude the dogma of objectivity, a dogma on which science is founded. It cannot have sociologists, but it will place a premium on magicians who perpetuate its myths and traditions and whose activities serve to enhance the general weal.

DYNAMIC EQUILIBRIUM

Societies are in dynamic equilibrium when the ethos is segmented and there is a greater or lesser discrepancy between operative and latent values. Let us designate this discrepancy "the range of cultural tolerance," for in so far as this range widens, ever new values, habits of thought, and folkways may be introduced by dissident minorities. This range cannot be infinite, for, if the rift between operative and latent values goes so far as to undermine the fundamental premises of social order, the society will be in danger of anomie. Dynamic societies, however, do generally contain individuals who do not identify themselves with the ethos in its totality. The culturally least saturated persons, if frustrated or anxiety-ridden, are ready to advocate and agitate for new values, to cause a redefinition of the existing value-situation. If the existing values are unsatisfying—if, in other words, they do not provide a modicum of security in the sociological sense—a division of interests and thence a division

[12] W. H. R. Rivers, *Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), p. 95.

[13] G. H. L. F. Pitt-Rivers, *The Clash of Cultures and the Conflict of Races* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1927), p. 145.

of public opinion occurs. As Tawney has remarked, "The impetus to reform or revolution springs in every age from the realisation of the contrast between the external order and the moral standards recognised as valid by the conscience or reason of the individual."[14]

In dynamically equilibrated societies, ordinary opposition is permitted and controlled. Oppositions are particular and plural. Unlike disequilibrium, they occur without involving anomie. "The existing structure of law, logic and convention continues, unimpaired, to check each opposition as it occurs and to hold it within bounds." In a complex and dynamic ethos, there are competing value-systems, and critical relativity of thought is made possible. As the Wilsons have explained, "Without variety there is necessarily emphasis on the particular. It is only when different philosophies are there to be compared that the dogma of relativity can emerge; it is only when variety exists that it can be valued or felt attractive. If there be no religious development the particular formulations and symbols of a particular period are taken as absolute."[15]

But even dynamically equilibrated societies can, in exceptional circumstances, perforce be made static. If a basic "theme" in the ethos proves to be an illusory value (i.e., one which does not promise a modicum of security), déclassé groups within the society might agitate for a narrowing of the hiatus between the operative and the latent sectors of the ethos. Max Weber has made a classic analysis of an attempt to elaborate a religious ethic which would bridge a dangerously widening discrepancy between operative economic values of an expanding capitalist economy and the decreasingly operative doctrines of Christianity. The ethic elaborated by the Protestant reformers, with its significant stress on duty, was an eminent success and proved to be a cornerstone of modern Western culture. At times, however, the social situation becomes too urgent to admit such a happy compromise, for example, in times of mass unemployment. In such situations a characteristic reaction is the elaboration of autistic philosophies by minority groups which deliberately aim at barricading themselves from the ideological influence of the larger society, from whose values they obtain little security. Thus do "ressentiment" philosophies like communism emerge.

VALUE-INTEGRATION AND GOAL ORIENTATION

In a society in equilibrium there is a definite set of values which dominate the environment of the infant. Education naturally conforms to the societal values, and the child is initiated into either a static or a relatively plastic ethos. The child's personality is determined by culturally conditioned reflexes, since the modes of interpretation of the stream of external events proceed according to culturally predetermined patterns. Between an operation and its fulfilment the infant wedges an intermediate cultural function or executive instrument. Thus, the child, made to count on its fingers, is initiated into the decimal system. He becomes subject to the autisms of his culture. In some societies the initiation of youths into adult society is accompanied by painful physical operations and elaborate ceremonial, the function of which, according to Flugel, is to resolve the ambivalent feelings of parents toward their children.[16]

The sociologist, in studying the nature

[14] R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (London: Penguin Books, 1926). Thus, when the mores of a society refuse to tolerate a condition of chronic and involuntary unemployment for which classical economics makes no provision, a new theoretical system is demanded by the ethos. This was provided by J. M. Keynes in his epoch-making *General Theory*, published, significantly, in 1936, after Europe had experienced the ill-effects of the great depression.

[15] G. and M. Wilson, *The Analysis of Social Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1945), p. 125.

[16] J. C. Flügel, "The Examination as Initiation Rite and Anxiety Situation," *International Journal of Psycho-analysis*, Vol. XX, Nos. 3 and 4 (1939).

of a society's value-configuration, is not constrained to go into the infantile assimilative processes. Nevertheless, since a child tends to respond to cultural stimuli as other individuals respond, certain symbols and patterns become significant to members of a particular culture, and the resultant personality has a greater or lesser degree of plasticity according to the character of the cultural situation. It is with this cultural situation and its imperatives that the sociologist is primarily concerned. Generalized attitudes arise as a result of identity of response; a relatively self-conscious or group-conscious persona emerges, and a society acquires a more or less integrated ethos, a complex of folkways, habits of thought, and values which prescribe the limits of individual deviance.

In static societies in perfect equilibrium, the individual, once initiated into an ethos providing a maximum of security, is unresponsive to externally introduced values. The nature of individual resistance to cultural innovation was elucidated by Pavlov in his later researches. On the basis of his discovery that the delicate apparatus of the cerebral hemispheres in various specimens of the same species differed, Pavlov suggested that animals could be classified into types in so far as they possessed a "dynamic stereotypy" which is relatively plastic or inelastic as a result of conditioning to early environing stimuli. The simple reflexes do not suffice for independent existence, and the function of the upper centers of the central nervous system in animals is to keep the organism adapted to its environment. Extending these facts to the higher animals, including *Homo sapiens*, Pavlov contended that melancholia and mental illness resulting from a change in the accustomed mode of life or thought had their physiological basis in the destruction of a conditioned stereotypy in the nervous system and the subsequent difficulty of reorganizing that stereotypy in order to adapt the individual to the changed environment. Pavlov provided a vivid example of a student accustomed to the "arts" studies, who, when transferred to the natural sciences, which require different modes of thought, developed a pathological form of melancholia—a state which was remedied by transferring him to his previous studies.[17]

The higher nervous activity of human beings is extremely complex, but human types have been distinguished according to the relative rigidity of their mental stereotypy, for example, the inhibitory and the excitatory types. Of the former, Rosenthal comments: "This type has difficulty in learning and adapting itself to life. Under every blow of adversity this type tends to collapse and become the prey of a profounder inhibition and a definite melancholia."[18] We have already described the reactions of such societies when in cultural contact with others. The converse type (corresponding to the members of dynamically equilibrated societies) is more adaptable.

IDEOLOGICAL MOMENTUM AND ENTROPY

In perfectly equilibrated societies, then, a widening rift in the value-structure might so reduce ideological momentum as to result in anomie. Most imperfectly equilibrated societies, in contrast, attempt to resolve the hiatus between operative and latent values and so reharness ideological momentum, by incorporating new idealisms, new creeds, and new loyalties. But the range of cultural tolerance has its own limits, and an ethos which is permitted to step outside these limits risks anarchy.

[17] I. P. Pavlov, *Conditioned Reflexes and Psychiatry* (New York: International Publishers, 1941), p. 100.

[18] J. S. Rosenthal, "Typology in the Light of the Theory of Conditioned Reflexes," *Character and Personality*, Vol. I, No. 1 (1932). See also the numerous studies of autistic social groupings and mental rigidity, e.g., T. M. Newcomb, "Autistic Hostility and Social Reality," *Human Affairs*, Vol. I, No. 1 (1947); O. Oppenheimer, "The Functional Autonomy of Motives," *Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. XXV (1947); M. Rokeach, "Generalized Mental Rigidity as a Factor in Ethocentrism," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, Vol. XLIII, No. 3 (1948).

Thus James Stephen suggested that political offenses should be punished with the greatest severity on the ground that society must at all costs be protected against anomie. Hence treason is punished with the supreme penalty.

Now idealism provides societies with a peculiarly dynamic momentum—an élan which has been associated with two very different types of mentality.[19] On the one hand, we find the introverted ascetic mental climates whose remedy for anomie is to resort to retreatism, to archaism, to introspective self-realization. Such were ascetic Christianity, Stoicism, and Hinyana Buddhism. Where introverted autisms produce extremely eccentric behavior and habits of thought on the part of individuals, such behavior patterns and modes of thought are pathological symptoms of cultural isolation and of malformation of the individual's personality, his mental illness being a "disease" in which he can seek refuge from reality.[20] But when shared by a numerous society such autisms lose their morbid character and are transmuted into those peculiarly ascetic philosophical and religious systems characteristic of India. Buddhism in Asia provides the best example of the ascetic answer to the challenge of anomie. Millions of people embraced the teachings of Gautama Buddha after decades of wearisome wars and extortions by the ruling classes. Buddhism is a reaction to decadence, observes Hocart: "Buddhism is pessimism: existence, it says, is evil, it means pain and sorrow; escape from it lies only in extinction. Those are not the sentiments of a people with the future before them, but of a nation that has lived. Pessimists there are in every age, but it is only in periods of decline that they find a ready ear with the majority."[21]

But in Europe, the home of futuristic movements, the reaction to entropy and anomie is represented by extroverted "ressentiment" philosophies. The sectarian Communist and Fascist groups are typical of such militant proselytizing sects. It was Marx's avowed aim to insulate workers' parties from what he called "bourgeois influences." In an address to the Communist League he urged, as it were, the creation of a proletarian psyche; instead of forming "the chorus of bourgeois democracy," the aim of a working-class party should be "to make each community the centre and nucleus of working class societies in which the attitude and the interests of the proletariat should be discussed independently of bourgeois influences." The essence of such "totalitarian" societies, as they came to be called, is the maintenance of barriers to communication, as was symbolically demonstrated in the Nazi burning of the books. The Nazis elaborated an entire mystical vocabulary to symbolize this return to social bondage: "No doubt one day the German people will find a form for their knowing and experiencing God, a form in keeping with its Nordic blood. Not until then will there be a complete trinity of *blood*, *belief*, and the *state*."[22]

Here we have one of the most urgent problems of our age—this formation of autistic and mutually hostile social groups. Recent research in diverse fields has clearly demonstrated the vital importance of security in the life of modern man.[23] For security, as we defined it, is positively correlated with authority, the ability to enforce

[19] H. J. Mackinder, *Democratic Ideals and Reality* (London: Pelican Books, Ltd., 1944), p. 15, raises this issue.

[20] R. E. L. Faris, "Cultural Isolation and the Schizophrenic Personality," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XL, No. 2 (1934). In Salteux, transgressors of the mores are supposed to suffer illness, which is expiated by confession. Thus anxiety fulfils a social role and individuals are motivated to avoid dissocial acts (A. I. Hallowell, "The Social Role of Anxiety in a Primitive Society," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. VI, No. 6 [1941]).

[21] A. M. Hocart, "Decadence in India," in *Essays Presented to C. G. Seligman* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1934).

[22] W. Reich, *The Mass Psychology of Fascism* (New York: Orgone Institute Press, 1936), quoted.

[23] Cf. Newcomb, *op. cit.* Cf. the works of Erich Fromm, Elton Mayo, Kurt Lewin, and J. L. Moreno.

the sanctions of a society through legal rules, the application of force, and the informal modes of social control. Authority can exist only when it serves the fundamental promises of security as measured by a set of values. In a war of each against all there is neither security nor authority. We can postulate the axiom that in the absence of security, authority diminishes and the customary modes of social behavior are no longer binding. Behavior is no longer oriented to agreed goals, no longer governed by accepted norms, in those very spheres in which such goals and norms are an indispensable condition of minimal ideological momentum. Disequilibrium gives rise either to individual frustration, or to social conflict, or to both.[24]

In other words, authority, the foundation of social equilibrium, is the ability to enforce the society's sanctions and exists only in so far as it can offer security to its members. And security is available only in a society in which the relation between latent and operative values is such as not to make its ethos self-contradictory. A marked discrepancy between operative and latent values brings about a state of generalized hypocrisy, the prevalence of which is a pathological symptom and points to a need of moral readjustment. "Hypocrisy is an indication that the moral code is not in accord, or else no longer in accord, with the precise needs of the collectivity," as Ginzburg has pointed out.[25] If basic values prove to be illusory—if, for example, there is mass unemployment in a money economy—the unemployed are debarred from desirable social values, and a redefinition of values is to be expected. Hostility is sometimes avoided by the treatment of cultural contradictions with a measure of frivolity, by joking. In fact, Bernard Shaw has gone to the extent of arguing that ideological conflict is the very essence of drama. "The end may be reconciliation or destruction; or, as in life itself, there may be no end; but the conflict is indispensable: no conflict, no drama."[26]

An eminent sociologist once remarked that a great deal of sociological theory consisted in "underlining the obvious." But it is no simple matter to undertake the analysis of the obvious. And frequently, self-evident axioms of sociology, when rationally pursued, yield conclusions of signal interest and significance. The conceptual scheme set forth in this paper is necessarily tentative and imperfect. It falls far short of the ideal of quantification—so much in vogue today. But a large area of social problems does not at present permit of exact measurement and, as Professor Marshall has rightly said, not everything that can be measured is worth measuring.[27]

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[24] Cf. Manheim, *op. cit.*

[25] B. Ginzburg, "Hypocrisy as a Pathological Symptom," *International Journal of Ethics*, Vol. XXXII, No. 2 (1922).

[26] Preface to *Plays: Pleasant and Unpleasant* (London: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1946).

[27] T. H. Marshall, *Sociology at the Crossroads* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1947).

MILITARY STATUS IN CHINESE SOCIETY

MORTON H. FRIED

ABSTRACT

Western social scientists believe, with the Chinese literati, that the status of the military in China is invariably low. This is not true of contemporary China: There is abundant evidence that Chinese military status has not always been low but that there have been extended periods when it was as high or even higher than the civil status. The evidence also suggests that different socioeconomic classes in Chinese society have divergent views of the question; the scholar gentry being, as a rule, firmly antimilitary, while the peasantry has regarded military roles as an avenue to higher status.

Spurred by contemporary events, there is an increasing demand in social science for materials on and analyses of the cultures of the Far East. Within the past decade there has been a gradual accumulation of publications dealing with the sociological investigation of the Orient, especially of China. Within such a vast area and working with societies of such large populations and long-recorded histories, the task of the interpreter is a difficult one. It is to be expected that there will be many areas of disagreement which will require special and intensive study. The subject of the present paper is precisely such a problem.

With the recent publishing of H. H. Gerth's translation of the *Konfuzianismus und Taoismus* of Max Weber,[1] a very popular concept of the nature of Chinese society will no doubt be reinforced: that in the China of the last twenty centuries the positions of highest status, exclusive of those held by the sovereigns and their close kin, have been those occupied by literary men and that the soldier, even the high ranking military officer, has been a despised figure. The conception, which by no means originated with Max Weber, is associated with a number of corollary positions which have achieved widespread though uncritical acceptance. Since they have attracted investigators in the field of personality and culture, their incorporation into present-day research may lead to serious error. These views are three: that the Chinese nation is nonmilitaristic; that Chinese interpersonal relationships are devoid of physical violence; and that Chinese personality is nonaggressive. The social scientist who tries to find in these statements a reflection of modern events either is thrown into confusion or takes refuge in the belief that aggressive personalities and militarism are new to China, brought either by the West in the nineteenth century or induced by the more recent interaction with the Soviet Union.

Max Weber's view of the social inferiority of Chinese military officers was explicitly stated in a chapter on the literati which was made available in English in a translation by Gerth and Mills. Weber wrote that "the military were just as despised in China as they were in England for two hundred years, and that a cultivated literary man would not engage in social intercourse on an equal footing with army officers."[2] This assertion is supported by reference to a single item reported in the *Peking Gazette* in 1894.[3]

Sociologists writing before and after Weber's analysis of Chinese society have expressed similar concepts. Writing on the eve of the Chinese Nationalist revolution, E. A. Ross stated: "Feeling the closing jaws of the vise . . . Chinese patriots are making the army the national pet in order

[1] Max Weber, *The Religion of China*, trans. H. H. Gerth (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951).

[2] H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (trans. and eds.), *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), p. 422.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 464, n. 19.

to raise the despised calling of the soldier."[4] More recently a textbook in sociology predicted changes in the Chinese pattern of nonviolence and asserted that violence in China was something "only of recent years."[5] In a work analyzing the changing familial norms of China, Marion Levy provides one of the latest statements of this kind:

> Soldiers have for centuries been considered the lowest rung of Chinese society. The present Chinese government has been at some pains to change this conception, as have the Chinese Communist groups. The latter seem to have had the more success along these lines, but by and large the Chinese still aver that "good iron is not used for nails; good men do not become soldiers."[6]

In the works of anthropologists similar declarations are generally made in terms of a professed Chinese contempt for violence.[7] At times, however, explicit statements assert a pattern of Chinese disparagement of the military. Weston LaBarre, for example, writing on character structure in the Orient, remarked: "The Chinese are not *militaristic*. . . . The soldier in the long span of Chinese history until the fall of the Manchu dynasty in 1912, has been looked down upon with a disenchantment bordering on contempt."[8]

Even among Sinologists there is a lack of unanimity, and the few specialists who have turned their attention to the status of military personnel have been interested in special periods of history rather than in generalization.[9] The most characteristic position of the specialists is that such statements as those cited above are true but must be qualified or completely altered for their own periods of specialization or areas of greatest interest.[10]

Actually, then, the problem of the status of military personnel in Chinese society may be seen as a set of three questions. (1) What is and has been the actual position of the military in Chinese society? (2) If there is a marked difference between the actual conditions of status in Chinese society and the idealized conceptions of that status, how is this difference to be explained? (3) Why have Western analysts adopted the view of military inferiority and what is the history of this conception in Western social science?

The present paper is an attempt to answer in brief detail the first of these questions. Another paper is in process on the second question. The third problem is one for students with special interest in the

[4] Edward Alsworth Ross, *The Changing Chinese* (New York: Century Co., 1911), p. 281.

[5] Chapter xix by Paul Walter, Jr., in *Social Control*, ed. Joseph C. Roucek (New York: D. Van Nostrand & Co., 1947), p. 317.

[6] Marion J. Levy, Jr., *The Family Revolution in Modern China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1949), p. 49 n.

[7] Cf. Ruth Benedict, "A Note on Chinese Culture and Personality" (Washington, D.C., 1943) (mimeographed); Alfred L. Kroeber, *Anthropology* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1948), p. 740; Ralph and Adeline Linton, *Man's Way from Cave to Skyscraper* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1947), pp. 81 and 86; Cornelius Osgood, *The Koreans and Their Culture* (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1951), p. 328.

[8] "Some Observations on Character Structure in the Orient. II. The Chinese," *Psychiatry*, IX (1946), 216–17.

[9] Cf. Herrlee G. Creel, "Soldier and Scholar in Ancient China," *Pacific Affairs*, VIII (1935), 336–43; Derk Bodde, *Statesman, Patriot and General in Ancient China* (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1940); Franz Michael, "Chinese Military Tradition," *Far Eastern Survey*, XV (1946), 65–69, 84–87. One might compare the statement by Olga Lang which appears in *Chinese Family and Society* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945): "The well known expression, 'good iron is not used for nails, a good man does not become a soldier,' which was used to disparage soldiers of all ranks, was a logical conclusion from this pacifist attitude of the imperial Chinese civilization" (p. 9) with the same author's previous inspirational article, "The Good Iron of China's New Army," *Pacific Affairs*, XII (1939), 20–33.

[10] A typical statement is that of Teng Ssu-yu: "Under [T'ang] rule, military men held a powerful position in society. Although civilian literary China has usually despised soldiers, many men of the T'ang age won respect and held advantageous positions in society" ("From Chou to T'ang," in *China*, ed. Harley F. MacNair [San Francisco: University of California Press, 1946], pp. 81–82).

history of Western thought. It is not unimportant, since for many of the French rationalists the most enlightened country in the world was thought to be China.[11] The belief in Chinese antimilitarism certainly must have contributed to this conception.

MILITARY STATUS IN CONTEMPORARY CHINA

That the status of military personnel in Communist China is high is hardly debatable. If the news of the day is insufficient proof, further evidence is available in the legal documents of the Chinese Communist government,[12] and the celebration of Mao Tse-tung as a military figure is most significant.[13]

From the data available, it would seem that the lot of the private soldier in the Red Army is a great deal better than was the fortune of the common soldier of the Nationalist Army when the Kuomintang controlled the greater part of China. Under the Nationalists, however, the prestige of ranking officers was very high, and, since in comparable positions, the prestige and authority of military personnel exceeded that of civil officials, it would ve very difficult to justify the concept of military inferiority for that period.

Many foreigners in China during the Republic had the opportunity to observe the relative standing of civil and military officials. While conducting a field study of a community in Anhwei Province in 1947–48,[14] I made extensive notes on the relationship of civil to military officials and had the chance to observe the interplay of civil and military populations. I witnessed many individual episodes that might be reported in which literary men were forced to defer to army officers, often in the most crude and embarrassing ways. As for the standing of the civil population vis-à-vis the military, it was common practice for special considerations to be lavished upon soldiers in such routine situations as the purchase of staple commodities, service in public inns, and preferential treatment in the maintenance of order in small towns. It was also customary to invite soldiers as honored guests at weddings and other rites and to include them in special dinners and celebrations.

In the town which was the subject of community study, a number of civil bureaucrats protected their homes from the indignities and expenses of quartering soldiers by posting notices on their doors. These documents were not significant because of their messages, which stated that so-and-so, the resident, was a clerk in such a bureau of the local government, but carried authority because they bore the personal seals of prominent military officials. In no case known to me was reliance placed upon the seal of a civil official, no matter how strong his local position.

Relationships between civil and military personnel favored the military. General and even field officers gave orders freely to district magistrates, and on one occasion I was present when the magistrate of a district in Honan acted as the virtual body servant of a general.

Though the theoretical social mobility of individuals and their families was not limited in classical Chinese society, the practical opportunities for such mobility were almost infinitesimal. Fei Hsiao-tung, on the basis of his experience in the study

[11] Cf. Paul Honigsheim, "Voltaire as Anthropologist," *American Anthropologist*, XLVII (1945), 112, 115 ff.

[12] Examples may be found in the "Agrarian Law of the People's Republic of China," Article 13, section c; and "Decisions Concerning the Differentiation of Class Status in the Countryside," August 4, 1950, Section 11.

[13] One example may suffice: "Chairman Mao is the organizer and creator of the . . . Chinese people's army. . . . He personally organized and led the first detachment of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army—that heroic and victorious army of the people, whose deeds in serving the people are unrivalled in China's history. Furthermore, Chairman Mao devised for this people's army a correct military line" (Shuang Yun, "A Marxist Military Line," *People's China*, II, No. 5 [1950], 6).

[14] Research sponsored by the Social Science Research Council.

of communities in many different parts of China, remarked:

> In a village where farms are small and wealth is accumulated slowly, there are very few chances for a landless man to become a landowner or for a petty owner to become a large landowner. It takes generations to climb the ladder of success simply by frugality; and during these long years the prospect of periodic upsets, from natural sources such as famine or from personal misfortunes such as illness and death must always be faced. . . . It is not going too far to say that in agriculture there is no way really to get ahead.[15]

A major function of military roles in Chinese culture is the provision of alternative possibilities to individuals of ambition who desire to improve their social, political, and economic fortunes but who realize that humble tilling of the soil, thrift, and virtue do not often bring success. This technique of status gratification at certain times in Chinese history is antipathetic to the interests of the literati as a power and status group. Since the literati are in control of the communication facilities, their ideology has received the greatest currency, while the ideology of the military men has been neglected almost completely.[16]

During the worst of the Nationalist crisis in 1947–48 the Nationalist soldier in garrison in central China, according to personal observation of the author, fared at least as well as the land-working peasantry, better than poor tenant farmers, and much better than the *nan-min*, the refugees who clogged the stations of the Tsing-pu railroad in flight from the battles of the north. Incidentally, the *nan-min* were not the creation of the recent civil war but have been a historic feature of Chinese society for tens of centuries; most local histories and gazetteers have whole sections devoted to "wandering souls."

The soldier in garrison enjoyed a fairly regular diet, which included rice, a commodity raised but not eaten by the poor farmers of the area who themselves eat maize and wheat, selling the highly valued rice in order to get a small amount of cash. Soldiers also consumed much more meat and enjoyed more wine than poor peasants could afford. The soldiers' clothing was better than that of most tenant farmers and could not be compared with the rags of the *nan-min*. Although as a common soldier the prospects for a man's family were not too good, he might become an officer and achieve moderate wealth and prestige. At worst he might sing with the poet:

> My property is nothing but a gun
> And these few pieces of wartime equipment.
> By these I become master of all;
> By these I plant, I weed, I reap.
>
> I shall eat meat and drink wine wherever I please.
> What do I care to whom they belong?
> Wherever I go,
> They shall ask my pity and my favor.
>
> Because the people fear my gun
> And my wartime equipment,
> Tremblingly they kneel before my feet
> And offer all they have to me.
> And because of my gun they hold their breath
> And call me sire; My gun and my equipment
> What endless treasure they are.[17]

Fei Hsiao-tung, upon discovering that despite the myth of military wretchedness a major way to success and status was through arms, has remarked:

[15] Fei Hsiao-tung and Chang Chih-i, *Earthbound China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945), p. 277.

[16] Western proponents of the status inferiority of the military have never, to my knowledge, mentioned the works of Chinese literati who have condemned the nation, at times, for inadequate or improper military preparations. Examples of such works would include the "Discussion of the Six States (*Lu Kuo Lun*)" by Su Hsün, and the "Lecture on Military Defense Policy (*Chiao chan shou ts'ê*)" by Su Shih.

[17] The poem has the bitter flavor of the literatus viewing military status, a subject that will be investigated in a subsequent paper. The poem itself is not titled, nor is its author given by the translator, J. F. Li, *As It Looks to Young China* (New York: Friendship Press, 1932), p. 96.

But how can a soldier, a subordinate officer in the army or in civil service, a chauffeur, a scissors-maker, or a shoemaker become rich? Yet, incredible though it may seem, such jobs do lead to wealth.[18]

In this statement, Fei seems to equate the military profession with such other specialties as cobbling and tinkering. His own Yunnanese material, however, reveals that in the community he refers to there were one hundred males in the sixteen-to-thirty age group. Of the twenty who left town seeking opportunity, thirteen went into military service and only one into each of the other specialties mentioned. One year later, seven more men went away, five of them into the army. The reason for such voluntary association with a "despised" status is clearly stated by Fei:

A family which we knew to have been in debt for several hundred dollars cleared up all its obligations and acquired more than 10 *kung* of land in one year after the son had entered the army. The richest family in the village has a son who is the commander of a regiment.[19]

HIGH MILITARY STATUS AS A PERMANENT FEATURE OF CHINESE CULTURE

The view that the present position of the military represents a new pattern in Chinese civilization is exceptionally common.[20] Equally well accepted is the view that prior to the conquests of Ch'in, or the establishment of Han (third century B.C.), China was dominated by military officials. What is neglected is the military tradition of the two-thousand-year period from the time of Ch'in to the coming of the West.[21]

To attempt to abridge that vast span of time for presentation in this paper would be to produce a ludicrous image. The available histories of China are crammed with the details of wars, battles, and military intrigues. The names of the great men and women of Chinese history include a high percentage of persons who gained their reputations through fierce combat. Imperial lines were most often begun by warriors rather than by politicians, and the descendants of Imperial ancestors frequently prided themselves on their military accomplishments. At times, the highest praise of a ruler might be couched in terms of martial prowess.[22]

There is evidence that at least once in the course of Chinese history military titles were in such good standing that the government resorted to their sale in order to refurbish a depleted treasury. The data are not clear, but it seems possible that the government resorted to the sale of the military titles only after failing to arouse public interest in a similar sale of civil titles.[23]

High-ranking military men had at least the prestige of the foremost scholars. One of the most literary of the emperors, Ch'ien Lung of the Ch'ing Dynasty, included an illuminating vignette of the great Ming general Hsü Ta in his *History of the Ming Dynasty*. Not only does the short sketch bespeak the reverence of an emperor for a warrior long dead but it

[18] Fei and Chang, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 130.

[20] "There is one other feature in the social life of China today which is directly the outcome of Western influence. It is the growth of a new military class. . . . Soldiers as such had no place in the fourfold order of old Chinese society. The proverb says, 'You cannot make nails out of bad iron or good men out of soldiers'" (Ernest R. Hughes, *The Invasion of China by the Western World* [London: A. & C. Black, 1937], p. 282). Cf. Launcelot Forster, *The New Culture in China* (London: Allen, 1936), and Jean Escarra, *China Then and Now* (Peiping: H. Vetch, 1940), esp. p. 168.

[21] In Weber, for example, the military forces of this period are seen as subordinated to bureaucratic-charismatic forces (*op. cit.*, pp. 25–26).

[22] Bingham records some of the encomiums praising Li Shih-min, the second emperor of T'ang: "[Li Shih-min] is an unusual man. In 'broadmindedness' he is in a class with Kao tsu of the Han dynasty, and in military spirit like T'ai tsu of the Wei dynasty" (Woodbridge Bingham, *The Founding of the T'ang Dynasty: The Fall of Sui and the Rise of T'ang* [Baltimore: Waverly Press, 1941], p. 85).

[23] C. Martin Wilbur, *Slavery in China during the Former Han Dynasty* (Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1943), p. 119.

tells us that "on the day of his return to court, without pomp, with a single carriage, he went to own house and there graciously received the literati and conversed with them."[24] For that matter, men of originally literary training sometimes ended with military commissions, at times as active warriors, occasionally performing their letters for military commanders.[25]

During the Ch'ing Dynasty and before, soldiers when not fighting sometimes had the opportunity of becoming farmers on lands which, though originally granted under special restricted title, often became freehold in the course of two or three generations.[26] Such lands were extensive enough to warrant separate classification as a major category in the tax system.[27] As a source of wealth in many parts of China, as the fountainhead of the financial success and high status of innumerable gentry families, the military land grants should not be underrated. In the community studied by the author there were a large number of prominent gentry who were descended from military officers of the Ch'ing Dynasty. Similar observations were made in Yunnan Province by Fei and Chang:

> The ancestors of the "lord" were only ordinary persons until his great-grandfather became a military officer in the Tsing Dynasty. The officer at this time acquired more than 100 *mow* of land. His son, grandfather of the "lord," became a military commander in Hunan, acquired more than 300 *mow* of land, and built a large temple and also the large house now occupied by the family in the village. No one knows, at present, how the grandfather, as a simple military officer, was able to accumulate such wealth; but the big estate is evidence of his success and reinforces the traditional idea of how wealth is acquired in the village.[28]

The security of military identification also prompted masquerade on the part of civilians. Thus, in the salt trade on the Huai River, merchants of the Ch'ing Dynasty often flew banners from the masts of their craft in order to "mislead people into thinking they were military ships.[29]

The Ch'ing legal code prescribed heavy penalties for persons who pretended without warrant to be military personnel.[30]

CULTURAL EVIDENCE OF MILITARY STATUS

Those who present the view of the status inferiority of the military frequently do so in terms of the proverb, "Good iron is not made into nails; good men should not become soldiers." Yet, the case should not be permitted to rest there, for proverbs of the opposite twist are common. At times the homilies stress the equality of civil and military functionaries, as in the saying, "Civil government tranquilizes a state; military rule settles a kingdom."[31] Or,

[24] Ch'ien Lung, *Histoire de la dynastie des Ming*, trans. Louis C. Delamarre (Paris, 1865), p. 83. In paying homage to Hsü Ta, Ch'ien Lung followed in the footsteps of the Emperor T'ang T'ai-tsu, who had been a personal friend of Hsü Ta and who spoke the eulogy for the general when he died.

[25] "When Kao Tsu (Li Yuan) was in charge of the garrison at Tai-yüan he greatly honored [Wen Ta-ya]. When the 'Righteous Troops' rose [in revolt] he brought in [Wen Ta-ya] to act as Staff Officer in charge of Records . . . at the generalissimo's headquarters" (Bingham, *op. cit.*, p. 371). Wen Ta-ya later became a prominent historian. Also, at the end of the Ming Dynasty it was common for Loyalists who were scholars and graduates to lead troops in active warfare against the invading Manchus (see Arthur Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing period* [Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1943–44], I, 41 *et passim*).

[26] Tang Chi-yu, *An Economic Study of Chinese Agriculture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1925), p. 59; Édouard Biot, *Mémoire sur les colonies militaires et agricoles des chinois* (Paris: Imprimerie National, 1850).

[27] Chen Shao-kwan, *The System of Taxation in China in the Tsing Dynasty* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1914), pp. 47–48.

[28] *Op. cit.*, p. 278.

[29] Shih Kuo-heng, "The Early Development of the Modern Chinese Business Class," in *The Rise of the Modern Chinese Business Class* (New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1949), p. 50.

[30] Sir George Stanton (trans.), *Ta Tsing Leu Lee* (London, 1810), p. 82.

[31] Arthur H. Smith, *Chinese Proverbs and Common Sayings* (Shanghai, 1902), p. 98. Though Max Weber does not give the proverb, he does pre-

"First politeness (*li*), then weapons."[32] Some proverbs unite civil and military talents to get the perfect man, as in "military, literary, his talents are complete."[33]

Other types of proverb stress the importance of military prestige, such as, "A great general has everywhere an awe-inspiring reputation."[34] A final example: "To rush on the foe at the point of a spear is the work of a truly brave man; and the scholar who can move heaven and earth is wonderfully talented."[35] The continuity of military tradition within a family line is reflected in the saying, "From a general's home come generals."[36] The most popular version of this proverb is: "From a general's home come tigers (brave sons)."

Chinese literature, whether the short story, novel, or play, is frequently devoted to portrayals of military situations and characters. The prevalence of violent themes and martial heroes is incompatible with the myth of military inferiority, Chinese pacifism, and nonaggression. Some of the stories, particularly the episodes from such novels as *Shui Hu Chuan*, translated by Pearl Buck as *All Men Are Brothers*, may, indeed, be used as textbooks on the proper use of certain old weapons as well as on certain basic concepts of strategy which would be of great use to a bandit group. In another novel, the *San Kuo*, or *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, one character is of special interest, since he represents a scholar who has become a general. This man, Lu Hsün, had the greatest difficulty overcoming the open contempt of his soldiers for his literary background.[37]

There are nine conventional male roles in the Chinese theater. Of these, three are permanently devoted to the portrayal of military characters, four are occasionally so used, and only two are fixed portrayals of civilians.[38] Of the five roles given to the impersonations of females, one is a warrior. The female warrior is a favorite of both audiences and performers.[39]

In other arts the military is also well represented. Martial scenes and military heroes have furnished the inspiration for paintings and lithographs.[40] One of the favorite subjects is Chao Yün, a warrior of the Three Kingdoms. In Martin Yang's study of Taitou, Shantung, we read the life-history of Tien-sze, whose favorite picture as a boy "had always been the picture of Chao Yun, the most popular warrior of China. Chao Yun was fully dressed in armor, and with bow and spear in hand, stood on top of the gate at Ching Chow. . . . Tien-sze had been so impressed that he had secretly wondered if he himself would be such a warrior."[41]

The god of literature, Wen Ch'ang, is himself sometimes conceived to be a warrior prince who was killed in battle. One of the earliest tales of Wen Ch'ang's power tells of his sudden appearance to a general who was beseiging a certain town. Wen Ch'ang predicted the date on which the town would fall, and the happy general sacrificed to his spirit benefactor.[42] If the literary god has

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sent the story on which the proverb is based (Gerth and Mills, *op. cit.*, p. 418).

[32] Herbert A. Giles, *A Chinese English Dictionary* (Shanghai, 1912), p. 911.

[33] C. M. Ricketts, "Chinese Proverbial Sayings," *China Review*, XX (1892), 381.

[34] Scarborough and Allan, *Chinese Proverbs* (Shanghai, 1926), p. 342.

[35] Clifford H. Plopper, *Chinese Religion Seen through the Proverb* (Shanghai: China Press, 1926), p. 28.

[36] Wang Chi-chen, *Readings in Traditional Chinese* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944), p. 10 (in Chinese).

[37] *San Kuo or the Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, trans. Brewitt-Taylor (2 vols.; Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, 1925), II, 238–53, 265, 604.

[38] Tcheng Mien, *Répertoire analytique du théâtre chinois moderne* (Paris: Jouve, 1929), pp. 36–47.

[39] Genevieve Wimsatt, *Chinese Shadow Shows* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936), p. 51.

[40] Cf. Will H. Edmunds, *Pointers and Clues to the Subjects of Chinese and Japanese Art* (London, 1934).

[41] Martin Yang, *A Chinese Village* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), p. 223.

[42] Henri Doré, *Recherches sur les superstitions en Chine* (3 vols. in 18; Shanghai: Variétés Sinologiques, 1913–38), VI, 29–30.

military antecedents, the war-god has acquired literary powers. Kuan Ti (Kuan Yu), who is sometimes spoken of as the "Chinese Mars,"[43] is often represented as companion to Wen Ch'ang. In the early Ch'ing Dynasty, Kuan Ti was granted the title *kuan fu tze*, "Great Teacher," and thus was raised to a rank equal to that of Confucius.[44]

The frequent use of military titles in the Chinese folk pantheon is striking.[45] The projection of concepts of military organization into the hierarchy of the spirit world is also common.[46]

BANDITRY AND REBELLION

The concept of military inferiority is not in harmony with empirical observation of Chinese behavior, and it creates inconsistencies in an evaluation of Chinese history. Two elements which have always been functional parts of Chinese culture are particularly incomprehensible if one accepts the idea that soldiers are despised. These are the capacity of the Chinese for revolt and the tendency for dispossessed persons to form local bands with military organization and seek their fortunes through banditry. There is a decided relationship between the two, as well as a connection with the institution of the secret society, which underlies so much of Chinese political organization. The dividing line between bandits and rebels, on the one hand, and rebels and victorious revolutionists, on the other, is not always clear. Almost up to the moment of its last continental resistance, the Kuomintang called the Chinese Communists "bandits." At present, the Chinese Communists call such groups of Nationalist troops as may be met on the mainland "bandits." In the T'ang Dynasty, when bandit groups felt strong enough to challenge the central government for control of a region, they would take the designation *i-ping*, "Righteous Troops."[47]

Banditry is an ancient feature of Chinese culture, celebrated in story and song, and in 1938 given a special new term and definition by Mao Tse-tung.[48] When the exploitation of the peasantry resulted in the dispossession of large numbers of farmers, bandit groups sprang up in many parts of the country, sometimes surprisingly close to key imperial cities. These bandits might be feared by the peasants, especially the rich, since there is a strong "Robin Hood" tradition, but it would be difficult to say that they were despised. Bandits were commonly treated as equals, sometimes as superiors. One Chinese sociologist, Lin Yueh-hwa, remarked on the basis of his knowledge of Fukien Province that "farming people in the mountain villages carried on life as usual wihout any disturbance from [the bandits]. They might often see the bands pass and might trade with them in the normal way."[49]

At times the government legalizes the status of a group of bandits, and bandit chiefs sometimes become ranking military officers.[50] In T'ang times bandit leaders in control of definite territories adopted official military titles and sometimes took royal titles.[51] The prestige which a group of outlaws might enjoy is portrayed in an idealized and romantic way in the novel

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 59.

[44] Clarence B. Day, *Chinese Peasant Cults* (Shanghai; Kelly & Walsh, 1940), p. 54.

[45] Examples are Liu Meng Chiang Chün, T'ien Tsao Meng Chiang, etc. (Doré, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, *passim*).

[46] "The four great kings of heaven have under their orders 96 legions of spirits commanded by 32 generals" (Doré, *op. cit.*, VII, 226). (My translation.)

[47] Bingham, *op. cit.*, p. 87, n. 21.

[48] "[Banditism], . . . the military principles of the type of warfare waged by roving bandits, as well as the ideology arising from such warfare" (Mao Tse-tung, "On Establishing Guerrilla Bases," reprinted in *People's China*, II, No. 3 [1950], 5). One could argue against Mao's use of the term "roving," since many Chinese bandits operate from fixed bases within well-defined areas.

[49] *The Golden Wing* (London, 1947), p. 148.

[50] *Ibid.*, p. 171. Cf. H. J. Howard, *Ten Weeks with Chinese Bandits* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1926), pp. 229–32.

[51] Bingham, *op. cit.*, pp. 131, 136, *et passim*.

All Men Are Brothers, in which the 108 heroes are all fugitives from the injustice of corrupt officialdom. Several of the militant heroes of this novel are described as originally being scholars and graduates.

CONCLUSIONS

This paper has attempted to demonstrate that a popular conception of the nature of Chinese society, a conception which apparently has been uncritically borrowed from the ideology of a small segment of Chinese society, the literati, is faulty and unwarranted. The recent publication of a work by Max Weber threatens to reinforce this view of the status inferiority of the military in China. Since this concept is often used as the basis for generalizations involving other aspects of Chinese culture, social structure, and social psychology, it has been important to present a summary of some of the more evident facts in the case.

We have alluded to a mass of historical, biographical, and sociological data which reveals that military status, far from being low or despised, has frequently enjoyed the highest rating. This version of the position of military personnel is more in accord with the facts of Chinese culture, agreeing with such normally inconsistent factors as the frequent preoccupation with war and rebellion, the prominence of military events and characters in art and literature, and the importance of military supernaturals in the pantheon. Applied to contemporary affairs, it necessitates a re-evaluation of the often conjectured sudden rise of militarism in China, which is seen as a diffusion from the West. It will be seen that what the Occident has contributed to the present Chinese scene, new weapons and some new concepts of military organization,[52] does not include the martial spirit. What the West has done is to act to intensify those conditions in China which have previously been associated with turmoil and military activity—the population has increased, the accumulation of property in the hands of few has been accelerated, and, a most important new factor, the market for locally produced commodities such as silk and homespun fabric has been sharply curtailed through competition with outside nations.[53]

It should be emphasized that neither military nor civil status has been unconditionally ascendant during the past two millenniums in China's history. The two have been related in various ways; at times competing with one or the other dominant at times harmoniously interacting. To unravel the ups and downs of this relationship would be to move into the very dynamic of Chinese culture itself.

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[52] The use of new weapons is a certainty; the tactics, however, often seem closer to Sun-tse than to Clausewitz.

[53] Fei Hsiao-tung emphasizes this point in *Peasant Life in China* (London: G. Routledge & Sons, 1939), pp. 16–17 and chap. xii.

COMMENT

SHU-CHING LEE

Although the author indicated in this paper his study in China, it seems that he was, and still is, quite unaware of the prolonged discussions in Chinese newspapers and magazines, joined in by many prominent professors and scholars, of the question: What has been wrong with Chinese culture in general and with the intelligentsia, the bearer of culture, in particular? This controversy began in the late thirties and lasted for more than a decade. One excellent analysis is published in a book entitled *Chinese Culture and the Soldier*, by a noted historian, Professor Lei Hai-Chung. Deprived of authentic and authoritative sources of information, the author is forced to rely upon some casual observations and dubious evidences to support his arguments, which are by no means as convincing and warranted as those of Max Weber.

A point-by-point refutation of the author's assertions would take another paper of the same length, if not longer, to do the job. However,

the following remarks may suffice. He personally observed in China the common practice of lavishing special favors upon soldiers and that "relationships between civil and military personnel favored the military." These observations were undoubtedly true. Why did the author not go on to mention that Chiang Kai-shek is a trained professional soldier and that most of the governors of China's twenty-odd provinces under Chiang's rule were military generals, not to mention the once numerous warlords. The author further observed that bureaucratic residences in the town he studied protected themselves by posting on the doors notices which bore only the personal seals of high military officials. The author may be pleased to know that this practice was also common under the Nationalist rule, often the faculty dormitory of the National Southwest Associated University at Kunming during the war years had to resort to this means of protection. These notices indicate, as every Chinese can testify, nothing but the direction from which intrusion and molestation had come—to be exact, the soldiery. Since the mercenary with his gun was beyond the control of civil authorities, to post protective warnings bearing their names would be pointless. From this very evidence, it is apparent that ordinary citizens, who had no connection with officialdom and could not secure such military notices to post on their doors, were actually living at the mercy of ill-disciplined and unprincipled soldiers. Is that not enough to arouse the populace to disparage the soldier?

Military status in Chinese history may have been higher and lower as situations changed; a threatening barbarian invasion, for instance, might enhance the prestige of the military. (The Confucian scholar who openly praised the soldiery was Lu Yu, a great poet of the southern Sung.) And the chaos of civil strife might also place a number of military generals in high civil posts. But these facts do not warrant a generalization that the military has always enjoyed a status higher than, or even equal to, that of the literati. On the whole, the hardship and misery of the soldier's life are inadequately emphasized, and his chance of making a fortune through military service is grossly exaggerated. On one occasion, the author, strangely, regards the military colonization system as a means by which soldiers may acquire land to become farmers. It must be pointed out that land assigned to military colonization has been negligible in history and almost nonexistent in contemporary China. Proverbs, novels, and theatrical materials were cited as cultural evidences, most of which seem to be either irrelevant or insignificant in actuality; yet, the voluminous Confucian teachings, historical records, and writings of literature, which bear distinctly on antiwar, antimilitary character, the author ignores. Perhaps no mature Chinese scholar would venture to cite Wen Ch'ang (God of Schools) to illustrate anything in connection with military or literary status, for the social background of this Taoist-created deity, springing as he did from several legendary and contradictory sources, is by no means clear. The author is definitely at disadvantage in mentioning the case of Kuan Ti, a military figure popularized by the novel, *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, and canonized by the early Manchu emperors. Kuan Yu's deification was made for the special purpose of substituting him for another military deity, Yüeh Fei, whose staunch loyalty to the Sung Dynasty made Yüeh a bitter enemy of the then-barbarian invaders, the Chin, who happened to be the tribal ancestor of the Manchus.

The rise of the soldier's status in the so-called People's Liberation Army is certainly something new. It can be understood only in the light of the changed soldierly qualities. The applause of Mao (cited by the author) seems not so much for him as a military figure, as the author believes, but, rather, for his great success in transforming the hitherto stigmatized mercenaries into a modern national army whose interests are identified with the people's. In order not to share the ill fame of the past, the Communist has changed the traditional term *ping* (soldier) into *chan-shih* (warrior).

In a sound sociological study of military status in China, the author has to tackle effectively the following problems upon which the unfavorable rating of the military rests (let us temporarily overlook the recent political change): (1) Who constitute the soldiery? It is a well-established fact that the literati are mainly recruited from the landowning gentry, whereas the military, especially the mercenaries, from the poor and illiterate peasantry, and, therefore, the former hold a higher status. (2) What is the general behavior of an ordinary soldier? If he behaved not otherwise than as described in the popular song cited by the author, or even worse, he cannot but be despised.

(3) What is the psychological orientation of the common people toward the military and literati? Would a peasant prefer to see his son go to school for study or join the army for drill, if he could afford to do either? He would probably choose the former. Unless the author can refute all these commonly accepted facts, he may lead the Western readers to further confusion.

CHICAGO

REJOINDER

MORTON H. FRIED

The arguments of Dr. Lee are familiar to one who for several years has followed discussions of the status of the military in China with Chinese friends of the literati. Their basic error is the insistence on a single-track approach to Chinese culture and society; the sort of thing which is implicit in such a statement as "the intelligentsia, the bearer of culture." The use of the term "culture" in contemporary social science explicitly denies the concept that culture is a monopoly of certain classes or specific societies. This is very much to the point, for the article in question does not deny the existence within Chinese society of groups or classes which regard the military as inferior, but questions the application of their particular ideology to the total society.

Humbly accepting Dr. Lee's criticism of my knowledge of Chinese scholarship, it nevertheless seemed necessary to air and interpret various data which could not be reconciled with the current belief in Chinese military inferiority. In this matter, it is of interest that Dr. Lee's criticisms seem more *ad hominem* than substantive, emotional rather than objective. My observations on military status in contemporary China are indorsed by Dr. Lee but are interpreted by him as new and deviant. Further, in noting the abuse of military power, Dr. Lee asks the moral and rational question whether such abuse is not enough to "arouse the populace" against the soldier? Such a technique does not seem conducive to the sort of "genuine sociological study" Dr. Lee requests. Again, in this issue Dr. Lee obviously takes "ordinary citizens" as largely synonymous with scholar-gentry, an assumption which is all too usual but quite unwarranted.

The use of literary materials to clarify the question of military status is disparaged by Dr. Lee. This is unfortunate. Documents of an antimilitary nature were little used by me because their concepts are the basis of the present general belief and are widely appreciated. Since, however, it is a function of the social scientist to understand or explain cultural manifestations, it seemed legitimate to ponder the meaning of military symbolism in so much Chinese literary and artistic production. If the major locus of such symbolism is among the peasantry, it cannot be explained away by denying the peasants' culture.

Dr. Lee admits that "military status in Chinese history may have been higher and lower." This thesis may be familiar to him, but it is not well known in the West. The basic point of the paper seems to be accepted, though questioned in detail.

The writer makes no claim to solving or settling the question of Chinese military status. He has introduced certain materials which conflict with prevalent views and has done so primarily for the consideration of Western scholars. The author enthusiastically supports the call for a more intensive study of the problem and hopes that Dr. Lee may find time to elaborate his criticisms and present them in a space compatible with the weight of the subject.

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PREMARITAL PREGNANCIES IN SCANDINAVIA AND FINLAND

SYDNEY H. CROOG

ABSTRACT

Rates of premarital pregnancies in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland, calculated from government statistics, are comparatively high in Denmark, Finland, and Sweden. But Norway has a much lower rate. This circumstance, to some degree, calls in question the popular assumption of a common Scandinavian culture. The rates are relatively constant, except for variations during and immediately following war.

The study of premarital pregnancy has been generally overlooked by social scientists, despite the significant role which such phenomena play in the population trends and the marital institutions of some countries. This article presents a report on rates of premarital pregnancies in the Scandinavian countries and in Finland. Births resulting from premarital pregnancies are considered in relation to total national legitimate births, legitimate first births, and marriages.

Premarital pregnancies are apparently important in affecting birth trends in Denmark, Finland, and Sweden, judging on the basis of available data. Moreover, a relatively large percentage of marriages is seen to be accompanied by premaritally conceived pregnancies.

Norway, however, seems to differ sharply from the other three countries as evidenced by statistics of premarital pregnancy. An implication of this difference is that the basic culture of Scandinavia is far from uniform as far as some premarital and marital customs are concerned.

Data for Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden in this report are based on official government statistics, published and unpublished.[1] All the countries have national registration systems. The figures upon which the tables and conclusions in this article are based are as accurate as official systems and methods of compilation make them.[2]

The material on births for the countries is not all strictly comparable, nor does it cover completely similar years. The Swedish figures, for instance, begin in 1911, while the Danish government undertook the compila-

[1] Sources of data were as follows for each of the countries: DENMARK: *Statistisk Aarbog 1949*, pp. 33, 35; *Befolkningens Bevaegelser* for the following years and pages: 1948, p. 12; 1947, pp. 11, 12; 1946, p. 11; 1944 and 1945, pp. 11, 12; 1942, pp. 8, 9; 1941, p. 8; 1940, p. 10; and *Folketaellingen den 5 November 1940*, Table Vf, p. 92 (Copenhagen: Det Statistiske Departement). Some data on first births by months after marriage were obtained from unpublished manuscripts at Det Statistiske Departement, Copenhagen. FINLAND: *Statistisk Årsbok för Finland* for the cited years and pages: 1949, pp. 53, 55, 39–43; 1948, pp. 51, 53; 1946–47, pp. 62, 64; 1944–45, pp. 62, 63; 1943, pp. 64, 65; 1942, pp. 68, 69; 1941, pp. 66, 67; 1940, p. 68; and Befolkningsstatistik, *Befolkningsrörelsen Åren 1941–1945*, pp. 16, 24, 25, 50, 58, 59, 84, 92, 93, 118, 126, 127, 152, 160, 161 (Helsinki: Statistiska Centralbyrån, Finlands Officiella Statistik). NORWAY: Norges Offisielle Statistikk, *Statistisk Årbok for Norge*, 1946–48, X, 162, Table 26, pp. 31–33; and the following issues of *Folkemengdens Bevegelse:* 1921–32, X, 70, pp. 127, 142–43, 146–47; 1933, IX, 83, pp. 2, 32–33, 34–35; 1934, IX, 94, pp. 32–33, 34–35; 1935, IX, 122, pp. 2, 54–55, 56–57; 1936, IX, 148, pp. 32–33, 34–35; 1937, IX, 171, pp. 32–33, 34–35; 1938, IX, 192, pp. 3, 32–33, 34–35; 1939, X, 18, pp. 2, 32–33, 34–35; 1940, X, 58, pp. 54–55, 56–57; 1941, X, 95, pp. 2, 32–33, 34–35; 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, X, 172, pp. 7, 51, 56–57, 58–59; 1947, XI, 17, pp. 2, 28–29, 30–31; 1948, XI, 34, pp. 2, 28–29, 30–31 (Oslo: Statistisk Sentralbyrå). SWEDEN: Sveriges Officiella Statistik, *Befolkningsrörelsen* for the cited years and pages: 1946, pp. 15, 32–33; 1943, pp. 15, 32–33; 1940, pp. 15, 32–33; 1939, pp. 15, 32–33; 1935, pp. 23, 50–51; 1930, pp. 23, 50–51; 1925, pp. 87, 111–12; 1918–20, pp. 37, 108–9; 1915, pp. 23, 43–44; 1911, pp. 23, 43–45 (Stockholm: Statistiska Centralbyrån).

[2] A description and critique of Swedish methods of compiling statistical data is presented in Karl A. Edin and Edward P. Hutchinson, *Studies of Differential Fertility in Sweden* (London: P. S. King & Son, Ltd., 1935), pp. 17–26. Essentially similar methods are employed throughout Scandinavia.

tion of data on births by month after marriage in 1938. The Danes began with data on first births and then in 1945 and the following years included data on total births regardless of birth order. Material on first births in Sweden by month after marriage is not available, but published figures present total births regardless of birth rank by month after marriage.

Norwegian data are of limited utility in the study of premarital pregnancy, since they are not presented for periods less than twelve months after marriage. The figures begin in 1924. Finnish data are available from 1939 for total births by month after marriage regardless of birth order, and in 1941 and 1942 reports on first births were published. There are gaps after 1942, however, in birth data for periods less than twelve months after marriage.

Strict comparison of rates for all four countries is not possible, furthermore, because of slight differences in classification of birth data. Danish birth data on premarital pregnancies report upon what are really "lyings-in." They include stillbirths and count instances of multiple birth as one birth. The Norwegian and Finnish data are for live births only; those of Sweden are for both live and stillbirths. For each of the three latter countries multiple births have been included, with each child in a multiple birth added to the birth total. The difference caused by the varied classification is probably not more than about 3 per cent.

Conditions in the four countries differed greatly during the years of World War II. Finnish birth trends were especially affected by the war, the tables seem to indicate. Finland was at war from 1939 until April, 1945—first against Russia until September, 1944, and then against Germany until April, 1945. Customary patterns were disrupted by war, occupation, and the conditions that indirectly result from war. Moreover, a large proportion of the population was casualty. For instance, during the two wars fought against the Soviet Union between 1939 and 1944, 78,000 persons—2 per cent of the population—lost their lives.[3] Conditions in Finland during the conflict thus preclude strict comparison with such a country as Sweden, which was neutral; with Denmark, which endured a German occupation quiet in comparison with the occupation of other conquered countries; or with Norway, which passed through active conflict and an occupation involving severe privations.

Birth figures in all the countries have been affected by several common factors: natural sterility, fecundity, contraception, and premature births. The sterility and low fecundity of couples taking part in sex relations outside marriage clearly reduce total rates of premarital pregnancy.

According to an estimate for Sweden, about 10 per cent of the Swedish married population is sterile, while about 12½ per cent more have relatively low fecundity.[4] Over one-fifth of Swedish families are thus estimated to be involuntarily limited in size by physical factors. These estimates, if they hold true for Swedish marriages, are probably generally valid also for couples participating in premarital sexual relations throughout Scandinavia and Finland.

Aside from sterility and fecundity factors, contraception and its spreading use have probably helped to reduce the incidence of premarital pregnancy. Detailed data are lacking, however, on the use and effects of contraception in different social groups and levels.[5]

A number of the births recorded in the tables as premaritally conceived are in reality premature births, conception being after marriage. The possibility is strongest for those births which occurred six, seven, and eight months after marriage. Were corrections to be made for premature births in the

[3] Urho Toivola (ed.), *The Finland Year Book 1947* (Helsinki: Oy Tilgmann Co., 1947), pp. 70–71.

[4] Sveriges Offentliga Utredningar, *Betänkande i Sexualfrågan, No. 59, 1936* (Stockholm: Isaac Marcus Boktrykeri-Aktiebolag, 1938), p. 25.

[5] Discussion in the English language of Swedish contraceptive use may be found in Alva Myrdal, *Nation and Family* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1941), pp. 51, 109–12. The treatment is brief, however, and is not in quantitative terms.

data, they would deal not with the entire group of births each year but with only those arriving six months or more after marriage. Of these births, possibly between 5 and 10 per cent might be premature, judging from American studies.[6]

Data in the tables have been divided by two main monthly periods after marriage in order to show possible patterns of premarital pregnancy. Births are presented according to whether they occurred within the first six or the first eight months after marriage.[7] Births for the six-month and eight-month periods are tabulated along these lines on the assumption that they reflect the extent of conceptions occurring before marriage. A report on births occurring between eight and nine months after marriage has been omitted, since, in addition to the premaritally conceived births, it would include many births conceived in the early days of marriage. In the case of Norway, because other information was not available, births taking place twelve months after marriage and less are recorded in the tables.

MARRIAGES AND BIRTHS

Consideration of births early in marriage in relation to the annual number of marriages serves to highlight the frequency with which premarital pregnancies accompany marriage. They indicate the prevalence of marriages that start with pregnancy and an early child. Percentages of the births in relation to marriages may be found in Table 1.

The percentages in Table 1 are based on minimum universes of 36,341 marriages in Denmark, 26,871 marriages in Finland, 15,803 marriages in Norway, and 32,614 in Sweden. The maximum universes were 40,257 marriages in Denmark, 49,743 marriages in Finland, 29,923 in Norway, and 64,627 in Sweden.

Although births in relation to marriages serve to point up the prevalence of premarital pregnancy and to imply its possible impact upon the marital institution, the percentages in Table 1 do not precisely reflect annual trends. Specific marriages in a single year which are accompanied by pregnancy may be unrelated to the pregnancies in that year. Some marriages during a calendar year may be followed by an early birth during the following year; conversely, some early births in a calendar year are actually related to the marriages of the preceding year. Consideration of births in relation to marriages thus merely gives an indication of general trends, since it arbitrarily and artificially relates annual marriages to annual births early in marriage.

Table 1 seems to indicate that Sweden and Finland rank as being the countries with the largest percentages of marriages that are accompanied by pregnancies. In Sweden in 1947 the births occurring within six months after marriage represented 27.8 per cent of the total number of marriages, while births occurring within eight months after marriage represented 32.4 per cent of total marriages. The Finnish percentage for the six-month period in 1948 was 25.3; for the eight-month period it was 35.2.

The percentages for Denmark show total births in 1948 occurring within six months after marriage as being 21.4 of all marriages, while an estimated 27.0 per cent occurred within eight months after marriage. The Danish percentage at least for the six-month period closely matches that of Sweden and Finland. The main difference for the six-

[6] American studies of premature births give a possible indication of the general extent of rates in Scandinavia and Finland. One report on 2,960 premature births in Pennsylvania Hospital, Philadelphia, records an average rate of 9.4 per cent of all births, but the rate varied from 7.5 per cent in 1933 to 10.2 per cent in 1930 (Ralph M. Tyson, "A Fifteen Year Study of Prematurity," *Journal of Pediatrics*, XXVIII [June, 1946], 648–64). Sanford reports a change in the rate of premature births from 4.9 per cent in 1936 to 7.4 per cent in 1947. The rates are based upon a study of 2,363 premature infants born in Chicago (Heyworth N. Sanford, "Care of the Premature Infant," *Pediatrics*, III, No. 2 [1948], 271–72).

[7] In the instances where figures for births for the seventh and eighth months after marriage were not available, estimates were made. The estimates were based on data for six- and nine-month periods. The eight-month estimate represents two-thirds of the difference between the six- and nine-month periods. The result has been added to the six-month total.

month period between the three countries lies in the war period, during which Finnish rates dropped sharply.

The Norwegian rate, however, is markedly distinct from the patterns shown by the other countries. In 1948, births occurring within twelve months after marriage represented 20.4 per cent of total marriages. The rates for Denmark, Finland, and Sweden for the six-month period for available years 10.0 per cent above the low level in 1943 for the six-month period. The difference between the 1946 and 1943 percentages for the eight-month period was slightly over 14.0 per cent. The presence of such extreme differences within a period of four years is a possible indication of the cataclysmic effect that war had upon premarital and marital behavior in Finland. The evidence of the most recent postwar years in Finland in rela-

TABLE 1

PERCENTAGES BY PERIODS AFTER MARRIAGE OF LEGITIMATE BIRTHS IN RELATION TO ANNUAL MARRIAGES

YEAR	SIX MONTHS AFTER MARRIAGE AND UNDER			EIGHT MONTHS AFTER MARRIAGE AND UNDER			TWELVE MONTHS AFTER MARRIAGE AND UNDER
	Denmark	Finland	Sweden	Denmark*	Finland	Sweden	Norway
1948	21.4	25.3	.....	27.0	35.2	.....	20.4
1947	22.2	25.1	27.8	28.0	36.0	32.4	21.2
1946	21.3	23.8	26.4	26.7	34.1	31.1	.....
1945	24.0	16.1	26.5	30.1	22.5	31.0	22.6
1943	.....	13.7	24.2	.....	20.0	28.5	.....
1940	.....	18.4	22.0	.....	24.3	25.7	18.4
1939	.....	25.0	20.6	.....	32.1	23.7	18.7
1935	.....	.....	23.0	.....	.....	26.0	20.5
1930	.....	.....	26.7	.....	.....	30.1	.....
1929–32	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	23.7
1925	.....	.....	29.2	.....	.....	33.0	.....
1924–27	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	25.5
1920	.....	.....	33.3	.....	.....	38.3	.....
1915	.....	.....	30.0	.....	.....	34.8	.....
1911	.....	.....	31.1	.....	.....	36.8	.....

* Percentages in this column are estimated (see n. 7).

have been consistently higher than the Norwegian rate for the twelve-month period after marriage.

Considerable fluctuation is evident in Finnish trends. The variation is undoubtedly due in large part to the war. Finnish rates declined from 25.0 per cent for the six-month period in 1939 and 32.1 per cent for the eight-month period to a low of 13.7 and 20.0 for the same two periods in 1943.

Immediately after the war the Finnish rates leaped upward to approximate the 1939 levels. In the case of the eight-month period rates, the postwar level exceeded the 1939 one. The 1946 rate was slightly over

tion to the 1939 percentages seems to indicate that rates normal for the country have been re-established.

Swedish rates may be studied for a longer period of years than any of the other countries. In general, Swedish percentages show a decline from 1911 to about 1940. During and immediately after the war the rates began climbing again. The differences between the 1940 level and the 1946 level were about 4.0 per cent for the six-month period and about 5.0 per cent for the eight-month period.

The decline was interrupted immediately after World War I by a brief rise upward.

The recent rise in Swedish rates may possibly be the result of the same conditions that produced the rise after World War I. On the other hand, the recent turn upward may be the result of alterations in Swedish attitudes and values regarding premarital pregnancies and premarital sex relations. The general decline from 1911 to 1940 can probably be ascribed more to the spread of knowledge about contraception rather than to changes in the mores regarding sex behavior and premarital pregnancy.

Norway exhibits a general decline similar to that of Sweden, although the decline is for births within the twelve-month period following marriage. The rate fell from 25.5 per cent for the years 1924–27 to 18.4 in 1940, the most recent available year before 1945. The postwar increases caused Norway to reach recent levels of about 20.0 and 21.0 per cent.

Figures for Denmark on marriages and total legitimate births by month after marriage are not complete enough to warrant the drawing of conclusions about trends. For the postwar years, however, it seems that a relatively stable level has been reached.

As knowledge and use of contraception spread in all four countries, it is likely that rates of premarital pregnancies in relation to marriages may decline. Such a decline will be possible even if participation in sex relations outside marriage becomes still more extensive.

TOTAL LEGITIMATE BIRTHS

Material on total legitimate births in relation to total births within the first six and eight months after marriage helps to point up the effects of births early in marriage upon annual legitimate birth rates. The data illustrate the role that premarital pregnancies play in the fertility of the countries considered. Rates are presented in Table 2.

Percentages in Table 2 are based upon minimum universes of 78,551 legitimate births in Denmark, 56,690 live legitimate births in Finland, 38,548 live legitimate births in Norway, and 73,792 legitimate births in Sweden. The maximum universes were 88,721 legitimate births in Denmark, 102,132 live legitimate births in Finland, 62,396 live legitimate births in Norway, and 117,639 legitimate births in Sweden.

The percentages are affected by two major factors: the fluctuations in the number of annual legitimate births within six and eight months after marriage and the rise and decline of the annual number of legitimate births. If, for instance, the rate for legitimate births declines while the number of "early" legitimate births remains constant, the percentage relationship will be higher than if both rates remained constant.

Apparently fertility in Scandinavia and Finland is considerably affected by premarital pregnancies. The country with the highest percentage of premaritally conceived births is Sweden. This record is partially a function of the decline in Swedish birth rates and partially a function of decline in family size. In 1947, 14.1 per cent of all legitimate births in Sweden came within six months after marriage, while 16.5 per cent came within eight months.

The Danish percentages for the years 1945 through 1948 are relatively stable, with about 10.0 per cent of total legitimate births arriving within six months after marriage and about 13.0 per cent arriving within eight months. The percentages for Finland in 1948 were 9.7 per cent for the six-month period and 13.5 per cent for the eight-month period.

Information on Norway for the twelve-month period after marriage in 1948 again shows evidence of sharp variation from the other countries. Although the Norwegian figure is for a period twice as long as the six-month period, still only 9.7 per cent of total legitimate births arrived within the first twelve months of marriage.

Historically the Swedish rates increased from 1911 to about 1935. The same general level has persisted since that year with only slight fluctuations. Finnish figures, however, show considerable variation among the 1939, 1943, and 1946 levels. These differences in Finnish figures are again apparently

a function of the effects of war upon fertility.

LEGITIMATE FIRST BIRTHS

Consideration of first births within the first six and eight months of marriage in relation to total legitimate first births tends to eliminate the broad effects of marital fertility and family size upon the tables. Unfortunately, data on first births in Sweden are not available by month after marriage, and such data are limited for Finland. Rates may be found in Table 3.

The percentages in Table 3 are based on minimum universes of 20,703 legitimate first births in Denmark, 18,019 live legitimate first births in Finland, and 13,077 live legitimate first births in Norway. The maximum universes were 27,159 legitimate first births in Denmark, 25,287 live legitimate first births in Finland, and 23,702 live legitimate first births in Norway.

In 1948, 30.0 per cent of all legitimate first births in Denmark occurred within six months after marriage; 38.4 per cent eight months after marriage or less. Figures for Finland for comparable periods were 21.1 and 32.5 per cent in 1942 and 26.0 and 33.6 in 1941. For the six-month period in Finland there was a slump of 5.0 from 1941 to 1942. In Norway, however, in 1948 only 25.4 per cent of all legitimate first births occurred within twelve months after marriage.

Notable is the increase in rates (Table 3) demonstrated by Denmark for the eight-month period. Within eleven years—from 1938 through 1948—the rate rose by slightly over 7.0 per cent. Increase in the Danish rate for first births within the six-month period is apparent also, although it is not so marked. A rise of slightly over 4.0 per cent can be seen.

The steady increase in the percentage difference for Denmark between the six- and eight-month periods may possibly be due to changing customs in sex behavior immediately before marriage. If the customs are really changing, however, the variation may be merely temporary and may be related to

TABLE 2

PERCENTAGES OF ANNUAL LEGITIMATE BIRTHS BY PERIODS AFTER MARRIAGE

Year	Six Months after Marriage and Under			Eight Months after Marriage and Under			Twelve Months after Marriage and Under
	Denmark	Finland	Sweden	Denmark*	Finland	Sweden	Norway
1948	10.7	9.7	.....	13.5	13.5	.....	9.7
1947	10.5	10.7	14.1	13.2	15.3	16.5	10.0
1946	9.7	12.0	14.0	12.2	17.0	16.4	.....
1945	10.2	8.0	13.7	12.7	11.2	16.0	9.3
1943	.....	6.2	13.2	.....	8.8	15.5	.....
1940	.....	10.0	15.2	.....	12.5	17.7	11.5
1939	.....	10.6	14.6	.....	13.6	16.8	11.2
1935	.....	.....	15.8	.....	.....	17.8	11.0
1930	.....	.....	14.4	.....	.....	16.6	.....
1929–32	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	9.7
1925	.....	.....	12.0	.....	.....	13.5	.....
1924–27	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	8.2
1920	.....	.....	12.1	.....	.....	14.0	.....
1915	.....	.....	9.4	.....	.....	11.1	.....
1911	.....	.....	8.8	.....	.....	10.5	.....

* Percentages in this column are estimated (see n. 7).

conditions in the later war years and the postwar years. The data are too limited to warrant the drawing of definite conclusions.

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American studies of premarital pregnancy are rare. In a few instances premarital pregnancies are considered briefly as a part of larger studies. The nature of the few investigations available will not permit comparison with the Scandinavian and Finnish rates. The figures reported upon are probably well beneath the actual rates because of the possibilities of extensive "cover-up."[8]

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGES OF ANNUAL LEGITIMATE FIRST BIRTHS BY PERIODS AFTER MARRIAGE

Year	Six Months after Marriage and Under		Eight Months after Marriage and Under		Twelve Months after Marriage and Under
	Denmark	Finland	Denmark	Finland	Norway
1948	30.3	.....	38.4	.....	25.4
1947	30.0	.....	37.7	.....	26.1
1945	27.5	.....	34.7	.....	24.6
1943	26.6	.....	33.0	.....	.....
1942	26.3	21.1	32.0	32.5	.....
1941	26.3	26.0	32.0	33.6*	26.2
1940	26.7	.....	32.4	.....	26.5
1938	26.0	.....	31.0	.....	26.3
1935	.....	.....	.....	.....	30.0
1933	.....	.....	.....	.....	30.4
1929–32	.....	.....	.....	.....	32.0

* Estimated (see n. 7).

CONCLUSIONS

Birth rates for Denmark, Finland, and Sweden are, according to available data, strongly influenced by premarital conceptions. Relatively stable and established patterns of premarital pregnancy seem to exist in all three countries. Moreover, a large proportion of marriages in the three countries face the problems of parenthood early in the first year of wedlock. The rates, based on data from countries which have state religions, are a possible indication of wide discrepancy between ideal and real culture patterns regarding premarital sex relations.

The Norwegian figures, while compiled for a different postmarital period than the other countries, show clearly that basic premarital sexual patterns differ among Norway and the other areas. These differences are of great significance, since it has commonly been believed that the basic cultures of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden are relatively uniform. Finland fits into the general pattern shown by Sweden and Denmark. Assuming that the data are reasonably accurate, it is probable that both premarital and early marital patterns in Norway are different from those of the other three countries.

The rates of premarital conception should not be taken as evidence of especially severe

[8] Harold T. Christensen, "A Comparative Study of the Time Interval between the Marriage of Parents and the Birth of Their First Child, Based on 1,670 Couples in Utah County, Utah, 1905 to 1935" (unpublished thesis, Brigham Young University, 1937); Edgar Sydenstricker, "A Study of the Fertility of Native White Women in a Rural Area of Western New York," *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly Bulletin*, Vol. X, No. 1 (January, 1932). A brief description of premarital pregnancy patterns in certain specific social levels may be found in August B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1949), pp. 429–34.

disorganization within the marital institution in Denmark, Finland, and Sweden. The rates are apparently part of relatively stable and integrated culture patterns.[9]

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[9] For an analysis of premarital pregnancy in Denmark see S. H. Croog, "Aspects of the Cultural Background of Premarital Pregnancies in Denmark," *Social Forces*, Vol. XXX, No. 2 (December, 1951). Many of the factors are similar to those of Sweden and Finland. A discussion of courtship patterns and premarital pregnancy in Sweden appears in Myrdal, *op. cit.*, pp. 42–47. See K. Rob. V. Wikman, *Die Einleitung der Ehe* ("Acta Academiae Åboensis," Vol. XI [Åbo, 1937]), for a historical study of courtship patterns in various European countries.

SOCIAL MOBILITY AND OCCUPATIONAL CAREER PATTERNS

I. STABILITY OF JOBHOLDING

SEYMOUR M. LIPSET AND REINHARD BENDIX

ABSTRACT

The job histories of 935 respondents in Oakland, California, reveal that the majority of them have had unstable occupational careers. The findings cast doubt on the assumption that present occupational position is a relatively permanent measure of position in the social hierarchy.

A study[1] conducted primarily to analyze labor-market behavior calls into question the use of the common occupation of a group of individuals as a means of predicting their attitudes and actions. The study is based on the entire job histories of 935 working heads of families in Oakland, California, from their first job to the present. Data were gathered, also, on the present occupations of their male siblings and on the occupations of their fathers. The sample was designed to secure a representative sample of the working population of Oakland, except that the lowest and the highest occupational and income groups were excluded, a limitation which should be borne in mind in the following discussion of social mobility.

[1] This article is one of a series based on the Oakland labor-market study, conducted by the Institute of Industrial Relations in 1949–50. During this study, 935 principal wage-earners were interviewed, chosen as a random sample from Oakland households after eliminating the highest and the lowest socio-economic areas in the city. A standardized questionnaire covered the subject's family background, education, residential community shifts, job history, and other conditions considered important in an analysis of labor mobility in this community. Other articles planned in this series include: social origins, geographic mobility, the worker's perception of the labor market, and others. It is expected that the series will be completed with a detailed analysis of the methodology used and that the several projects will be combined later into a monograph. We are glad to acknowledge help from several sources, particularly from Maurice I. Gershenson, chief, Division of Labor Statistics and Research, California Department of Industrial Relations; Robert L. Raschen; and Grace Woodward.

STABILITY AND INSTABILITY OF OCCUPATIONAL CAREERS

The major purpose was to obtain a longitudinal view of job histories.[2] The characteristic pattern of occupational mobility was arrived at for each person by determining the frequency with which he changed from one job to another, shifted from one occupation to another, or moved from one community to another. These three aspects of a job history are closely related but not identical. One might suppose that an older person, who has been in the labor force for many years, would be more mobile than a younger person simply because he has had more time in which to change jobs, occupations, or communities. But this study indicates that this is not necessarily the case; the older persons have settled down, and during a worker's early years in the labor force (Tables 1 and 2) the greatest amount of mobility occurs. We have no assurance, of course, that the persons who are, say, over

[2] Any sample of the California population in 1948–49 will show more than the national average of mobility, both social and geographic. The total population of Oakland increased from 284,063 in 1930 to 302,163 in 1940 (6.4 per cent) and to 382,463 in 1950 (26.6 per cent). The 1950 figure is preliminary. Preliminary figures indicate that during 1940–50 Oakland ranked third in population increase among the twelve cities having a population of 300,000–400,000. While population increased by 26.6 per cent in that decade in Oakland, California's population increased 51.6 per cent. Our purpose is to examine career patterns in terms of social mobility; a separate article will be devoted to a study of geographic mobility.

sixty years of age have given us a complete account of their job histories. But even if we discount the distortions of memory, job mobility clearly decreases as age increases.[3]

TABLE 1

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF PRINCIPAL WAGE-EARNERS

AGE GROUP	SAMPLE	
	Number	Per Cent
21–30.....	175	18.7
31–40.....	238	25.4
41–50.....	224	24.0
51–60.....	156	16.6
61–70.....	95	10.3
70 and over.	47	5.0
Total....	935	100.0

Changes from one job to another constitute only one index of mobility. They are related to changes between occupations and changes between communities. The mobility of the 935 respondents was computed by dividing the number of changes each person made by the number of years he had been in the labor force (Table 3). This over-all tabulation of mobility can be refined in two ways. Low, medium, and high mobility may be distinguished, but to do so requires the consideration of the three types of change separately. Job changes are most frequent, while changes between occupations and communities are less frequent, and this must be taken into account in distinguishing the three types of mobility, avoiding the assumption that mobility between jobs, occupations, and communities always means the same thing. A group has "low mobility" when persons changed jobs 0–1.9 times during ten years or when they changed occupations or communities 0–0.9 times during the same period. Similarly, the greater frequency with which people change jobs has been taken account of by designating as "high mobility" five or more job changes during a ten-year period, three or more occupational shifts, and two or more moves between communities.[4] Like other typolo-

TABLE 2

JOB MOBILITY BY AGE GROUPS

AGE GROUPS	JOB MOBILITY							
	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
21–30.....	10	5.7	49	28.0	116	66.3	175	100.0
31–40.....	57	23.9	108	45.4	73	30.7	238	100.0
41–50.....	89	39.7	109	48.7	26	11.6	224	100.0
51–60.....	88	56.4	62	39.8	6	3.8	156	100.0
61–70.....	59	62.1	31	32.7	5	5.2	95	100.0
70 and over	36	76.6	11	23.4	0	0.0	47	100.0

[3] Most of the detailed analyses of mobility which are to follow are therefore computed for all males, thirty-one years of age or over, in order to limit the discussion to those whose careers are well under way and to eliminate, as far as possible, those who are still "shopping around." A similar method was used by Anderson and Davidson, *Occupational Mobility in an American Community* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1937).

[4] "Medium mobility" has been designated as 2–4.9 job changes on the average during every decade in the labor force, 1–2.9 changes between occupations, and 1–1.9 changes between geographic areas.

gies, the distinctions of mobility are based on a simple inspection of the frequency of shifts between jobs, occupations, and places; though such distinctions are necessarily arbitrary, they are, at any rate, unequivocal as far as the extremes of low and high mobility are concerned.

This typology is tested to some extent by considering the mobility patterns of the 935 respondents from the viewpoint of internal consistency. One may assume that a person who is mobile in one respect (e.g., shifts between jobs) would also be mobile in the other respects, despite the fact that it is of course possible, say, to change jobs very frequently without ever leaving one's occupation or community. But, as Tables 4, 5, and 6 illustrate, mobility patterns occur in clusters. There is some indication, then, that from 13 to 18 per cent of our sample have had a highly mobile job history, while from 22 to 32 per cent have been relatively stable. The remaining members of the group studied show moderate mobility in varying degrees.

TABLE 3

AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHANGES IN JOB, OCCUPATIONAL GROUP,* AND COMMUNITY

AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHANGES MADE IN EACH TEN YEARS IN LABOR FORCE	PERSONS CHANGING JOBS		PERSONS CHANGING OCCUPATIONAL GROUP		PERSONS CHANGING COMMUNITIES	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
0–1.9	339	36.3	562	60.1	724	77.5
2–3.9	297	31.8	224	24.0	147	15.7
4–5.9	160	17.1	91	9.7	43	4.6
6 and over	139	14.9	58	6.2	21	2.2
Total	935	100.0	935	100.0	935	100.0

* In this and the following tabulations are distinguished occupational group, major occupational group, and occupational division. The first term refers to the occupational titles such as "professional," "own business," "skilled," etc. The second refers to combinations of kindred occupational groups like "white-collar and sales," "skilled and semiskilled," etc. The third term refers to the division of occupational groups into manual, nonmanual, and farm.

TABLE 4

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY BY JOB MOBILITY

JOB MOBILITY	OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY					
	Low		Medium		High	
	Number	Per Cent*	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Low	207	22.1	132	14.1	.....	.....
Medium	61	6.5	246	26.3	63	6.7
High	9	1.0	42	4.5	175	18.7
Total	277	29.6	420	44.9	238	25.4

* Percentages in this and Tables 5 and 6 have been calculated in terms of the total number of respondents. Thus, 22.1 per cent of the total sample show low mobility in both jobs and occupations, while 18.7 per cent show high mobility.

TABLE 5

COMMUNITY MOBILITY BY JOB MOBILITY

JOB MOBILITY	COMMUNITY MOBILITY					
	Low		Medium		High	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Low	296	31.7	39	4.2	4	0.4
Medium	147	15.7	146	15.6	77	8.2
High	64	6.8	32	3.4	130	13.9
Total	507	54.2	217	23.2	211	22.5

TABLE 6

COMMUNITY MOBILITY BY OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY	COMMUNITY MOBILITY					
	Low		Medium		High	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Low	218	23.3	43	4.6	16	1.7
Medium	214	22.9	130	13.9	76	8.1
High	75	8.0	44	4.7	119	12.7
Total	507	54.2	217	23.2	211	22.5

Both how a person thinks and how he acts are outgrowths of his life-experience, an important part of which is revealed by his occupational career. Therefore, the more uniform his career, the easier it is to predict his thoughts and actions. It was on this premise that Thorstein Veblen distinguished the conventional and pecuniary frame of mind of the typical businessman from the radical, matter-of-factness of the engineer. In that same way James Burnham recently characterized a "managerial class" by imputing similarity of thought and action to those who exercise the functions of management.

The pervasive influence of a common occupation on the mentality of all who are in it is unquestioned. But one may question the assumption that occupational experience is uniform throughout an individual's career. When the proportion of time which the respondents spent in their present or in some other than their present occupational group is computed, many turn out to have relatively unstable careers (Table 7).[5]

While members of all occupational groups have spent a considerable portion of careers in other than their present occupations, there are some differences between the various brackets of the occupational hierarchy. Occupational careers appear to be more unstable among unskilled than among skilled workers, and among upper-white-collar workers and those who own a business than among those in the other nonmanual occupations. Unskilled manual labor in American society is not the cul-de-sac that it is in the more rigidly stratified societies of Europe and Asia.

[5] The "professionals" are an exception to this statement almost by definition. Their careers depend on the completion of a prescribed educational program, and, once they have obtained professional status, they are not likely to take up other occupations except perhaps in later life. All other occupations differ: a person may hold jobs in a number of different occupations prior to obtaining a given white-collar position or owning a business of his own. To hold other than professional positions is likely to be an accidental part of a professional person's career.

The average frequency with which respondents held jobs in occupations other than their present ones yields a more refined measure of occupational instability, if occupational populations are grouped into three distinct categories. Professionals may have spent on the average 80 per cent of their working careers as professionals, but this average hides a range of variation. Table 8 is designed to show what proportion of the members of each occupational group

TABLE 7

PERCENTAGE OF TIME SPENT* IN PRESENT AND IN OTHER THAN PRESENT OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS,† BY PRESENT OCCUPATIONAL GROUP

Present Occupational Group‡	Number	Percentage of Time Spent in Present Occupational Group	Percentage of Time Spent in Other than Present Occupational Group
Professional	23	80.2	19.8
Semiprofessional	19	69.2	30.8
Own business	105	41.5	58.5
Upper-white-collar	72	38.6	61.4
Lower-white-collar	67	47.6	52.4
Sales	42	48.0	52.0
Skilled	169	55.9	44.1
Semiskilled	98	52.5	47.5
Unskilled	44	44.2	55.8
All groups	639	50.1	49.9

* Time is calculated as a percentage of total job history. Thus, if a person spent fifteen out of twenty years in the labor market as a professional, but five years as a salaried employee, then 75 per cent of his career was spent as a professional, 25 per cent in other than the present group. "Percentage of Time Spent" refers to the average of these percentages for all members of an occupational group.

† A man who has worked one out of three years and one who has worked ten out of thirty years in lower-white-collar jobs have both spent 33 per cent of their time there. By limiting the group to males thirty-one years and over, such discrepancies are minimized.

‡ The occupational strata first introduced by Alba Edwards and used here in a modified form are illogical. People are classified alternately by length and complexity of training and by type of remuneration (professional), by property-owner (own business), by employment status and type of work done (white-collar, salesman), and by degree of skill (manual labor). Yet this absence of logic is justified by convention: people distinguish the occupations of others in terms of these criteria. We added to them the categories of "semiprofessional" in order to take account of the many occupations (such as nursing, personnel work, etc.) whose members aspire to or have acquired semiprofessional status. Also, we distinguish upper- from lower-white-collar so as to enumerate business executives separately from their secretaries; and we list "salesmen" separately because neither the Fuller Brush man nor the insurance salesman can well be fitted among the salaried white-collar employees.

has spent under 50, 50–79, or 80–100 per cent of their careers in their present occupational category.

A majority of the professionals (69.6 per cent) have spent most of their working careers in their present occupations. This is to be expected in view of the length of their training. But, as one goes down the occupational ladder, this is less and less the case. Frequently, the low income and status of an occupational group is associated with the circumstance that only a small percentage of its members have spent from 80 to 100 per cent of their careers in it. Those who own a business or who belong to the upper-white-collar group are the most mobile among the nonmanual, while the unskilled are the most mobile among the manual workers—if we measure mobility by the proportion of persons who have spent half their careers in occupations other than the present one.

TABLE 8

PERCENTAGES OF MALES IN SPECIFIED PERCENTAGES OF WORK TIME SPENT, BY PRESENT OCCUPATIONAL GROUP

Present Occupational Group	Percentage of Work Career in Present Occupational Group				
	1–100%		80–100%	50–79%	Under 50%
	Number	Per Cent			
Professional	23	100.0	69.6	9.0	21.7
Semiprofessional	19	100.0	47.4	31.6	21.1
Own business	105	100.0	11.4	31.4	57.1
Upper-white-collar	72	100.0	13.9	20.8	65.3
Lower-white-collar	67	100.0	17.9	32.8	49.3
Sales	42	100.0	26.2	23.8	50.0
Skilled	169	100.0	22.5	34.9	42.6
Semiskilled	98	100.0	22.4	28.6	49.0
Unskilled	44	100.0	18.2	20.5	61.3
All manual	314	100.0	65.0*	21.0	14.0
All Nonmanual	343	100.0	58.3*	23.0	18.7
All groups	639	100.0	21.6	28.8	49.6

* The proportion of all manual or all nonmanual workers who have spent 80–100 per cent of their time in these categories is significantly higher than the corresponding proportion for the separate occupational groups. Shifting between jobs may be frequent without entailing a cross-over from the manual to the nonmanual occupations, or vice versa. (Cf. below.)

The data being the entire job histories of 935 individuals, it is possible to compute the variety of work they had *ever* done outside their present occupational group. The discussion until now has been of the *typical* career patterns for the various occupational groups; the present concern is with *every* job which the respondents held for at least three months, to shed light on the variety of jobs characteristic of the different occupational groups (Table 9). The data reveal a variety of job experiences that is staggering.[6]

A total of 935 working heads of families report 4,530 jobs held, or an average of 4.8 jobs for an average of 25.3 years in the labor force.[7] In order to obtain an over-all picture of the shifts between occupational groups which are here involved, every job is tabulated as antecedent to every subsequent job, that is, every job change is treated as a shift from the previously held to the "present" job, which in turn is considered as "previously held" as soon as the next job shift is tabulated (Table 10).

This operation shows that as a group

[6] In this tabulation we could not distinguish the short-term jobs from those held for many years. Therefore Table 9 refers both to the job held for three months and to the job held for fifteen years. But this does not seriously affect the findings, since it is obvious that the short-term jobs far outnumber those held for long periods of time.

[7] Treating the 935 respondents collectively we added their total years in the labor market and divided by 935. In calculating the number of jobs held by the 935, we left out of consideration unemployment, exit from the labor force, and war service. The total number of recorded "positions" is 6,957, which means that the 935 held a total of 4,530 jobs and in an additional 2,427 instances were either unemployed, out of the labor force, or in the armed services. If the total number of positions held is considered, then the 935 have occupied an average of 7.4 "positions" for an average of 25.3 years in the labor force. The term "positions" refers to all steps in the working career of an individual after his first entry into the labor force, regardless of whether they involved jobs, unemployment, war service, or exit from the labor force.

persons who own or manage a business have the most heterogeneous past experience.[8] Almost 40 per cent of the shifts into self-employment were from manual jobs of various kinds. Slightly under 30 per cent were from various nonmanual occupations, largely white-collar and sales, while only 21.6 per cent shifted from one form of business ownership to another.

Shifts from job to job at the "same" occupational level took place most frequently in the occupations with high status, such as professionals, semiprofessionals, and upper-white-collar.[9] In each of these groups over 60 per cent of the changes occurred within the group. Among the manual occupations a similar pattern of job shifts within the occupational group is most characteristic of the skilled workers.

MANUAL AND NONMANUAL OCCUPATIONS

Though there are many shifts between occupational groups, especially in the lower brackets, these are, on the whole, shifts between adjacent occupational groups. Between those who work with their hands and those who do not, there is, however, relatively little shifting (Table 11). This is perhaps the most fundamental cleavage in American society. All those who work with their hands have spent 80 per cent of their working lives in manual occupations; all who do not work with their hands have spent 75 per cent of their working lives in nonmanual occupations. This division between people in the manual and in the nonmanual occupations has important ideological implications. Manual labor in the United States is not regarded as degrading, and the dignity of manual work is frequently stressed. Nothing has contributed more, for instance, to the popular legend of Henry

TABLE 9

PERCENTAGE OF MALES WHO WORKED IN OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS OTHER THAN PRESENT, BY PRESENT OCCUPATIONAL GROUP

Present Occupatonal Group	Number	Occupational Groups Other than Present											
		Professional	Semiprofessional	Own Business	Upper-White-Collar	Lower-White-Collar	Sales	Skilled	Semiskilled	Unskilled	Farmowner	Farm Labor	Odd Jobs, Unemployed
Professional	23	.....	8.7	8.7	13.0	26.1	8.7	8.7	21.7	17.4	.....	.....	13.0
Semiprofessional	19	.....	.....	15.8	5.3	31.6	10.5	21.1	21.1	31.6	5.3	.....	10.5
Own business	105	2.9	4.8	.....	8.6	41.0	33.3	47.6	45.7	20.0	1.0	10.5	14.3
Upper-white-collar	72	2.8	6.9	16.7	.....	77.8	29.2	15.3	26.4	18.1	2.8	9.7	16.7
Lower-white-collar	67	.....	3.0	11.9	9.0	.....	26.9	44.8	53.7	35.8	6.0	13.4	35.8
Sales	42	.....	7.1	38.1	16.7	64.3	.....	26.1	50.0	28.6	2.4	14.3	14.3
Skilled	169	.....	1.2	24.3	.....	22.5	10.7	.....	73.4	40.2	3.6	17.8	30.2
Semiskilled	98	.....	3.1	23.5	2.0	27.6	22.5	41.3	.....	56.1	4.1	24.5	32.7
Unskilled	44	.....	2.3	13.6	2.3	31.8	9.1	38.6	63.6	.....	4.5	29.5	36.4
All groups	639	0.9	3.6	17.4	4.5	34.0	19.1	26.0	44.6	31.8	3.1	15.7	25.2

[8] The same statement is true of "Farm," which is hardly surprising in an "urban" sample. Casual workers (manual, odd jobs) are, of course, mobile by definition.

[9] Our criteria of stability or instability at different occupational levels are exceedingly crude. We speak of a stable occupational career if a person has been a professional all his life. But, for example, a farmer's son may have worked his way through medical school, started his practice in a community of 2,000 people, and may be, at present, a prominent doctor in a metropolitan area.

TABLE 10

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PRINCIPAL WAGE-EARNERS' PRESENT OCCUPATIONAL GROUP BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUP OF PREVIOUS JOBS

Occupational Group of Previous Jobs	Occupational Group of Present Job																					
	All Groups		Professional and Semi-professional		Farm		Own Business and Business Executive		Upper-White-Collar		Lower-White-Collar		Sales		Skilled		Semi-skilled		Unskilled		Manual (Odd Jobs)	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Professional and semiprofessional	285	5.5	163	67.9	9	6.6	9	2.1	4	3.3	31	3.6	8	2.0	17	1.5	24	2.0	17	3.4	3	1.4
Farm	169	3.3	.....	.....	29	21.2	12	2.8	1	0.8	10	1.2	7	1.8	21	1.9	47	4.0	32	6.4	10	4.6
Own business and business executive	263	5.1	4	1.7	6	4.4	92	21.6	8	6.6	16	1.9	30	7.7	53	4.7	35	3.0	13	2.6	6	2.7
White-collar	818	15.8	21	8.8	11	8.0	53	12.4	74	61.6	429	50.2	62	15.9	48	4.3	73	6.3	28	5.6	19	8.7
Sales	355	6.9	5	2.1	7	5.1	53	12.4	5	4.2	58	6.8	143	36.7	17	1.5	35	3.0	15	3.0	17	7.8
Skilled	912	17.6	10	4.2	10	7.3	77	18.1	2	1.7	35	4.1	21	5.4	599	53.6	100	8.6	28	5.6	30	13.7
Semiskilled	1,030	19.9	5	2.1	28	20.4	51	12.0	4	3.3	84	9.8	49	12.6	159	14.2	497	42.6	100	20.1	53	24.2
Unskilled	463	9.0	4	1.7	14	10.2	20	4.7	2	1.7	36	4.2	18	4.6	44	4.0	131	11.2	159	31.9	35	16.0
Manual (odd jobs)*	189	3.7	3	1.2	10	7.3	6	1.4	2	1.7	18	2.1	8	2.0	37	3.3	58	5.0	29	5.8	17	8.2
Unemployed†	520	10.1	21	8.7	11	8.0	40	9.4	9	7.5	110	12.9	33	8.5	81	7.2	124	10.6	68	13.7	23	10.5
War service	167	3.2	4	1.7	2	1.5	13	3.1	9	7.5	28	3.3	11	2.8	42	3.8	44	3.8	9	1.8	5	2.3
All groups	5,171	100.0	240	100.0	137	100.0	426	100.0	120	100.0	855	100.0	390	100.0	1,118	100.0	1,168	100.0	498	100.0	219	100.0

* Manual (odd jobs) refers to casual laborers.

† Unemployed includes also persons who have left the labor force.

Ford than the fact that this boy from the farm built an industrial empire.[10] The belief in effort and success has remained an essential part of the American creed, notwithstanding the real inability of people to rise from the manual to the nonmanual occupations. But slogans cannot obliterate the wide cleavage between the outlook and way of life of people on either side of the barrier. These differences have been tellingly stated by Granville Hicks:

> Hunting and machinery—those are the two great topics of conversation when men get together. Sam Josephs loves to talk about both, and he is usually the central figure in any discussion. Being currently employed in a garage, he is regarded as an authority, and the session is likely to open with a question directed to him, but once the topic is launched, everyone —everyone but me—joins in. The talk grows more and more technical, but human interest is never excluded, for Sam is always being reminded of what some stupid customer said or what some incompetent mechanic did, and his anecdotes evoke others. Some of the men in our group are closely confined to things they have actually worked with, but others are interested in general principles and capable of dealing with them. Stan Cutter, for instance, though he was unable or at any rate unwilling to finish the sixth grade, has a genuinely speculative mind, and has worked out certain theories of mechanics for himself, just from handling machinery, even as he acquired some knowledge of physiology from the butchering of domestic and game animals. For all these men machinery is, among other things, a field of competence, and it is obvious that they enjoy talking about the subject simply because it is one on which they have something significant to say.[11]

Many people in the manual occupations have in common a way of life in which they judge men in terms of what they do with their hands and how they do it. No such simple description, even for the small town, is possible for persons in the nonmanual occupations. Their way of life is too varied to permit of much generalization. In the absence of a simple interest in manual skill and the intricacies of animals and machines, their concern, as Veblen has shown, is with social prestige and material comfort which often overshadows the matter-of-fact aspects of daily living.

So soon as the possession of property becomes the basis of popular esteem, therefore, it becomes also a requisite to that complacency which we call self-respect. In any community where goods are held in severalty it is necessary, in order to his own peace of mind, that an individual should possess as large a portion of goods as others with whom he is accustomed to class himself; and it is extremely gratifying to possess something more than others. . . . The tendency in any case is constantly to make the present pecuniary standard the point of departure for a fresh increase in wealth; and this in turn gives rise to a new standard of sufficiency and a new pecuniary classification of one's self as compared with one's neighbors.[12]

TABLE 11

PERCENTAGE OF TIME SPENT BY MALES IN PRESENT AND OTHER THAN PRESENT OCCUPATIONAL DIVISIONS

Present Occupational Division	Number	Percentage of Time Spent in Present Occupational Division	Percentage of Time Spent in Other than Present Occupational Division
Manual	314	80.4	19.6
Nonmanual	343	75.3	24.7

But, while the cleavage itself is deep, occupational shifts on either side of it are so frequent that most men are familiar to some extent with both mentalities. The manual workers in our sample have spent 80 per cent of their work careers in manual occupations, but they have also spent from 45 to 55 per cent of their time in manual occupations other than their present ones. Nonmanual workers have spent 75 per

[10] See Keith Sward, *The Legend of Henry Ford* (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1948), pp. 275–88.

[11] *Small Town* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1946), p. 115.

[12] Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Modern Library, 1934), p. 31.

cent of their work careers in nonmanual occupations, but they have also spent from 20 to 61 per cent of their time in nonmanual occupations other than their present ones.

Moreover, shifts between manual and nonmanual occupations occur as well. It is to be expected that the occupational experience of the respondents in this study is most diversified when the jobs held for short periods are considered. Table 12 shows the proportion of male respondents, grouped by overlapping sociological categories, who have spent some time in occupations that are most distant from their present position socioeconomically.

The jobs so tabulated include many held for relatively short periods. Nevertheless, 46.8 per cent of the manual workers have held nonmanual jobs, while 62.4 per cent of the nonmanual workers have worked with their hands clear evidence of the flexibility of the American occupational structure.

Another measure of the shift between manual and nonmanual occupations is obtained when each job is treated as intermediate between a previous and a future job, in the manner discussed previously (Table 13).

When all 4,523 jobs held by the respondents are taken into account, one-sixth of the manual jobs are shown to have been filled by people from nonmanual occupations, while one-fourth of the nonmanual jobs have been filled by people who at the time worked with their hands.

TABLE 12

PERCENTAGE OF MALES WHO WORKED IN MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS AND DIVISIONS OTHER THAN PRESENT, BY PRESENT MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUP AND DIVISION*

PRESENT OCCUPATIONAL GROUP AND DIVISION	OCCUPATIONAL GROUP AND DIVISION OTHER THAN PRESENT							
	Number	All Manual	Semi-skilled and Apprentice	Unskilled	All Nonmanual	High Status†	Lower-White-Collar and Sales	Own Business
All manual	314	.....	.....	.....	46.8	26.1	33.1	22.6
Semiskilled, unskilled, manual	145	.....	.....	.....	46.9	26.2	36.6	20.7
All nonmanual	343	62.4	39.9	23.9	.....	.....	.....	.....
High status†	129	46.5	24.8	19.4	.....	.....	65.1	15.5
Lower-white-collar and sales	109	75.2	52.3	33.0	.....	33.0	.....	22.0

* This is a summary presentation of the data contained in Table 9. Discrepancies in group totals result from the omission of certain "present occupations" from Table 9, since their significance is negligible owing to their small size.

† "High status" includes professionals, semiprofessionals, business executives, and upper-white-collar workers, while "All nonmanual" includes, in addition to the foregoing, lower-white-collar workers, salesmen, and business owners.

TABLE 13

OCCUPATIONAL DIVISION OF PRESENT JOBS OF PRINCIPAL WAGE-EARNERS, BY OCCUPATIONAL DIVISION OF PREVIOUS JOBS

OCCUPATIONAL DIVISION OF PREVIOUS JOB	OCCUPATIONAL DIVISION OF PRESENT JOB					
	Manual		Nonmanual		Farm	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Manual	2,077	79.7	466	26.0	62	50.0
Nonmanual	420	16.1	1,296	72.3	33	26.6
Farm	110	4.2	30	1.7	29	23.4
Total	2,607	100.0	1,792	100.0	124	100.0

A more detailed consideration of social mobility in this restricted sense will be considered in the second part of this report.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
AND
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

THE CONSTRUCTION OF CHARTS AND TABLES

September 10, 1951

To the Editor:

Both in teaching and in reading, I have found that the tendency of writers in using tables and charts to think only of the proper construction of each table or chart needlessly confusing. It is perplexing, for instance, in reading Richard Center's *The Psychology of Social Classes* to find that the solid line of Figure 15, page 136, must be read as the exact inverse of its meaning in Figure 16, page 137.

Such confusion occurs constantly in all publications. It is evident that, when a series of physically independent charts are to be compared, no stress is placed upon the importance of considering them for practical purposes as elements in a single chart. Then the rule, which all writers on graphics stress, that the ordering of items in a chart should be defined by the importance of elements in the chart ceases to apply. The rule should be that the order and layout of elements should be determined by the average or type in terms of which the comparison is being made. It then becomes possible for a reader to be fully acquainted with the intent of the writer.

ARTHUR G. LINDSAY, *Director*

Analytic Services
Denver, Colorado

NEWS AND NOTES

University of Alabama.—The university has received a grant from the Health Information Foundation for research in the processes of community action on problems of health. The research will continue for a year, and portions of the findings will be incorporated in a manual for community leaders.

The director is Solon T. Kimball, head of the department of sociology and anthropology. Other members of the research staff from the department include A. T. Hansen, Thomas R. Ford, Andrew G. Bumpas, and Ida Harper. Margaret Quayle, of the department of psychology, and Phyllis Andrews, of the department of sociology of Atlanta University, are also associated with the study.

Research is currently under way in Talladega, Alabama, with the co-operation of a citizens group representing all major civic and professional associations.

University of Arkansas.—Carl Backman, of Indiana University, has been appointed instructor of sociology.

Bates College.—Anders M. Myhrman, professor of sociology, has been appointed head of the division of the social sciences.

New appointees to this division are Douglas E. Leach, instructor in history; Ernest P. Muller, instructor in history and government; Charles H. Miller, Jr., instructor in economics; and Elliott M. Rudwick, instructor in sociology.

Boston University.—Luke M. Smith has been appointed visiting assistant professor of sociology for the academic year 1951–52. Dr. Smith is replacing Assistant Professor T. Scott Miyakawa, who is spending the year in travel and study in Europe under a Ford Foundation fellowship. In addition to offering courses in sociological theory and the sociology of industry, Dr. Smith is developing his special field of interest through a graduate seminar on the sociology of the professions.

Alvin Zalinger, a graduate of Boston University and a candidate for the Ph.D. degree at Columbia, has been appointed full-time instructor in the department.

Stanley Wronski, who this fall joined the faculty of the School of Education, is offering a seminar on American social institutions, the subject of which this year is "The Sociology of the American Educational System."

Brooklyn College of the City of New York.—Willoughby Cyrus Waterman, associate professor, is spending his sabbatical leave from June, 1951, to September, 1952, as a Fulbright Professor of Sociology at the University of the Philippines, Manila, teaching courses in criminology and general sociology. His address is: U.S. Educational Foundation, American Embassy, APO 298, % Postmaster, San Francisco.

Marion Cuthbert, assistant professor, is devoting her sabbatical leave from June, 1951, to September, 1952, to creative writing. She is located at Plainfield Star Route, Plainfield, New Hampshire.

Samuel Koenig, assistant professor, has returned to the campus from a year's research in Israel. His project was underwritten by a grant from the Social Science Research Council.

Jerome Himelhoch and Charles R. Lawrence, Jr., who have received their Ph.D. degrees from Columbia University, have been given regular appointments in the department as instructors. S. M. Miller, who has received his Ph.D. degree at Princeton University, is continuing as a lecturer in the department and as executive secretary

of the integrated social science program in the College of Liberal Arts.

Simon Marcson is organizing a community laboratory for the department and is also teaching related courses. He is serving in the Population Division of the United Nations and is completing his study of the demographic problems of underdeveloped areas.

Sylvia Rohde Sherwood has joined the department as a lecturer. She is also continuing her work in two juvenile delinquency research projects at New York University.

Sylvia Fleis Fava, formerly of Queens College and Northwestern University, has joined the department staff and is engaged in research dealing with the associative patterns of suburban residence.

Bryn Mawr College.—The department of sociology and anthropology offers an undergraduate major, as well as graduate work leading to the Master's and Doctor's degree. A fellowship is available for a woman graduate student, and students may compete for several graduate scholarships.

Frederica de Laguna is the head of the department of sociology and anthropology, and Eugene V. Schneider is also a member.

University of Cologne.—The volume in honor of the seventy-fifth birthday of Leopold von Wiese, entitled *Soziologische Forschung in unserer Zeit* ("Sociological Investigation in Our Time"), was published on December 1, 1951 (24 marks). Order cards may be had from Professor Everett C. Hughes, University of Chicago, or from Dr. K. G. Specht, Ferdinand-Schmitz Str. 5, Köln-Zollstock, Germany.

Drew University.—David R. Mace, professor of human relations, spent the summer in England conferring with leaders in the field of family counseling. In England, prior to his coming to Drew, Dr. Mace was instrumental in the founding of the National Marriage Guidance Council. He is currently carrying on a study of the practices and goals of American Protestant denominations in premarital counseling. This study has a subvention from the Grant Foundation.

Milton M. Gordon, assistant professor of sociology, published *A System of Social Class Analysis* as the second number of the Drew University studies. Copies are available on request from the Registrar.

Duke University.—David B. Hawk, on leave of absence from Stephen F. Austin State College, Nacogodches, Texas, is giving courses in the department of sociology during the current academic year.

Howard E. Jensen has been appointed sociological consultant to the Mental Hygiene Division of the Georgia State Board of Health.

Edward L. Bernays Foundation Award.—In an attempt to encourage original research on the effects of modern media of communication on the people and institutions of the United States, the Edward L. Bernays Foundation Radio-Television Award will be offered under the auspices of the American Sociological Society to the individual or group contributing the best piece of research on the effects of radio and/or television on American society. The award, a $1,000 U.S. Government bond, will be made at the society's annual meeting in September, 1952, at Atlantic City. The contest will be open to social scientists here and abroad. Any individual or group wishing to compete for the award must submit in duplicate a report on the research on or before June 15, 1952. Both published and unpublished studies may be submitted. Research not fully completed for which a report with preliminary findings is available may be submitted. Research may cover radio or television or both.

All reports should be submitted as far in advance of the closing date as possible to the chairman of the committee of judges, F. Stuart Chapin, Department of Sociology, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis 14, Minnesota. The committee of judges in-

cludes, besides the chairman, Robert N. Ford, American Telephone and Telegraph Company; Herbert Hyman, Columbia University; Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Columbia University; Frederick F. Stephan, Princeton University; and Samuel A. Stouffer, Harvard University.

Fisk University.—The research staff of the department of social sciences is currently engaged in making a study for the United Negro College Fund on the role, future, and status of the private Negro college. This study will contain comprehensive information on the thirty-two member colleges of the United Negro College Fund.

Bonita Valien will be in charge of the division of social sciences in the Basic College of the university. The Basic College consists of exceptional high-school students who have been selected by the university on the basis of competitive examinations for accelerated college training, a program sponsored by the Ford Foundation in selected colleges throughout the nation.

David Granick, who received his doctorate from Columbia in 1951, has been appointed associate professor of economics.

Audrey Forrest, Edna Masuoka, and Carrell Peterson have been appointed instructors and research associates in sociology.

Preston Valien, professor of sociology and chairman of the department, has been elected to membership in the Sociological Research Association. He was also elected to the executive committee of the newly formed Society for the Study of Social Problems.

Harvard University.—Peter D. Rossi, who was trained at Columbia, has become assistant professor of sociology, teaching courses on urban sociology and population.

Joseph A. Kahl and Kaspar D. Naegele, both of whom have completed their doctorates in the department, are serving as instructors in sociology, both on joint appointments. Mr. Kahl is also a member of the staff of the course on human relations in the general education program of Harvard College, while Mr. Naegele is a member of the research staff of the Wellesley Community Mental Health Project, which is directed by Erich Lindemann and financed by the Grant Foundation.

A study of the sociology of role conflict is directed by S. A. Stouffer and financed by the Human Resources Institute of the Air University. The following have been appointed to its research staff: Edgar F. Borgatta, who was trained at New York University and was also a student of J. F. Moreno; A. F. Henry, a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago and a former Social Science Research Council Postdoctoral Fellow; D. F. MacRae, a Ph.D. of this department who returns after a year at Princeton; and T. M. Mills, who has just completed his training at Columbia.

Marvin W. Opler of Stanford University is serving as visiting lecturer in social anthropology in the department for the fall term.

David M. Schnieder, who has been for two years at the London School of Economics, has been appointed instructor in social anthropology in the department.

Benjamin D. Paul has resigned as assistant professor of social anthropology to become a lecturer in the Harvard School of Public Health.

Jackson Toby has left the staff of the role-conflict study to become assistant professor of sociology at Rutgers University.

As an experiment in interdisciplinary cooperation beyond the range of the department, Francis X. Sutton is collaborating with James S. Duesenberry of the department of economics in a joint course entitled "Sociological Analysis of Economic Behavior." A further experiment of this character is a course in the sociology of law by Assistant Professor Harold Berman of the Harvard Law School and Russian Research Center. This is the first time such a course has been offered at Harvard since the retirement of Roscoe Pound.

Toward a General Theory of Action by members of the department and their

assisting collaborators (edited by Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils) was published in November, 1951, by the Harvard University Press. This volume attempts a clarification of the common theoretical foundations defining the interrelations of the disciplines which compose the department. In addition, a report of the first five years' experience of the research program of the Laboratory of Social Relations has been published. Copies of the latter may be obtained by writing to S. A. Stouffer, Director, Laboratory of Social Relations, 303 Emerson Hall, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

University of Hawaii.—The Sociology Club announces the 1951 edition of *Social Process in Hawaii*, the club's annual publication (Vol. XV; $1.00 per copy postpaid anywhere). *Social Process in Hawaii* was first published in 1936 by a group of sociology students under the direction of Andrew W. Lind, professor of sociolgy. Each year a theme is selected which represents the general field to be covered in that issue. This year's theme is "Industrial Sociology." The articles deal with labor conditions, unions, the industrial revolution in Hawaii, and other pertinent subjects and problems and were written by Andrew W. Lind, Herbert Blumer, Bernhard L. Hormann, Clarence E. Glick, C. J. Henderson, Kiyoshi Ikeda, and David E. Thompson.

Indiana University.—The department of sociology has established the Edwin Sutherland Memorial Fund for the purchase of books and journals for the department reading-room. Students, colleagues, and friends of the late Professor Sutherland are contributing to it.

Karl Schuessler, Alfred Lindesmith, and Albert Cohen are collecting and preparing for publication some of the papers of Professor Sutherland. These writings, many of them previously unpublished, are to be presented in a single volume.

John Mueller has returned from a European tour.

Clifford Kirkpatrick, department chairman, has been elected chairman of the Research Committee on Marriage and the Family of the National Council on Family Relations. Dr. Kirkpatrick has also been elected vice-president of the Ohio Valley Sociological Society.

Sheldon Stryker has been promoted to the rank of instructor.

Erwin Smigel was a lecturer on industrial sociology at the United States Steel Workers Institute held at the university. He is currently offering a new course in occupational sociology.

Dinko Tomasic has returned to the university following a sojourn in Europe in connection with his position as a research director for the Human Resources Research Institute of the Air University, United States Air Force. Dr. Tomasic is now conducting an interdepartmental seminar on eastern European cultures.

Alfred Lindesmith has returned from the University of Southern California, where he was a visiting professor last year.

The following persons, all of them formerly graduate students in the department, have been appointed to the faculties of the institutions indicated: Carl Backman, University of Arkansas; Raytha Yokely, Fisk University; James Hughes, University of Kentucky; Ray Jeffery, Colby College; Arthur Kline, Western Colorado State Teachers College; James Turner, Indiana University Extension at Jeffersonville.

Institut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale.—Under the auspices of this institute and the East African Institute of Social Research, the second seminar devoted to anthropological research on cultures and societies of the eastern part of the African continent was held at the IRSAC research center for the Ruanda-Urundi Territory, in Astrida. The first seminar had taken place in Kampala (Uganda), December, 1950.

Professor L. van den Berghe, director of the IRSAC, was chairman for the inaugural session. Dr. Audrey I. Richards, director of the East African Institute of Social Re-

search, made a report on the research undertaken by her institute during the last six months and on the work in progress. Similar reports on the anthropological activities of IRSAC of the Tanganyika Territory Sociological Research Branch and the West African Institute of Social and Economic Research were submitted, respectively, by Dr. J. J. Maquet, Mr. H. A. Fosbrooke, and Dr. D. N. Leich. During the eleven sessions of the seminar the two main subjects discussed were the structure of the kinship groups and the bases of political authority.

About thirty specialists, most of them working in the field, took part in the conference, including: Mrs. P. Reining, Mr. and Mrs. A. Harris, Mr. and Mrs. E. H. Winter, Mr. and Mrs. J. Sherer, Mr. and Mrs. G. E. Goldthorpe, Mr. and Mrs. P. Gulliver, Messrs. L. A. Fallers, A. Southall, B. K. Taylor, and A. Low, associated with the East African Institute of Social Research; Messrs. V. Neessen, E. Finoulst, G. de Clercq, A. Kagame, and J. Hiernaux, attached to the IRSAC; Messrs. L. Delcourt, G. Schmit, and F. Corbisier, of the Belgian Administrative Services in Africa; and Mr. G. Wilson of the Tanganyika Territory Sociological Department. Mrs. M. Fallers and Misses J. Fortt and D. Canneel served as secretaries.

International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences.—The fourth congress will assemble in Brussels, September 1–8, 1952. The Austrian government and the scientific institutions and societies in Vienna have guaranteed full support and collaboration. The Austrian Executive Committee consists of: Rev. Father Professor Wilhelm Schmidt, Anthropos Institute, president; Professor Robert Heine-Geldern, Vienna University, Vice-president; Professors Wilhelm Koppers and Josef Weninger, Vienna University, secretaries; Dr. Anna Hohenwart-Gerlachstein, assistant secretary; and Dr. Walter Graf, treasurer. Members include Professor Robert Bleichsteiner, Professor Wilhelm Czermak, Dr. Wilhelm Ehgartner, Professor Arthur Haberlandt, Professor Josef Haekel, Professor Franz Hančar, Dr. Helga Pacher, Professor Richard Pittoni, Professor Leopold Schmidt, Dr. Alexander Slawik, Dr. Margarete Weninger, and Professor Dominik Josef Woelfel—all from Vienna University; Professor Wolfgang Amschler, University of Agriculture, Vienna; Dr. Etta Becker-Donner, Museum of Ethnology, Vienna; Dr. Herbert Mitscha-Märheim, president of the Anthropological Society, Vienna; Dr. Karl Krenn, department of prehistory, Museum of Natural History, Vienna; Dr. Robert Routil, department of anthropology, Museum of Natural History, Vienna; Rev. Father Professor Paul Schebesta, St. Gabriel Seminary for Foreign Missions, near Vienna; and Dr. Josef Wastl, Vienna.

The membership fee is Austrian schillings 200—or $8.00. It covers various scientific tours and social functions. All members will receive a copy of the *Proceedings*. Members who intend to submit papers may from now on send in the titles to the secretary. Except in special cases the time allotted to every paper will be twenty minutes, plus another ten minutes for discussion. Apart from anthropological and ethnological subjects in the strict sense, papers may deal with questions of applied ethnology, demography, sociology, psychology (as referring to ethnological problems), science of religion, linguistics, folklore, prehistory, paleo-ethnology, and origin and distribution of cultivated plants and domesticated animals.

Please address all correspondence to the Secretary, Wilhelm Koppers, Institut für Völkerkunde, Neue Hofburg, Corps de Logis, Vienna I, Austria.

Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, Frankfurt-am-Main.—The Institute for Social Research opened its new building on November 14, 1951. The institute was abolished early in the Nazi regime and its building eventually destroyed by bombing. Professor Max Horkheimer, who was the director before its abolition, has resumed

the directorship. In addition, he was elected Rektor of the university.

University of Kansas.—Joseph F. Meisels, formerly of the School of Social Work of the University of Pittsburgh, has been appointed assistant professor of social work. He will have charge of the courses in social research in the department of social work.

Walter T. Martin, of the University of Oregon, was visiting professor during the summer session.

Carroll D. Clark, professor and chairman of the department of sociology and anthropology, taught at the University of Oregon during the summer. Carlyle S. Smith, assistant professor of anthropology, directed a field party on archeological research in the Fort Randall Reservoir, South Dakota, during June and July. Melville Dalton, assistant professor of sociology and human relations, filled a summer appointment as research associate in the Industrial Relations Center, University of Chicago. Marston M. McCluggage, associate professor of sociology, and Paul Brotsman, assistant professor of social work, were engaged in disaster relief for the American Red Cross, following the flood. E. Jackson Baur, associate professor of sociology and anthropology, directed a research project for Community Studies, Inc., Kansas City, Missouri; and E. Gordon Ericksen, assistant professor of sociology and anthropology, was similarly engaged on a project for the Bureau of Business Research at the University of Kansas.

The K.U. Student Book Store has published *Marriage and Family Relations: A Sociopsychiatric Interpretation*, by Lawrence S. Bee, professor of sociology and home economics.

Kent State University.—Extension courses in sociology were given during the fall at Medina and Elyria. This work is being extended to other cities in the winter and spring.

P. M. Houser, on leave since January with the United States Department of Agriculture, Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, has returned to the department. Dr. Houser, a population specialist, was doing research on the effects of the defense program on rural manpower. He is co-author of two recent studies, *Mortality Differentials in Michigan*, with J. Allan Beegle of Michigan State College, and *Community Aspects of Library Planning*, with Robert E. Galloway and Harold Hoffsommer of the University of Maryland.

The department of sociology consists of ten members. In addition to the eight full-time members on campus, Meade Letts and Janet Hoover have been added to teach extension courses.

The Langley Porter Clinic.—A. R. Mangus, on leave from Ohio State University, is serving as research sociologist for the Langley Porter Clinic and as lecturer in the department of psychiatry, University of California. He is engaged in planning and carrying out studies of juvenile and adult sex offenses and offenders from the viewpoint of mental hygiene and family life. Dr. Mangus is also serving on the instructional staff of a University of California medical extension postgraduate course for psychiatrists.

George Korber, of Stanford University, has joined the research staff as part-time sociology research associate.

McGill University.—Carl A. Dawson, chairman of the department of sociology and anthropology since its organization in 1922, has retired as chairman and has been succeeded by Oswald Hall.

William A. Westley has joined the staff as assistant professor.

Bernard N. Meltzer has accepted a teaching appointment at the Central Michigan College of Education.

The Menninger Foundation.—The Grant Foundation of New York has made a financial contribution which enabled the Menninger Foundation to establish a marriage counseling training program in July, 1951.

The program, now in its second year, includes lectures and seminars at the Menninger Foundation School of Psychiatry, together with additional seminars related specifically to the field of marriage counseling. Opportunity for supervised clinical observation and training is provided in connection with the clinical program of the School of Psychiatry, the Menninger Clinic, and in co-operating community agencies in the city of Topeka.

Two $2,500 Grant Foundation fellowships are available to married applicants who are employed and have family responsibilities. These fellowships will be awarded to applicants whose training, experience, and future possibilities seem to the Marriage Counseling Training Committee to offer the most promise.

For further information write to Robert G. Foster, The Menninger Foundation, Topeka, Kansas.

Merrill-Palmer School.—Richard Kerckhoff, formerly instructor in sociology at Ohio State University, and Robert O. Blood, Jr., formerly a research assistant in the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina, have been added to the staff of the family life department.

The Grant Foundation fellows in family life education and marriage counseling for 1951–52 are Robert O. Andrews, of Purdue University, and John W. Hudson, of Ohio State University.

The department has inaugurated a marriage counseling service which is available to residents of the Detroit area, directed by Robert A. Harper, chairman of the family life department.

University of Minnesota.—F. Stuart Chapin, chairman of the department since 1922, has relinquished his administrative duties in order to concentrate upon research and writing. Elio D. Monachesi succeeds him as chairman.

Arnold Rose holds a Fulbright appointment for research in France and is attached to the University of Paris during this academic year. He is the second member of the department to receive a Fulbright grant to that country; Theodore Caplow recently returned from a year of teaching at the Universities of Bordeaux and Aix-Marseille.

S. Kirson Weinberg, of Roosevelt College, Chicago, is undertaking the courses in social psychology and group relations during the absence of Professor Rose.

Nicos N. Mouratides has been promoted from teaching assistant to instructor. Russell Middleton, Alvin Boderman, George Helling, and June Sachar have been newly appointed as teaching assistants.

The Office of Naval Research has granted funds for two research projects in the general area of individual and group behavior. The studies are under the direction of Professors Chapin, Monachesi, and Rose, with Reginald Robson serving as project supervisor with an appointment as research fellow.

George B. Vold has been appointed by Governor Elmer C. Anderson as chairman of a special committee to survey the adult penal system of the state of Minnesota and to prepare recommendations on basic policy. The other members of the committee are Professors Monachesi and Starke Hathaway, who is a member of the department of psychiatry.

University of North Dakota.—Peter A. Munch, formerly associate professor of sociology at St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minnesota, has accepted a position as professor of sociology and head of the department of sociology and anthropology.

Arleigh L. Lincoln, acting head of the department for some years, will continue in his position as professor of social work and director of the division of social work, which is organized as a separate division within the department.

Other members of the staff are J. Walter Cobb, instructor of sociology since 1948, and Robert B. Campbell, instructor of sociology, appointed in this current year.

University of Puerto Rico.—"The Family in Puerto Rico," a new long-term project, was started at the University of Puerto Rico in July, 1951, in the Social Science Research Center of the College of Social Sciences. In this first year, the project is divided into two parts. J. Mayone Stycos, a sociologist on leave from Columbia University's Bureau of Applied Social Research, is assistant director in charge of Part I, "Family and Fertility in Puerto Rico." David Landy, an anthropologist on leave from graduate studies at the department of social relations, Harvard University, is assistant director in charge of Part II, "Child-rearing in Rural Puerto Rico." The long-term project is under the direction of Reuben Hill, research professor of the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina.

Santa Barbara College, University of California.—Harry K. Girvetz has been promoted to the rank of professor. His study of the development of liberalism has been published by the Stanford University Press under the title, *From Wealth to Welfare.*

Gwynne Nettler has been promoted to the rank of associate professor. He continues as secretary-treasurer of the Pacific Sociological Society. His study of policital opinion and personal insecurity is in publication.

Walter Conrad is expanding the courses in social welfare and giving a new course in criminology.

Norman E. Gabel, who has been in charge of archeological field work at La Purisima Mission, Lompoc, California, is currently engaged in the analysis of osteological materials at the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History.

The Sigmund Freud Archives, Inc.—Incorporated in the state of New York in February, 1951, the Archives was organized by a group of internationally eminent psychoanalysts. The aim is "to discover, assemble, collect and preserve manuscripts, publications and other documents and information relating to the biography of the late Sigmund Freud, and to his medical, psychoanalytic and other scientific activities." Under the agreement with the Library of Congress, which will serve as curator of the collection, confidential material will be restricted if the donor so requests. The initial projects of the Archives include collecting all letters to and from Freud; establishing a complete and reliable bibliography of his writings; interviewing all persons who knew Freud personally—regardless of how well they knew him or in what function, whether as friends, as brief acquaintances, or as patients.

Anybody who is in possession of letters or who knows of persons who have such letters, as well as all those who knew Freud personally, are urged to contact the Archives, at 575 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York.

The Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues.—The society announces the Industrial Relations Research Award, a $500 U.S. Government bond, to be presented to the individual whose research is judged most meritorious as a scientific contribution to the understanding of labor-management relations. This award has been made possible by a gift to the society by the Harwood Manufacturing Corporation, through the offices of Dr. Alfred J. Marrow, president of the Harwood Corporation, and a member of the society. Presentation of this award will be made at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association in September, 1952. Any research study completed during 1950, 1951, and 1952 will be eligible for consideration. Manuscripts reporting completed research, whether or not published, should be submitted as far in advance of the closing date, July 1, 1952, as possible. It is intended that this award stimulate the development of new research approaches to the understanding of the social psychology of industrial relations and to the improvement of the relationships between labor and management. Inquiries concerning the award should be addressed to Mrs. Helen

S. Service, Assistant Secretary, SPSSI, Department of Psychology, Columbia University, New York, New York.

Society for the Study of Social Problems.—At the organization meeting of this society in Chicago, September 6, 1951, the following officers were elected: Ernest W. Burgess, University of Chicago, chairman; Alfred McClung Lee, Brooklyn College, vice-chairman, and Jessie Bernard, Pennsylvania State College, secretary-treasurer. The other members of the executive committee are: Stanley H. Chapman, University of Bridgeport; Carroll D. Clark, University of Kansas; Mabel A. Elliott, Pennsylvania College for Women; Lowry Nelson, University of Minnesota; and Preston Valien, Fisk University.

The following committees were appointed by the chairman with the approval of the executive committee: Editorial and Publication: Arnold Rose, University of Minnesota, chairman; Elliott; and Valien. Membership: Chapman, chairman; Bernard; Burgess; Clark; Elliott; Lee; Nelson; Rose; and Valien; and these others: Raymond F. Bellamy, Florida State University; Byron Lester Fox, Syracuse University; Rex D. Hopper, Brooklyn College; and Paul Oren, Jr., Kent State University. Others are to be added. Program: Bernard, chairman; Reinhard Bendix, University of California at Berkeley; Clark; and Edgar A. Schuler, Wayne University. Constitution: Lee, chairman; Bernard; and George Simpson, City College.

Membership in the society is to be by invitation to members of the American Sociological Society who have published at least one article or book in the field of social problems. The members expressed the desire to affiliate the new society with the American Sociological Society and to relate its activities to those of the SPSSI.

Southern Illinois University.—William J. Tudor rejoined the teaching staff of the department of sociology after a six-month leave of absence as Fulbright professor with the Superior School of Agriculture, Athens, Greece. Dr. Tudor became a full professor in September.

Herman R. Lantz, formerly of Ohio State University, joined the staff as assistant professor of sociology. Dr. Lantz will develop a program in family life education and marriage counseling service for the student body.

Jack Smith McCrary, instructor in sociology, has been granted a leave of absence for the academic year 1951-52 and has been awarded a university fellowship for graduate study at Washington University.

William H. Harlan presented a paper on "Attitudes of Southern Illinois Coal Miners toward Work and Retirement" before the Second International Gerontological Congress in St. Louis in September.

Technical Assistance Administration, United Nations.—Robert Cuba Jones has been appointed to the staff as a specialist in community organization and development.

Technical Cooperation Administration, Department of State.—A contract for the services of thirteen Utah specialists in agriculture, education, health and sanitation, and sociology in the Point Four village improvement program was signed in early July. The contract is between the Technical Cooperation Administration, Department of State, and Brigham Young University, Utah State Agricultural College, and the University of Utah. American technicians are already at work on the Point Four program in Iran, collaborating with specialists of that country; and others will follow later.

The group from Utah is as follows: Brigham Young University, Reed Howard Bradford, Dean Peterson, Douglas Brown, Max J. Berryessa, Glen S. Gagon and Troy P. Walker; Utah State Agricultural College, Cleve H. Milligan, Richard W. Roskelley, John C. Ballard, Bruce H. Anderson, and

Joseph Coulam; University of Utah, Ludwig H. O. Stobbe and Orin T. Miller.

Wayne University.—Wayne University has received a grant of nearly $8,000 from the Health Information Foundation of New York City to investigate the effectiveness of a public relations program initiated in May, 1950, by the Academy of Medicine of Toledo and Lucas County. The study was directed by Edgar A. Schuler and Albert J. Mayer of this department and Robert Mowitz of the department of public administration. The final report is now being prepared, and publication by the Health Information Foundation should take place early in 1952.

The National Institute of Mental Health has made a grant of $7,474 to Wayne University to continue the study of cultural and psychiatric factors in the mental health of the Hutterites, under the direction of Joseph W. Eaton of the department.

John Biesanz has been appointed associate professor in the department of sociology and anthropology and director of the interdepartmental offerings in social science in the College of Liberal Arts.

Edward C. Jandy is on leave as a public affairs officer of the United States Department of State in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

Frank Hartung, as a member of the Advisory Committee of the Michigan Corrections Commission, has prepared a fifty-page report for the Michigan state legislature on the subject of capital punishment.

Albert J. Mayer has been directing two research projects dealing with nationality groups in Detroit in connection with the city's two hundred and fiftieth anniversary festival. He is also conducting a study of population characteristics of the Detroit metropolitan region for the Detroit Metropolitan Area Regional Planning Commission.

New part-time instructors in the department include: Robert A. Harper, chairman of the family life department, Merrill-Palmer School; Maurice Floch, psychologist of the Detroit House of Correction; Joseph Fauman, of the Jewish Community Center; and Clarence Anderson, until recently on the staff of Pennsylvania State College.

University of Wisconsin.—John L. Gillin, chairman emeritus of the department of sociology and anthropology since 1942, was called back this fall to the campus to conduct a seminar on the development of theories of social pathology for ten selected graduate students.

On the death in July of Edward A. Ross, founder of the chair of sociology and from 1929 to 1937 chairman of the department, a memorial committee was appointed to consider in what ways the department could best honor him.

Howard Becker has returned to the university after having been on leave to the University of Birmingham under a Fulbright appointment. While in Europe, Professor Becker carried on a study of British sociocultural regions, while Mrs. Becker conducted a study of Hessian villages.

Thomas McCormick, chairman of the department, has been appointed chairman of the American Sociological Society's new standing committee on training and professional standards. His study of political participation and leadership in Madison, Wisconsin, is now in the final state of analysis.

Marshall B. Clinard is continuing his research, now in its fourth year, on the tavern in modern society. Simon Dinitz, formerly research assistant in the Tavern Study, is now an instructor at Ohio State University.

Herbert Menzel, a former teaching assistant, is now an instructor at Carleton College.

Chester Hartwig has resigned to take an assistant professorship at Alabama Polytechnic.

Bertram Fisher, a new staff member appointed on an interdepartmental basis, will offer courses in sampling procedures and polling techniques.

BOOK REVIEWS

Measurement and Prediction. By SAMUEL A. STOUFFER *et al.* ("Studies in Social Psychology in World War II," Vol. IV.) Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950. Pp. v+756. $10.00.

Measurement and Prediction is the fourth of the "Studies in Social Psychology in World War II" reporting the wartime program of the Research Branch of the Information and Education Division of the Army. The first eleven chapters of this volume deal with measurement problems, particularly with what has been called "scale theory," largely the contribution of Louis Guttman, and with "latent structure analysis," as developed by Paul F. Lazarsfeld. The remainder of the book reports two studies in which predictions were made which later could be validated. These two studies are (1) the prediction by a paper-and-pencil test of men who were later to be diagnosed as psychoneurotic and (2) the prediction of the postwar behavior of the soldier, particularly as this behavior relates to the veteran's vocational choice, that is, returning to school, taking up farming, or going into business for himself.

Measurement and Prediction may be considered as two volumes in one. In this review, as is the case in the book itself, emphasis will be given to the "measurement" section. Before dealing with this section, however, some remarks will be made about the prediction studies.

The case studies in prediction by Shirley A. Star and John A. Clausen reported in the last five chapters of *Measurement and Prediction* illustrate the technical competence of the Research Branch, apparent in all its so-called "engineering studies." In these studies the staff was confronted with a practical problem—in one case the devising of a test which would enable rapid screening of psychoneurotics at the induction station and, in another, the securing of necessary information about soldiers' plans which might be used by interested agencies in developing their postwar programs.

In both instances the Research Branch made a careful and detailed study of the respective situations as they existed, and then made the best forecast possible under the circumstances. While the two forecasts were relatively successful, they do not give much support to the case for prediction in the social sciences. Thus, in the study of the postwar plans of soldiers, prediction was actually a case of informed guessing; as Clausen says, "The predictions were not the result of refined statistical techniques. They had no basis in previously observed relationships between prediction items and a criterion. They involved a number of assumptions which could not be checked, and a number of contingencies which could not be evaluated until after soldiers were discharged in large numbers" (p. 568). Prediction of this type—really informed guessing—may be possible only in those situations in which simplicity, uniformity, and lack of variability exist in human behavior. In other situations, perhaps the great bulk of social life, exact prediction may not be feasible.

The Research Branch forecast was less successful in the case of psychoneurotic screening than in the instance of the soldiers' plans. Undoubtedly, this was due to the fact that the behavior to be predicted was actually the diagnosis of the psychiatrist, which certainly varied considerably from physician to physician and from situation to situation. As Stouffer says, a troublesome problem of prediction in social science is "the difficulties of making predictions when the behavior to be predicted . . . is itself unstandardized and subject to great variation" (p. 477). Since social life is even more complex than psychiatric diagnoses, it may be expected that problems will continue to beset all efforts at prediction in the social sciences.

It is the measurement studies rather than the prediction studies, however, which are the major contribution of this volume. Both Guttman and Lazarsfeld, as represented in this report, are interested in the development of techniques for the study of human behavior, particularly "attitudes." They are convinced that existing techniques for analyzing quantitative data are not necessarily applicable to the study

of qualitative data. To answer the need for a scheme for the study of qualitative data, each of them has developed a conceptual framework or model. The Guttman scale is based on the assumption that, among the attributes of any given situation (the universe of content) (p. 80), a single dimension or axis of content can be isolated. Once this single axis is isolated, persons can be ranked in some order relative to their attitudes or verbal behavior in a given situation.

In the case of Lazarsfeld's study the "basic postulate is that there exists a set of *latent classes, such that the manifest relationship between any two or more items on a questionnaire can be accounted for by the existence of these latent classes and by these alone*" (p. 19). Lazarsfeld indicates that the scale as developed by Guttman can be demonstrated to be a special case of a latent structure.

The presentation given in *Measurement and Prediction* of these two theoretical models—scale analysis and latent-structure theory—is uneven. The discussion by Guttman and his associate, Edward A. Suchman, which gives for the first time a full statement of scale theory, its presuppositions, its advantages, and its disadvantages, is extremely valuable. The general reader may be especially interested in chapter vi, "Relation of Scalogram Analysis to Other Techniques," a provocative and reasoned treatment of existing techniques used in certain prediction studies and in the measurement and study of attitudes. This chapter emphasizes again the need for special methods for dealing with qualitative, as distinct from quantitative, data.

In contrast to the presentation of scale analysis and despite an excellent and balanced descriptive statement given in Stouffer's introductory chapter, Lazarsfeld's discussion of latent-structure theory is almost unintelligible to the nonmathematical reader or to the reader with only a limited mathematical background. In part, this is undoubtedly the result of the newness of the theory and the fact that Lazarsfeld and his collaborators have not had the time to carry through its development as Guttman has been able to do with the scale theory. In comparison with scale analysis, whose application to concrete situations is readily apparent, it is difficult to relate latent-structure theory to existing social situations. The degree of abstraction needed before this theory may be applied would suggest that latent-structure theory needs considerable simplification. At present, there seem to be so many unresolved aspects of latent-structure analysis that it is the reviewer's impression that the presentation in *Measurement and Prediction* is designed to provide stimulation, not for social scientists, but for mathematicians with access to electronic computing machines.

Let us now turn to some of the unsolved problems posed by the presentation of scale theory in *Measurement and Prediction*. Despite the "tub-thumping" of some of the adherents of this theory—*not* the authors themselves, it should be noted—scale theory is primarily a technique which may assist us in the study of problems but which does not relieve us of the necessity for careful firsthand consideration of the nature of the problem to be studied. Stating this in another way, scale analysis is a technique which can be used in the study of attitudes *after* the investigator has already decided a priori or intuitively what aspects of an attitude are of primary importance. This characteristic of scale theory should be obvious, since each scale is made up of the operator's choice of items from what Guttman calls "a universe of content." As Suchman very sensibly says, "Thus it is possible for one investigator studying an area, such as attitude toward war, to construct a series of items, to test these items for scalability, and to find that they are nonscalable, whereas another investigator studying the same area by means of a different series of items might find them scalable" (p. 167). Suchman goes on to say: "The answer of course would have to be that since the content of the items themselves defines the area, these two investigators were studying different areas despite the fact that the areas bear the same conceptual title" (p. 167). In terms of the logic of scale theory, which assumes that a sample of scalable items represents an unlimited universe of similar items, Suchman has made a possible answer to the dilemma he poses, but, as he himself indicates, it is not an entirely satisfactory answer. One can argue that perhaps the two investigators are indeed studying the same area of content, such as attitude toward war, and that only the accident of question choice has enabled one investigator to produce a scale and the other to find the area nonscalable.

In this connection, Guttman says: "Social phenomena are usually complex. However, if a scale is found to exist for a universe of phenomena, that means that a certain simplicity

attends those phenomena. The theory of scales tells how to recognize and take advantage of that simplicity" (pp. 172–73). In view of the previous discussion, the reviewer cannot see how the discovery or construction of a scale means that simplicity "attends social phenomena." All that the construction of a scale means is that the operator has made an abstraction of items from a universe of content and that, if one accepts his abstraction, a type of simplicity is then introduced. If one rejects his abstraction, one is free to study the problem, using an independent scale or any other technique which one may wish to employ.

It should be stressed that a scale defines and names content only to the extent that one accepts the operator's definitions. As Suchman says, following his discussion of content quoted earlier, "At present the definition of content is entirely subjective" (p. 167). Therefore, it would seem presumptuous of Guttman to state: "A problem involving a universe of data, therefore, should first be subjected to a scale analysis" (p. 173).[1] The reviewer would agree with Stouffer's statement that "there may be a temptation for future students to become so devoted to the application of scaling that they may fail in the vitally important task of analyzing fully the situations in which they want to apply their scales" (pp. 479–80).

Since scale analysis, as a technique, can neither define nor name content, we must still study social situations with whatever insight and intuition we can bring to bear upon them, before deciding whether scales are applicable and useful. At present, it would seem to the reviewer that some of the time now devoted to the "improvement of scale theory" should be given to consideration of how useful this theory or technique is in the study of social phenomena. A pertinent and important question would seem to be: How often do scales and *no other model* adequately describe social phenomena?

Since the reviewer has had the opportunity to report on all four volumes of "Studies in Social Psychology in World War II" for this *Journal*, some brief statement about the series may be in order. The reviewer considers *Measurement and Prediction* the most rewarding of these volumes to the reader. If a subjective ranking may be made of the contributions of these studies, the reviewer would rank first this volume, which deals primarily with techniques; second, Volume III, which deals with the preconceptions, problems, and results of certain types of experimental design; and last the two volumes called *The American Soldier*, which attempt to synthesize the findings of numerous empirical studies. It is the reviewer's judgment that the lasting contribution of the Research Branch to social psychology will come in its development and exploration of new techniques of measurement rather than in any insights which it may have tried to give us into the nature of group behavior in the American army.

ETHEL SHANAS

University of Chicago

[1] Guttman very sensibly indicates: "The existence or non-existence of a scale is not a criterion of the worth of a problem" (p. 173).

British Coal Nationalized. By GERHARD W. DITZ. New Haven, Conn.: Edward W. Hazen Foundation, 1951. Pp. 92. $1.00.

As in most disputed decisions, the nationalization of the British coal industry had its roots in past developments. Mr. Ditz does a particularly admirable job in relating the union, institutional (economic), and political factors in his analysis. As a former labor official, I was particularly impressed by the manifest understanding of the problems of the miners and the peculiar psychology which results from their way of life. The hard and brutal conditions of their work, which leaves its dirt, scars, and other physical peculiarities and their isolation from fellow-workers in the towns make the miners peculiar people! And yet it was from these people and their struggle that Phil Murray, J. L. Lewis, Allan Haywood, and many others received their inspiration to fight for their fellow-workers.

The unanswered problem which Ditz poses grows out of the human equation involved in the relations between the miner and his boss, whether that boss be a mine owner or the government. The suggestion is that the miner should have greater choice in the decisions which affect him. But no one quite knows how to accomplish this end in mining any more than in other industries.

Remembering my own experience, I was amused by the similarity of the dilemma of the British labor leader in positions of governmental responsibility and his American counterpart. Both are more than a little dependent on the intellectual and expert, and both are equally distrustful of him. Then the dilemma is con-

founded, for theirs is no longer a single responsibility to the union; it has become a public one.

One experiences all through Ditz's monograph the delicate relationship which the British economy, particularly coal, has to Europe and the world. The coincidences of their history as well as the incidents play significant parts in the life of all of Britain and particularly in the life of her miners.

This report is enjoyably short, coherent, and enlightening.

KERMIT EBY

University of Chicago

Machinisme et bien-être. By JEAN FOURASTIÉ. Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1951. Pp. 253.

This is the sixth of a series of studies of man and the machine edited by Georges Friedmann. "Machinism" is interpreted broadly to include the total technical processes of production, consumption, and distribution which are brought about by the use of machinery. This work, partly historical and partly contemporaneous, relates "machinism," as defined, to the level (*niveau*) of life (4 chaps.) and the form (*genre*) of living (3 chaps.). The level of life is held to be capable of synthesis very largely by an index of purchasing power. The *genre* of life is held not synthesizable but must be described. Fourastié illustrates this by the case of penicillin, which costs very little, was unknown before the age of *machinisme*, but a small inexpensive dose of which can save a human life.

The work is *very* important and should be read by every thoughtful sociologist who looks upon his subject as something more valuable than existentialist schematics. While most of the data are limited to France of the last two centuries, the author's aim is to make his conclusions of universal application. Many of them bear out the main shibboleths of production economics of the type taught earlier by such Americans as John Bates Clark. Here the author shies violently from current Keynesian theory that money, not oats, makes the mare go. Among these shibboleths the reviewer rejects the first part of Fourastié's conclusion (p. 238), in which he claims that the Soviets discovered about 1925 and the Americans only in 1935 that the "preponderant and dominant factor" in economic evolution and technical progress has been and is "the productivity of labor." He agrees with him that labor productivity is the preponderant factor in wages, rents, profit, value of capital, and the form of economic social organization, but he knows that this was a fundamental tenet of American intellectual culture long before anyone imagined that the Soviets were going to replace the Romanoff dynasty.

In the reviewer's opinion Fourastié underestimates the significance of the earlier studies by D'Avénel, which are basic to, and strangely like, those of Fourastié in many fundamental conclusions. He makes no reference to the studies of J. E. Thorold Rogers, which seems strange. On page 241, his reference to cyclical philosophers of history—"Huxley, Mauriac, Duhamel, Sartre"—seems almost ungarbed when it is said in the generation of Spengler, Toynbee, and Sorokin. The basic materials dealing with Fourastié's thesis, compiled and annotated by Faith Williams and Carle C. Zimmerman, of the United States, are also not included in the Bibliography. As a matter of fact, the subheading "Livres Anglo-Saxons" includes only two references, neither of which is significant. Finally, the author's treatment of the class structure and its relations to *machinisme* is unsatisfactory. Attention could be called to the poor paper on which this volume is printed as against that of the editions of D'Avenel. Possibly, as our *niveau de vie* improves under *machinisme*, our *genre de vie* puts our basic scientific work more and more on a starvation diet!

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN

Harvard University

India and New Order: An Essay on Human Planning. By SRIS CHANDRA CHATTERJEE. Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1949. Pp. xvii+178+6. Rs. 10.

In recent years—especially since Indian independence—a plethora of books has appeared with proposals for various techniques for guiding India's future development. This volume by Chatterjee, a civil engineer and planning expert, proposes the "proper" methods for directing India's architectural and physical growth.

That the "true functional expression of a people" rests in her arts and architecture is the author's thesis. "Their spiritual, philosophical beliefs are best expressed through this medium. While India must come abreast of modern trends in town-planning, sanitation, and commercial and industrial development, through the

presentation of her arts she will retain her individuality as a people, and therefore, retain for the world those rare qualities of spiritual value which the onrush of industrialism has so seriously threatened" (p. 65).

The author proceeds to discuss the importance of the village as a pivot for the socioeconomic life of India from earliest times to the present (the 1941 census showed 90 per cent of her population living in villages). Since Indian tradition and Indian culture lie nestled in her villages, it follows for Chatterjee that "the regeneration of the Indian nation is inextricably bound up with the regeneration of its villages. Scientific planning, therefore should proceed from the village upwards" (p. 7). Western modes of planning, he finds, fall short of India's needs. He seeks a blending of modern technology with Indian tradition. To this end Chatterjee sets up a scheme for a regional system of planning, with the village as the cellular unit of orientation.

Very little in this book is directly sociological. It is essentially an essay on planning policy and a plea for governmental support of such a policy. It does, however, reinforce this reviewer's observation of the fiery strength of nationalistic fervor that permeates the publications coming out of India today and as such might be of interest to sociologists.

JOSEPH B. GITTLER

Iowa State College

Caste: A Comparative Study. By A. M. HOCART. London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1950. Pp. xvi+157. 15*s*.

Outside its very limited diffusion among certain neighboring islands of the Pacific, the question arises as to whether the caste system exists in any part of the world outside India. A quick glance at Hocart's book leads one to believe that here, at last, is a definitive demonstration that the caste system is found among many peoples independently of India. "The Indian caste system," he asserts, "is not the isolated phenomenon it is often thought to be, but a species of a very widespread genus" (p. x).

The disappointment, therefore, is acute when one comes to realize that the author is not primarily interested in caste but rather in the universalization of a theory of kingship and its rites. Thus he approaches his subject from the point of view of feudalism, in postulating "that the caste system is a sacrificial organization, that the aristocracy are feudal lords constantly involved in rites for which they require vassals or serfs, because some of these services involve pollution from which the lord must remain free" (p. 17). Furthermore, "castes are merely families to whom various offices in the ritual are assigned by heredity" (p. 20).

Probably the inherent speciousness of these conclusions is clear enough; they typify the reasoning of the work at crucial points. The author, an anthropologist, lived in Ceylon, Fiji, and other Pacific islands. The social systems in these areas differ significantly from that in India; yet he attempts no systematic comparison of them. In sporadic identifications of the systems, however, surprising inferences are frequently drawn. For example, in discussing the social status of Fiji, the writer observes: "Each clan has its status, 'its standing,' as the Fijians put it; they belong to the same caste, as we should say in India" (p. 79). And so, in this offhand manner, we have discovered a caste system in Fiji. Indeed, the assumption that castes exist in other countries is hardly more cogently demonstrated.

Our author essays to refute both the racial and the "occupational" theory of caste. In doing so, however, he parodies the position of these theories. Moreover, there is considerable contradiction in the discussion of the place of occupation in the caste system.

The falsity of conceiving the symbolic uses of color in the Vedic literature as designations of racial differences has been recognized; yet we know of no theorist who, "to be consistent," would have to suppose "that some unknown red race had established itself on the throne, that white invaders assumed priestly functions, and that Mongolians took to farming and trade" (p. 28).

Hocart's theory takes its point of reference from an extremely early period in the development of human society, for it essays to foreshadow both caste and casteless societies. In order possibly to satisfy the author's preoccupation, the social system of Fiji becomes the norm in the explanation of the rise of the caste system of India. Thus:

> We can say that the caste system of India, Persia, Fiji, Samoa, and Tonga, and even the casteless system of modern Egypt is best explained as growing out of the society of which the main principles are perhaps best preserved in Fiji. . . . It is a society headed by a king who is responsible for the life of the people. . . . In this task he requires the assist-

ance of various chieftains who are in charge of the various departments [p. 150].

This kingship theory is probably the least convincing of theories on caste.

OLIVER C. COX

Lincoln University

"Inter-Caste Tensions: A Survey under the Auspices of UNESCO." By RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE *et al.* Lucknow, India: University of Lucknow, 1951. Pp. 108.

Although we have considerable material on the history and general nature of the caste system of India, there are few empirical studies on intercaste behavior. For this reason, any survey which attempts to use modern sociological methods in describing caste relationships must be considered pioneering work. Faulty as this essay is, therefore, it nevertheless conveys a freshness and intimacy with Brahmanic culture that is unusual.

The survey was undertaken as part of the UNESCO program of Social Tension Research during the fall of 1950 in six villages, rural in different degrees, and in the city of Kanpur, areas within the Uttar Pradesh (the United Provinces) in India. Of its seven chapters, the three first, by R. Mukerjee and B. Singh, attempt a generalized characterization of caste behavior in its rural and urban milieu, while the findings in specific communities are presented in the later chapters by S. Misra, N. Kahn, S. Chandra, and B. Narayan.

In every area the authors found caste prejudice, social distance, discrimination, and untouchability highly operative—with a tendency, however, to relaxation in the city, where occupational structure disrupts the occupational basis of the caste system. "In various sections of the factory all caste men work together" (p. 82). Moreover, certain industrial operations are recognized to be very much at variance with the custom of untouchability. Thus: "All workers in the weaving sections [of the textile mills] have to put their mouth to the pipe and suck up the thread and then put it on the winding reels. All have to do it whether Brahman, Jaiswar, Lodha, Kori or Muslim" (p. 83).

The "tensions" discussed are largely those involved in minor social adjustments among the castes. Nowhere has there been discovered any organized threat to the system itself. The survey concludes that "even though dissatisfaction or antipathy has been felt by lower caste groups toward the higher ones, no concerted effort has ever been made by the lower caste groups to break away from its parental body" (p. 90). The stronghold of caste discrimination and prejudice, of course, centers among the Brahmans; but it is extremely difficult to liquidate Brahmanic prerogatives and pretensions. The lower castes themselves are effectively divided by attitudes and practices of social distance (p. 10), and, even if they could conceivably give up their differences in the interest of a common aggression toward the Brahmans, the intermediate castes would necessarily stand in their way as a dissipating foil.

In one of the villages studied, Sonwarsa, a hostile movement mainly among the Chamars, a lower caste, appears to be afoot against their Brahman landlords. There are reactions against low wages, against exclusion from the village *panchayat*, against discrimination at the water well, and so on. However, only minor social reforms are envisaged. The survey does not reveal any revolutionary ideology.

The authors themselves seem to approve of the social awakening of the lower castes, but they do not indicate precisely to what extent, if at all, the caste system itself is at stake or, indeed, whether the system should finally be abolished, wholly or in part. There are many awkward formulations, especially in the first three chapters. Among them the following may be familiar: "In the U.S.A., in the Deep South fairly well-marked class groups are discernible within the Negro caste, as pointed out by Lloyd Warner. Thus there are two different kinds of social stratification among the Negroes, viz., class and caste systems, which are in conflict with each other" (pp. 15–16).

Particularly amateurish is the handling of the statistical data: misleading percentages, such as references to single items as 100 per cent; frequent injections of tables into the discussion without analysis; and abortive attempts to develop equations of social distance as simple rectilinear functions of economic and caste situation. Apparently, the prestige of "mathematics" prompted such subversions of thought as the following: "Congruency of castes and occupation is not true mathematically and no caste out of the 34 that were covered by the present survey furnishes or hinders mobility in any direction through its collective will as expressed in panchayat rules" (p. 35). This survey, at any rate, will probably be taken as a guide to what

is possible in future field studies of the caste system.

OLIVER C. COX

Lincoln University

The Affairs of a Tribe: A Study in Tribal Dynamics. By DHIRENDRA N. MAJUMDAR. Lucknow, India: Universal Publisher, Ltd., 1950, for the Ethnographic and Folk Culture Society, United Provinces. Pp. xxvi+367. Rs. 23/8.

This book continues Dr. Majumdar's documentation of "cultural dynamics" among the Munda-speaking Ho peoples of the Chota Nagpur plateau in northern India which he began in a monograph *A Tribe in Transition* (1937). Much new ethnographic material on traditional Ho culture fills out the standard categories—social organization, law, religion, etc.—and there are delineations of the further impact of "modern civilization" upon these hitherto isolated village groups. The Hos today not only migrate widely over northern India for employment but also have come under the influence at home of mining and other industrial development (large iron and other mineral deposits have come to light in their area), with resulting "tremendous inroads into the sanctity of tribal life."

Dr. Majumdar, of the Anthropological Laboratory, Lucknow University, used his graduate students to help collect and check the field data, and the work is one more reminder of the enthusiasm and academic creativity of the still small group of professional social scientists in India. The author, besides already having produced nine books and a number of papers on Indian racial and cultural problems in general and on some of the small "tribal" groups in northern India (e.g., "The Criminal Tribes," in his *The Fortunes of Primitive Tribes*), has been editor or coeditor of several symposia and also two anthropological journals (*Eastern Anthropologist*, *Man in India*). Starting with the older ethnological tradition which led to a Cambridge doctorate, he came strongly under the influence of Malinowski's "functionalism," and the London School's social anthropology still tends to provide the main methodological set for his work. Yet he is also well aware of the American moderns, and in this and other recent works are scattered comments relating not only to the various psychological approaches in cultural anthropology but also to Sheldon's body-type hypotheses, Hooton's criminological studies, and other current interests in anthropology and related fields. He is also not afraid to strike out on his own, as have Mukerjee and other Indian scholars. In a summary chapter of his *Fortunes of Primitive Tribes* he blocked out a theoretical approach to culture as a "socia vigilance schema built of conscious and unconscious factors" which is variously "unitary" or "heterogeneous," according to whether the society is in a state of cultural stability or change.

In the Introduction to this book the author offers a useful brief critique of "acculturation" theory, and also a larger conceptual scheme, summarized in the formula $B = K = fMARC$, in which M is man, A area, R resources, C cooperation. Together they form "an interdependent functional unit," providing B, the "base of a culture," and K, the "resultant" of the interplay of variable and dynamic factors. Such grand schemes, which perennially rear up in this country like bomb bursts to disturb and contaminate the slow theoretical work of peaceful specialists in their own well-fenced disciplines, probably have their usefulness. But the book will serve best the purposes of those who wish to examine carefully gathered case materials on traditional Indian village life and its contemporary modification: the impact of urban influences, the changing social structure, the manipulation of religious tradition to offer new certainties in the face of new insecurities, the aspirations of youth toward autonomy, the application of newer governmental policies. The book is well illustrated with photographs, diagrams, and maps.

Majumdar reports, unhappily, that no longer can he find "an innocent crowd in the villages, eager to respond to his queries, or willing to talk about their customs . . . the people have become sophisticated, intolerant of strangers, and suspicious of other people." Soon, doubtless, the foot of the Gallop poll representative will be in their doorways.

FELIX M. KEESING

Stanford University

Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlan Restudied. By OSCAR LEWIS. With drawings by ALBERTO BELTRÁN. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1951. Pp. xxvii+512. $5.00.

If this monograph had no reference to Robert Redfield's well-known work, it would stand by

itself as a carefully conceived, thoroughly executed, well-reported piece of ethnological research. The methodology "combines the historical, functional and configurational points of view" (p. xx). While Lewis avoids the popular "basic personality structure," he utilizes the Rorschach and other psychological tests. The study is heavily statistical, quantitative "wherever possible" (p. xiv), and treats topics Redfield merely touched upon, such as demography, the land problem, systems of agriculture, the distribution of wealth, standards of living, politics and local government, the life-cycle of the individual, and interpersonal relations.

Conceived originally as a pilot study to aid agencies in Latin America and as a personality study based on Redfield's materials, it evolved into a restudy, with more time, personnel, informants, and another viewpoint than Redfield's. From their works, Lewis and Redfield are different men. Redfield enumerates little; Lewis much. Redfield's formulation of pattern and process is Cooley doing ethnology; Lewis is Lundbergian.

Redfield's "errors" are cited throughout. *Los tontos* and *los correctos* are not conceived by Tepoztecans as "designations of social classes, in the sense used by Redfield, nor did they twenty years ago" (p. 430). Lewis' own formulations on wealth differences, his families ranked according to a scale (using one point for every hundred pesos of sale value, production value or both [pp. 173 ff.]), tells us, for example, that young married men and widows may possess zero value on the scale but does not tell us the status (treated elsewhere) of the propertyless son of a *cacique*. One wonders whether, on a more "qualitative," equally conceptualized, but not necessarily arithmetized basis, wealth and status might not be related so that more "understanding" would be afforded.

The treatment of the social economics is excellent; the material on population, family budgets, land tenure, is brilliant; and the abundant historical material, perhaps generated by Redfield's work, is nicely interlarded with it and observational material. But one wonders whether the frequent "factoring-out," and then reconstituting of factors, may not distort the ethnographic material as much as does Redfield's imputed imposition of homogeneity and integration, in a society and culture which Lewis has found essentially individualistic and unco-operative. This final finding, by the way, is bolstered by the Rorschach interpretations of Theodora M. Abel and Renata A. Calabresi.

The latter part of the book, much more qualitative than the first, portrays and analyzes the life-cycle more fully than would a conventional monograph, and does so without sullying the treatment by dogma on character etiology. One wonders about ethnological sensitivity, however, when he reads that informants were reluctant to discuss intimate marital relations (p. 325) and wishes for more demonstration and quantitative treatment when he learns that ideal patterns of husband and wife roles are "social fictions" (p. 319).

How does Lewis reconcile the statement that most attitudes toward sex are "prudish" and "in accord with Catholic tradition" and that courtship is "always cautious, seldom impulsive or passionate" (p. 290) with the statement that in "1942 and 1943 fifty per cent of all marriages began as elopements" (p. 407)?

While this reviewer cannot quarrel with Lewis' critique of Redfield's ethnography or folk-urban hypothesis, the manner is questionable: the formulations throughout the book and in its textual body seem to magnify differences which could have been more effectively expressed by understatement in footnotes. Sol Tax's strictures, for example, with which Redfield is attacked as if they were newly discovered, are discussed by Redfield in his *Folk Culture in Yucatán*. Perhaps this has something to do with Redfield's dust-cover recommendation of the book in which Lewis is praised for deepening the sketch of Tepoztlan and for putting before "other students my errors *and his own* [my italics, N. D. H.] in a context of intelligent discussion." The book is dedicated to Redfield.

Where Lewis regards Redfield's conception of culture as lacking "behavioral emphasis," in a footnote, Redfield identifies culture "with the extent to which conventionalized behavior of members of the society is for all the same" (*op. cit.*, p. 132).

The book contains a number of appendixes. Edgar Anderson writes several pages on an intensive survey of maize in Tepoztlan. Florencia Muller analyzes the ceramic sequence there. An original document in Spanish illustrates the sort of sources used historically. There is an annotated calendar of fiestas. Twenty-seven pages are devoted to a presentation of sample Rorschach protocols. An appendix briefly describes children's games in the village. The drawings by Beltrán are attractive; the format is inviting; the Index satisfactory.

This is a rewarding book which, as its author indicates, is "not . . . presented as *the* synthesis of Mexico but rather *one* synthesis" (p. xxvii). In the quality of interpersonal relationships, in the operation of the family and the family structure, in many ways as Lewis describes it, it is very different from other syntheses.

NORMAN D. HUMPHREY
Wayne University

Religion among the Primitives. By WILLIAM J. GOODE. With an Introduction by KINGSLEY DAVIS. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951. Pp. 321. $5.00.

The title of this book is misleading, since it deals with only five peoples, selected because one or more detailed anthropological accounts of each one were available. Nevertheless, it represents a great deal of patient labor. Several important sources are neglected, but the Bibliography lists about two hundred and fifty books, while the citations and footnotes take up forty-seven pages with over eight hundred references.

The body of the work is a discussion of three aspects of life: economics, politics, and family relations, to each of which two chapters are devoted. The relation of religion to each of these three is set forth in detail for each of five societies located in West Africa, Polynesia, Melanesia, Australia, and southwestern United States. Brief generalizations follow each of the three sections.

On economics the author finds that "primitive" man is not occupied merely in a rude struggle for existence but that he gives much effort and "wealth" to religious activities. He draws upon a great body of knowledge about fishing, canoe-building, irrigation, and the rest, and, moreover, he gives gifts to relatives and others. The author finds that religious "systems" motivate economic activity, though not always in the most efficient way.

The political system of each of the five peoples receives detailed treatment, ending with the conclusion that religion gives support to the political. Society, he insists, is not a mere aggregation of hypothetical individuals but is a cultural emergent.

The family life of each of the five tribes is set forth in detail and the conclusion is reached that religion is very closely related to family life and to the kinship structure. In particular, the socialization of children involves a religious ritual, and the creation of a new family is supported by, and in turn supports, the religious structure.

These accounts are preceded by a chapter on a "theory of religious action," which is set forth in eleven numbered propositions but which can be given in a condensed summary. Human societies distinguish between sacred and secular and have specific cult training, since conformity with religious prescriptions gives support for other values. Religious practitioners have certain advantages. The gods are not always like men but are always conceived in social terms. There is a body of religious belief, but religion always demands action. Finally, magic and religion merge into each other in a continuum. These are the main points in the theory.

The writing is free from the jargon that mars so much of sociological writing, but the author does lapse into writing "groupal," "actional," and "judgmental," and not by oversight, since they are perpetrated repeatedly.

The word "primitive" is used throughout for want of an acceptable word, as he acknowledges, but it leads him to write "modern primitives" in one place, which is almost like saying "young old people." An agreed term has not appeared, but we no longer write "savage" or "nature people." Of course, they are primitive in no sense whatever, and the term is fast disappearing. It has become increasingly clear that the possession of written records is perhaps the essential differentia between civilized man and the once-called "primitives." The author compares and contrasts on occasion the primitives with "urban peoples," but this obscures a fundamental fact and blurs an important distinction. If we designate the Polynesian tribe as "pre-literate" and the modern urban as literate, we have left a convenient term, "illiterate," which applies to the peasants or folk, who are in a very different case from either of the other two. For the illiterate is in a certain contact with the learned, though he cannot read, and this whether in Germany, China, or India. He cannot read the sacred books, but his priest tells him something of what is written there.

Pre-literates, on the other hand, have no written records, no history, no fixed doctrines, no theology. History is written history, and history is the memory of a people—but the pre-literates have no history, and their legends change and grow and even fade and disappear. They have their rituals, but the explanatory legends and myths have none of the force or authority of

written doctrines. Terminology is, of course, determined by usage, and we can expect the most convenient term to prevail. Incidentally, the term "preliterate" is used on the jacket of this book to advertise the work of Radcliffe-Brown on the Andamans.

The value of a book of this sort is, of course, dependent on the accuracy of the sources of information. Great gain in this respect has come since Spencer, Durkheim, and Sumner had to depend on travelers' tales and the chance reports of missionaries. A generation ago our anthropologists went to the field and began to study intensively and to record their findings. This is a great gain, but it still leaves much to be desired. A residence of a few weeks or a few months, speaking English or French or a jargon "pidgin," has given us valuable material but leaves much to be desired. When our scholars are able to spend years enough to enable them to acquire a perfect command of the language and to feel themselves into the native conceptions of life and the world, we shall be able to correct many current misconceptions. Perhaps natives of these tribes can, before too long, be given a university education and, returning to the field, find what we seek. Already there are many graduates of Oxford and Cambridge in the Gold Coast and elsewhere, so that it may happen earlier than we think.

Meanwhile, we must exercise our critical faculty as best we can. Marco Polo found an emperor and a pope in nearly every land he visited. We do not go so far, but our students sometimes try to discover creeds and doctrines where it is doubtful whether these exist. Paul Radin secured from a Winnebago the origin myth, but later reproached his informant with giving a mere fraction of the story. The reply was that Radin had paid only enough money for the short one and that he could have had the long one, had he bargained for it. The two differed, but that was a matter of no consequence. Professor Goode is puzzled at some of the inconsistencies in the accounts of the pantheon, but this does not concern the people who tell the story. The myth may be sacred; it is rarely, if ever, fixed.

A sort of linguistic or semantic ethnocentrism is very natural. We have fairly well-defined concepts of religion and of magic. The pre-literates lack both concepts. When the student wishes to find which is magic and which is religion, he is trying to make a distinction foreign to the life he is studying. Goode rightly concludes that these two shade off into each other.

The genius of the English language makes it easy to appear to reify an abstract noun without so intending. Religion is not a thing, religion is not a force, religion does not *do* anything either to the worker, the ruler, or the head of the family. But some actions and some utterances have a quality which we recognize as religious, having to do with sacred things and actions. It is not easy to avoid saying what is not intended, and much care is needed if one is to be wholly accurate. Did our idiom permit, it would be well to make the noun into an adverb and describe how and when men act religiously.

The concluding chapter reveals a moral earnestness rare in a scientific discussion. The author feels that we are lost, that the "poignant, damaging, grim, dogged consciousness of aloneness will persist into the future." He therefore feels that he is unable to tell us which religion is better or whether religion in general is good. Nor can he tell us whether there is an ultimate reality to which these ideas refer. Similarly, the origin of religion is felt to be beyond the realm of ascertainable fact. A hope is expressed that the scientist may some day provide the facts to help to teach the prophet whose guidance we await.

Much could be said and whole libraries have been written on the relation of religion and science, and this is not the place to review the arguments. Very few scientific books raise the question, at least books on sociology; but one does not feel unsympathetic with an author who can remain so admirably objective at the same time that his emotions are so deeply involved.

ELLSWORTH FARIS

Lake Forest, Illinois

The Negro and the Communist Party. By WILSON RECORD. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1951. Pp. x+340. $3.50.

This book is the definitive work on a subject of current interest. The author, a professional sociologist with wide experience in the labor movement, has done an impressive amount of research into published and unpublished sources not always readily accessible. The material has been expertly sifted and analyzed and is presented in a clear, straightforward, and interesting manner. Since it is written for a nonprofessional audience, there is very little techni-

cal language in the book, but sociological concepts are implicit in its design and execution. It is an analytical history of the way in which an attempt was made to recruit and manipulate Negro Americans by a political sect, ambitious of becoming a revolutionary party, which always subordinated its activities to the imperatives of Soviet foreign policy.

The work reflects the meticulous care of a disciplined scholar working with emotionally loaded material. He makes explicit his own democratically oriented value-judgments, while maintaining scientific detachment of a high order.

Record has posed a central problem in this book, viz., "Why has the Communist Party failed to secure the adherence of any significant number of Negro Americans?" He presents his own answer in the last chapter, stating that the primary factors have been skepticism over the twists and turns of the "Party line" on the Negro question and the devotion of Negroes to the ideals of American democracy. One could raise the question whether such a conclusion does not overstress rationalistic and "idealistic" motivations. One reason for what strikes this reviewer as unwarranted stress on these two factors may lie in the nature of the basic data with which Record worked—the verbal and nonverbal behavior of leaders. To understand the actions of "the masses" demands a wide range of autobiographical and interview material reflecting attitudes toward and experiences with the Communist movement, including documents from rank-and-file ex-Communists. Such material is extremely difficult to secure.

The author makes only modest claims for his study, recognizing the existence of unexplored areas. For instance, he states, when discussing the indirect influence of the Communist party on patterns of interracial activity, "It remains for some competent political sociologist to inquire into the matter in systematic fashion" (pp. 304–5). It is to be hoped that, if the climate of opinion ever permits, he will turn his own competent hand not only to this problem but also to the highly relevant one of what social and personality types joined, quit, stayed, and stayed out. As the book stands, it is a significant contribution in the realm of the history of ideas and of the analysis of thought-styles among intellectuals and associational functionaries. It contributes, too, to the growing body of literature on propaganda techniques. As a study of the interplay between Negro protest groups and the pressure from the left it is unequaled.

ST. CLAIR DRAKE

Roosevelt College

Culture in Crisis: A Study of the Hopi Indians. By LAURA THOMPSON. New York: Harper & Bros., 1950. Pp. xxiv+221. $4.00.

This volume summarizes in part the studies on the Hopi Indians begun in 1941 when Harold Ickes was secretary of the Department of the Interior, John Collier was Indian commissioner, and Willard W. Beatty was director of Indian education. They were undertaken under the joint sponsorship of the United States Office of Indian Affairs and the Committee on Human Development of the University of Chicago.

The aim of these projects was to discover means of increasing the effectiveness of the Indian service in improving Indian welfare and encouraging responsible local autonomy. Their significance was thought to be threefold: the findings would serve as a guide and an aid to those who formulate policy for the management of Indian affairs; they might serve to throw light on similar administrative problems of cultural minorities in other areas of the world; and they would advance social-science theory and methodology.

Because of the complexity of the problem, it was felt that the knowledge and skills of the various disciplines were necessary if a real understanding of the situation was to be achieved. Consequently, numerous phases of the projects were undertaken by experts in the fields of anthropology, psychiatry, sociology, psychology, education, linguistics, public administration, and ecology. These were co-ordinated by Laura Thompson, of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, with the help of a large advisory staff.

Unquestionably, the work fulfils its initial purpose. Significant data did emerge which were needed to achieve any program goals of the Indian service. The data are carefully analyzed and interpreted in simple language, free, for the most part, of the social-science jargon that is so distasteful to other people. The question which inevitably arises in the mind of the reader is to what degree our administrators and, beyond them, members of Congress would accept the basic values inherent in the suggestions for the development of an Indian program. For instance, it was found that several of the Christian

missions acted to disintegrate tribal social organization, and to disturb personalities. It is suggested that the Indians be encouraged to maintain their own religious customs along with the newer Christian practices. To the social scientist this makes a great deal of sense and is readily acceptable. But would it, however, make sense to the Christian mission boards? This is a problem for all social scientists who find themselves engaged in "action-research."

That this type of study has tremendous significance for organizations like the United Nations and for our own State Department, engaged as it is in the Point Four program, can be readily accepted. Indeed, it is difficult to see how any program can be successfully set up without similar research techniques to throw light on peoples and their culture before instituting major changes in their age-long patterns of life. There, again, the difficulty of breaking down the weight of resistance to the findings of social science must be met.

The efficacy and inherent value of groups of social scientists working together for the understanding and solution of problems is certainly recognized by sociologists. The trend in this direction in the last ten years is indication enough that most are more than willing to do research work collaboratively. It is difficult for this reviewer, however, to discover what new methodology was formulated in these studies. The reports of the various phases of Hopi life were uniformly excellent and seemingly sound. The chapter devoted to the psychological aspect of the studies was of extreme interest.

This volume should attract wide attention not only among those with special interest in the Hopi. Sociologists will find it a rewarding and stimulating book. It serves to indicate that much of sociological theory on social change is basically sound and fruitful.

JOSEPH B. GITTLER
Iowa State College

The Religion of China: Confucianism and Taoism. By MAX WEBER. Translated and edited by HANS H. GERTH. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951. Pp. xi+308. $4.50.

Among all the academic studies of the traditional society of China which so far the reviewer has had opportunity to investigate in both Chinese and English publications, it must be said that Max Weber's *Confucianism and Taoism*, or, as entitled in its English translation, *The Religion of China*, is one of the most brilliant and illuminating. It deserves strong recommendation and wide reading. The addition of this authoritative work, in an excellent translation, to the English literature on China comes at a moment when an understanding of China is urgently needed.

It is easy to criticize Weber for not utilizing the best representative sources of information to work with and, therefore, for committing certain errors in presenting his data. However, these defects seem to have bothered him little. As a rule, Chinese scholars who, imbued with and fond of their own age-long cultural heritage, have been interested in the social problems of history and of present-day China are generally handicapped by the paucity of materials, and their views are inevitably circumscribed. On the other hand, the shortcoming of Western social scientists and Sinologists is the fact that their background often prevents them from easily penetrating the thick mist of particularism of the Chinese culture. In spite of the difficulties, however, Max Weber has with unusual erudition and eloquence created a convincing picture. This study indicates clearly how the comparative method can be used to yield fruitful and scientific results.

One point which merits special mention and concurs with the findings of Chinese modern scholars is that "the further back one goes in history the more similar the Chinese and Chinese culture appear to what is found in the Occident" (p. 231). What has made the people and their culture definitely Chinese was the adoption of Confucianism as the only authorized state religion in the second century before the Christian Era and its development henceforth, which has persisted with only minor changes in the different dynasties throughout the past two millenniums. Weber addressed himself to the task of a thorough scrutiny of this pattern.

The kernel question of this book is: Why has capitalism never come to China? This is the more puzzling because Confucianism presents the secular rationalism which Weber considers the essential element in the development of modern capitalism in the West. The answer lies, as Weber aptly saw it, in the peculiar nature of Confucian philosophy, upon which the foundation of Chinese society rests. The central theme of Confucian teaching is piety and propriety, both of which are to be strengthened by an ancestor-worship cult. Despite its emphasis on

worldliness and matter-of-factness, Confucianism carries with it deep-seated traditionalism and mysticism. That ancestor-worship reinforces traditions and places the young in the hands of the aged in the sib or clan organization is readily understandable. Mysticism, coupled with the rationalization of empirical knowledge and craft, notably astrology, geomancy, and pharmacology, has actually ruled out any possibility of innovation in the social system or of the development of natural science and has consequently held the patrimonial state firmly stagnant.

Weber's brilliance is demonstrated in his analysis of China's traditional social structure. Historically, the central monarch was regarded as enjoying the mandate of heaven and as holding charisma: a position comparable to that of the supreme pontiff of the Roman Catholic church. This holds true to a lesser degree of the Confucian literati, who, having passed the various examinations, served *en bloc* as the emperor's administrators and board of advisers. The routinization of the functions of this ruling hierarchy has, since the first emperor of Ch'in, in the last quarter of the third century B.C., established a gigantic structure of bureaucracy. The literati, trained as aspirants to office, worked out an examination system to recruit new members for the bureaucracy and have, in fact, monopolized the state prebends. In order to safeguard their vested interests, they have from time to time fought hard to check the development of large landlordism, to protect the peasants in the pursuit of agricultural production, and to keep down sultanism in the palace, which would jeopardize their status.

In China the national economy in general and the taxation system in particular—the latter constituting the source of office prebends—have been so arranged that any change of the established traditions in the direction of political innovation and reform would immediately endanger the incomes of the incumbent functionaries. Change always provoked their opposition and sabotage. "Only military conquest of the country," concluded Weber, "or successful military or religious revolutions could shatter the firm structure of prebendary interests, thus creating completely new power distributions and in turn new economic conditions" (p. 61). Perhaps this is what has happened in China today.

Confucianism and Taoism, following the pattern of Weber's thinking, which, contrary to that of Karl Marx, takes ideas rather than material circumstances as the motivation and determining force in bringing about social stagnation and change, deals not only with China's orthodoxy and heterodoxy but with all aspects of her social life. Those who are well acquainted with the problems of traditional China will be astonished by Weber's magnificent organizing power in the handling and synthesizing of an enormous amount of material and by his genius with the pen. All the hitherto stubborn and somewhat contradictory documents have yielded under his hand and fitted into his conceptual framework. In accepting Weber's views of traditional China, one is in a much better position to understand how this patrimonial state has disintegrated in less than a century and also to appraise what the present political change may mean to the Occident.

SHU-CHING LEE

Chicago, Illinois

Soviet Imperialism. By ERNEST DAY CARMAN. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1950. Pp. 175. $3.25.

Mr. Carman tells us that before 1939 "the USSR not only respected the territorial integrity of bordering governments, but on July 4, 1933, went one step further. It guaranteed the borders of these states against aggression." The definition of "aggression" left nothing to be desired.

The change came when the U.S.S.R. rejected the proposals of its associates in the League of Nations (an organization which Carman omits to mention) and concluded a treaty with Germany. *Soviet Imperialism* describes in detail the policy of aggrandizement which took the place of collective security. The relevant facts are stated clearly and methodically.

Perhaps it would be unfair to expect a book of this character to explain the change which it describes. The U.S.S.R. may have lost any faith that it ever placed in collective security and may have decided that security must be sought through power alone. Or an opportunity may have appeared of realizing aims which had never really been abandoned and which were indeed the traditional aims of Russia: possession of the Heartland and access to the warm seas. Or a sudden and corrupting temptation may have presented itself and have turned the heads of

Russia's statesmen. Expansion, as Carman shows, was easy enough to justify. The promotion of world-wide communism is a version of manifest destiny. The liberation of subject peoples from foreign and capitalistic domination may require that communism should be established, and they should be in a position to defend themselves. Historic claims can be revived. Nationalities can be reunited. And, when all else fails, a *fait accompli* can be condoned by a plebiscite. It is only expansion *by others* which is imperialistic or aggressive.

Carman takes a very gloomy view of the future. He says that there is a strong probability that "the Soviet peoples themselves actually consider their Government's aggrandizement and aggression as just and right" and suggests that "further Soviet aggrandizement may well result in violent catastrophe for Western Civilization." But would not the outlook be even worse if the Soviet peoples were deliberate and hypocritical offenders?

In general, the book is clearly written, but there are lapses, e.g., "credulity" is used for "credibility" (p. 152) and an "aggrandized state" describes not the U.S.S.R. but its victim.

H. F. ANGUS

University of British Columbia

Marriage Analysis: Foundations for Successful Family Life. By HAROLD T. CHRISTENSEN. New York: Ronald Press Co., 1950. Pp. viii+510. $4.50.

This textbook on family sociology is "directed toward the improvement of marriage" (p. 453). It is built on the assumption that "marriage and family life are good, that they are productive of things worth while" (p. v). The author proclaims the "need for a greater 'family-mindedness' in society" (p. vi).

With its emphasis upon techniques for the improvement of married life, this publication provides a useful college text for classes aimed at the needs of students not primarily sociologists but interested in their own life-problems. It is written with apparent ease and enthusiasm, which makes it good reading for the uninitiated. The student of sociology will remain somewhat dissatisfied with lack of precision and consistency in the use of definitions; he will look in vain for any historical perspectives on the problem.

The author's basic dilemma in dealing with contemporary family problems is shared with many other writers in the field. In making his position quite clear, he has contrived to demonstrate what the sociology of the family *cannot* do in the pursuit of family happiness. It detracts from his merit that this has not been his intention. Yet, inasmuch as all teachers of the sociology of the family face the same difficulty, some remarks about this basic dilemma are in order.

The author well realizes the relativity of family forms and the dependence of this social institution upon prevailing culture in general (p. 29). Nevertheless, he approaches the problems of family disorganization as a superhistorical one. More conscious than other authors of what he is doing, he offers a satisfactory rationale for his procedure. He refutes the alternative of "asking for fundamental modifications in the marriage system," and proposes "to accept the system, and then to seek to save it by changing those personality and social factors which are regarded as responsible for the trouble" (p. 19). Under the circumstances, he helps his students to make the best of prevailing conditions. The family problem is posed as one of adjustment to the existing situation. The question remains whether the herculean task of improving family conditions in this country by individual adjustment can be achieved at all and whether social change will not override individual efforts through economic and other cultural reorientations more powerful than personal adjustment to the status quo.

In his ever present challenge for improvement, the author cannot help concerning himself with techniques for adjustment, with standards of conduct to achieve better marriage relations. Such techniques or standards of conduct, however, cannot be conceived without some idea of what marriage ought to be. At this point, the sociologist's relativism fades away and is replaced by value judgments which defy the scientific attitude to which the author has committed himself.

That traditional rural family values, modified by some recognition of the need for personality development of wife and children, make their appearance at this juncture, need not surprise us. There are no other sanctioned values to choose from. It is regrettable, though, that the turbulent scene of family revaluation in the contemporary urban middle classes is passed by as a matter beyond sociological concern, or concern only in terms of deviant or at least conflict-producing behavior.

To be sure, desirable goals of marriage and family living are not explicitly borrowed from traditional example. The goal of improved marriage relations is fashioned by the author without historical reference; it is not formulated in reference to tradition but by a type of reasoning that appears logical, i.e., as superhistorically conclusive. What seems logical at first glance, however, reveals itself at closer inspection as faulty argument. As is customary in contemporary family sociology, the author avails himself in his definition of goals of either truisms, semantic maneuvers, or a use of contrasting dichotomies that leaves the student with only apparent information in his hands.

The student is warned against "needless indecision" in his love entanglements (p. 211). Of course! He is told that "madness in love is dangerous" (pp. 201–2). Of course! He learns the rather obvious truth that "the best conditions for mate selection are filled when young people have abundant opportunity for meeting a large variety of those of the opposite sex and are able to meet them under conditions that encourage dating" (p. 251). Of course! He receives lessons about the *true* meaning of love, and he is then told that "love does make sense" (p. 209).

Nobody will doubt that "family-mindedness" makes a promising attribute in a prospective marriage partner or that the "adjustability of families" makes for adjustment. The student is challenged to accept a "successful attitude" toward marriage (p. 312); a few lines later he is warned against overoptimism. The child is not to be spoiled, nor is it to be deprived of affection. For marriage, the student has to be willing to settle down; yet the marriage partners are not to take each other for granted (pp. 316–17). In mate selection the student is encouraged to use both his head and his heart; yet where one begins and the other ends is left somewhat in the dark.

Needless to say, lack of precise information hides behind many of these statements. But we have, unfortunately, developed logical and semantic techniques of the above-mentioned kind to cover up white spots on the map of family sociology, instead of throwing upon them the beacon light of clear conceptual analysis. Against such a background of seeming information, we easily promote our own common sense, if not prejudice.

The author is given to the promotion of an ideal of love that is so "mature" and free from romantic distortions as to forestall communication with the younger generation, which—for better or for worse in the climate of our urbanized culture—is scarcely willing to accept that germ-free relationship espoused by the author. Even our middle-aged and aging couples, after having raised their children to occupational and emotional maturity, will hesitate to concede that their own relationship does not surpass in either passion or romance that of two roommates in college. General validity for family cure-alls is hard to achieve. Yet the challenge to do something here and now forces us into premature generalizations.

These critical remarks are only occasioned by the above-mentioned publication, which is not distinguished by any marked degree of originality but combines available information and current thought on the sociology of the family in a very readable manner.

SVEND RIEMER

University of Wisconsin

Marriages and Families of University Graduates. By W. A. ANDERSON. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1950. Pp xii+52. $1.00.

Marriages and Families of University Graduates (Statistical Supplement). By W. A. ANDERSON. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 1950. Pp. vi+32.

This monograph is a factual summary of certain demographic-family information about fifteen hundred Cornell University graduates from the classes of 1919, 1920, and 1921. It is based on a brief questionnaire mailed to all persons on the alumni lists and returned by about four-fifths. The questionnaire covers chiefly present and past marital status, college background of mates, and children born. The data are variously cross-tabulated in fifty-five tables, presented in the statistical supplement, and the monograph presents the observations to be drawn from the tables. The author does not attempt to interpret the findings or relate them to theory in sociology, nor does he explore relations beyond those ascertainable from simple percentage analysis.

The monograph will be primarily useful as a source of reference data, and for this it is admirably suited. The descriptive generalizations all appear as paragraph headings, with clearly written statements of the supporting evidence

making up the text. Most of the findings are not new but are supportive of fairly widely recognized observations. Such well-known facts as late age of marriage for college graduates, the higher rate of marriage for college men and the lower marriage rate for college women in comparison with noncollege populations, and that the number of children of the college population is insufficient to reproduce it are documented here.

The most useful information from this study will probably be that concerning childbearing period and child spacing. In these areas there is less information already available, and the fact that nearly all respondents were over forty-five years of age means that the data cover the entire potential childbearing span of the respondents. The inverse relation between age at marriage and size of family, the brief duration of the usual childbearing period, the increasing time interval between successive births, the inverse relationship between family size and time interval between children, and the failure of deliberate attempts at child spacing to affect actual child-spacing patterns are well documented.

The report is a model of systematic presentation, and the only criticisms which seem justified relate to the author's limited aspirations. The data collected have been exhaustively examined, but it seems that so brief a questionnaire could easily have been augmented without seriously affecting the percentage of response. Furthermore, there are many points at which the use of more complex statistical measures than mere percentages would have added considerably to the report. For example, the author suggests that length of interval between marriage and birth of the first child may be used to predict ultimate number of children, but he makes no effort to supply a prediction formula or a measure of predictive power. Again, the author shows, by percentages, a relationship between age at marriage and family size, suggesting that late age of marriage of college graduates is a reason for small size of families. He makes no attempt, however, to introduce any statistical operation by which college data could be related to noncollege data so as to measure the degree to which age of marriage could account for small size of the college family.

RALPH H. TURNER

University of California, Los Angeles

Rochester, the Flower City, 1855–1890. By BLAKE MCKELVEY. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949. Pp. xvii+407. $5.00.

This is the second volume in a series of publications concerned with the history of Rochester, New York. The first volume by the same author dealt with *Rochester, the Water-Power City: 1812–1854*, published in 1945. We are promised an additional volume on "Rochester, the City of Many Industries."

The sociologist envies the historian the opportunity of taking to print a bulk of detailed information as it happens to be available. The reviewer confesses to have experienced spells of boredom in trying to absorb data in their chronological sequence, the significance of which is pointed out by the city historian only in terms of common-sense commentary. As the reading progresses from chapter to chapter, it will appear as if the historian had been guided in his discourse by a filing system of worth-while information consisting of vital statistics, newspaper commentary, histories of different economic enterprises, unions, voluntary associations, and municipal institutions. The task of organizing this vast material in such a manner as to bear on sociological generalizations is left to the reader.

Once it is realized that the sociologist may feel invited to manipulate the information offered to answer questions derived from his systematic framework, his regret turns to the circumstance that very little comparable material is available for other cities in the United States. Not only is it impossible to draw generalizations from the record of one single case; other city histories use different sources of information and emphasize different aspects of urban history, thus condemning to futility the task of arriving at a full and systematic account of urban history in the United States.

Under the circumstances, either the sociologist remains indebted to the historian for illustrative materials which record some known trend or other generalizations in a concrete setting, i.e., related to other aspects of the situation ignored by the social scientist preoccupied with the isolation of specific data, or he will owe to the historian thanks for the suggestion of new possible hypotheses in areas of investigation so far uncovered by scientific analysis. The Rochester study presents, indeed, a sourcebook of information, a challenge for further sociological penetration of the material.

Here are some of the contents of the Rochester study, the affirmation of which on the basis of general validity would have to be considered a contribution to our sociological literature.

The assimilation of immigrating ethnic groups gradually replaces the Yankee culture of New England origin; it does not substitute German or Polish folk traits for pioneer virtues but fosters cosmopolitan attitudes dominating all aspects of urban culture in the United States.

Municipal functions are enlarged by a gradual transfer of charitable activities from voluntary associations, whose funds give out, whose organization does not guarantee the required continuity of service, or whose technical proficiency is subject to undesirable chance variations. This category encompasses such important functions as poor relief, hospital facilities, correctional and educational institutions, as well as the proverbial fire brigade.

Neighborhood ties are gradually replaced by the attachment of individuals and families to voluntary associations. In this manner a more encompassing spirit of citizenship and community participation gradually develops.

Religious institutions seem to undergo changes closely related to the cosmopolitanization of the urban community. The ethnic church, a focus for all social activities in the neighborhood settled by recent immigrants, learns to specialize upon the function of worship as such, later to undergo renewed change when the responsibility for social and wholesome recreational and educational services for the benefit of the wider community is assumed. It would, indeed, be interesting to know whether this sequence of events presents a general phenomenon observed beyond the limits of the city of Rochester.

An interesting chronological parallelism can be observed between large enterprise, commercial and industrial monopoly, on the one hand, and an organizational concentration of gambling, prostitution, and the retailing of liquor, on the other hand. Racketeering was either not very prominent in Rochester or not very intensively observed by the author. The arbitrary selectivity of the historical approach makes it difficult to judge the situation; but the problem is indicated in the data made available to the reader.

Interesting information is gathered about the development of the urban mass audience for spectator events. We catch glimpses of the early history of baseball and other popular sports. We observe the last struggles of the repertory theater, and the beginning which the road show derived from successful performances in near-by New York City. We follow the growth of outdoor recreational activities running parallel to the increase of leisure time available to urban workers and employees. The secularization of intellectual currents, from concern with biblical interpretations, to early disseminations of Darwinian theories, and to empirical scientific research, is well documented. The influence of European centers of art, music, and fashion and their gradual replacement by indigenous creativity are seen in context with concurrent economic and social developments.

All this is important information which we shall have to borrow from the historian until the formulation of relevant hypotheses has alerted the sociologist to the need for systematic investigation in these unexplored fields.

SVEND RIEMER

University of Wisconsin

Études sur la banlieue de Paris: Essais méthodologiques. By PIERRE GEORGE, M. AGULHON, L. A. LAVANDEYRA, H. D. ELHAL, and R. SCHAEFFER. Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1950. Pp. 183. Fr. 350.

Within the legal boundary of the *banlieue* of Paris are contained a large number of separate suburbs (*faubourgs*). Although this impression may be favored by the organization of the present publication (a collection of separate monographs concerned with various suburban environments), we are probably correct in assuming that the urban fringe of Paris has advanced further toward the consolidation of distinct "natural areas" than has the urban fringe in the United States, characterized by a little-differentiated mixture of land uses. The studies contained in the above volume deal with: (1) a residential settlement of manual labor, gainfully employed in the central city, superimposed in location upon an area of intensified truck farming; (2) a residential settlement of mixed white-collar labor, drawn to the central city for employment, and manual labor employed in the factories of adjacent fringe territory; (3) a housing project of multiple dwellings for needy families and families with large numbers of children; and, finally, (4) a factory compound, drawing its labor force from the central city and other fringe territory.

Methodologically and with regard to focus of interest, these different studies have, unfortunately, little in common. Nevertheless, the American reader will discover certain general characteristics of the fringe problem as it poses itself in the European city. The development of relatively homogeneous suburban areas, more or less clearly set off from one another, has already been mentioned. It will seem, furthermore, that the population of the suburban environment in general has followed somewhat different trends than here. The residential settlement of the suburbs is associated with the less affluent members of the community—manual and clerical workers—rather than the other way around. We are told, unfortunately with no documentation on this interesting point, that the more well-to-do people tend to stay in the central city, enjoying the advantages of urban rehabilitation when old structures crumble. In short, to move to the suburbs is not the "smart" thing to do—rather the reverse.

Laborers and employees accept the disadvantages of long commuting distances as the price to pay for life in pleasant dwelling units which are beyond their means in the central city. There is considerable interest in the political consequences of such population distribution. Members and voters of the radical parties, particularly of the left, are not so much found in the central city as in the periphery of Greater Paris.

Methodologically, the reader is struck by an astounding lack of technical proficiency. Problems that cry for a few simple correlations are handled by cumbersome and inconclusive cross-tabulations. Considerable use is made, on the other hand, of the perusal of historical records in either official reports or newspapers. In this manner, even this limited publication provides some understanding of the manner in which these suburbs have grown through the nineteenth century and of the continuing conflicts between the vested interests of previous settlers and the invasion of new types of residents. We learn, albeit with little empirical proof, about the replacement of the peasant by the truck farmer and the sellout of the truck farming to the residential needs of the urban working population. We learn about the invasion of this territory by industry and the placement of vast housing projects with lack of adequate community facilities in the suburban belt. By and large, the latest phase of suburbanization seems to be characterized by industrialization and "proletarization" of the fringe territory.

Some information about the commuting problem is used to analyze the nature of the various suburbs in an ingenious manner. Suburban districts are analyzed according to their attraction of labor from the central city or according to the extent to which they send labor into the inner city, an empirical classification of suburbs that deserves further exploration in this country.

SVEND RIEMER
University of Wisconsin

Government Project: An Account of Big Government in Action. By EDWARD C. BANFIELD. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951. Pp. 271. $3.50.

By the skilful use of correspondence, reports, and related material, the author of this book has written a fascinating account of the "rise and fall" of another of a long list of attempts to establish co-operative farming in the American milieu. It tells the story chronologically of the effort of the federal government during the great depression to "rehabilitate" impoverished, destitute farm families by removing them from the general economic chaos and establishing them in a new social and phsysical environment, which, as things turned out, was scarcely less chaotic. The chapter headings suggest the story: "Beginnings"; "Organizing the Cooperative"; "Selecting the Settlers"; "The First Year"; "Progress Report"; "Factionalism"; "Dissatisfaction"; "Women and Children"; "Pinal County Opinion"; "The New Dispensation"; "The Ills of Prosperity—1942"; "The Ills of Prosperity—1943"; "Liquidation." The sequence of developments indicated will be all too familiar to anyone who has read the story of Brook Farm, New Harmony, or any other of the many "community" experiments of the early nineteenth century. As Tugwell says in his Foreword, "It is not a nice story." He explains the failure in terms of the disapproval and hostility of other Americans to what they were trying to do for these people.

Banfield's book is, however, much more than a narrative of the events which this group of human beings experienced. It is analytical. He has made good use of the conceptual tools of sociology, not only in the final chapter—"Why They Failed"—but also in the context of the narrative account. The goals, he points out, were ill-defined and often in fatal conflict; the people

were a heterogeneous mass; about the only thing they had in common was destitution. Some were old Arizona residents, others were from Oklahoma, Texas, and other states; some had known better days, others had always lived in or on the margin of poverty; some had agricultural backgrounds, others not; "some may have been neurotic" (p. 233). Roles of individuals and of the group itself were new and unpatterned; the drive for status was incessant. The Resettlement Administration and (later) the Farm Security Administration, which administered the project partly from Washington, partly from San Francisco, and partly from the state of Arizona offices, were circumscribed in their policies by the orders and legislation which created them and by the necessity of maintaining public and congressional relations which would not impair the possibility of getting appropriations. The agency's own policies were inconsistent, as the author points out, in that it expected to make the project pay but, at the same time, aimed to raise the level of living of as many families as possible. The result was that the farm had more workers on it than were required for efficient operation. Mechanization (a milking machine, for example) was not possible because it would still further reduce the number of jobs for the settlers. While the project should be economically successful, it was maintained, at the same time the "social side" was to be developed. Especially, the settlers should be educated "in cooperation."

But the problem of leadership at the project level was crucial and was never solved. Those who had responsibility were unquestionably well-intentioned, conscientious individuals, trying to do a good job in a situation of vast complexity with which they were ill-prepared to cope successfully. For this reviewer, Banfield's analysis of the leadership problem is a high point of the book. Sociologists will find much meat in this book for purposes of illustrating the processes of social interaction—conflict, co-operation, and attempts and failures at accommodation; leader versus bureaucrat roles. Although sociologists might make different interpretations from the author's, the raw material is there for their use. It is undoubtedly the most satisfactory case study of a co-operative farming venture from a social-psychological standpoint which has yet been made.

LOWRY NELSON

University of Minnesota

The School in American Culture: The Inglis Lecture, 1950. By MARGARET MEAD. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951. Pp. 48. $1.50.

The author presents in a vivid way the images which she believes Americans have of the schoolteacher and of the school. One kind of school in people's minds is the little red schoolhouse, where the teacher is a slip of a girl teaching children of her own kind and under the chaperonage of a community and school board likewise of her own kind. A second model is that of the academy, where a more thoroughly traditional education is given by teachers who are often men (or, I would add, ladies of declining fortune). The third is the city public school, whose pupils are the children of immigrants. Dr. Mead says—and she is right—that these conceptions of the school run through American literature, political rhetoric, and common talk. Her school of the future would be one in which the teacher would synthesize some aspects of these models and would herself be trained to adjust her pupils to a world in which things change rapidly. As one would expect, she introduces a good deal of material concerning the child-rearing practices of other cultures.

One of the things which still wants doing is study of the actual kinds of American schools and teachers in terms other than those of the conventional educational vocabulary. While Margaret Mead has not here done that, her discussion will be of use to the people who do undertake it.

EVERETT C. HUGHES

University of Chicago

Mass und Mitte. By WILHELM RÖPKE. Erlenbach, Zurich: Eugen Rentsch Verlag, 1950. Pp. 261. Fr. 12.50.

The author of this volume is well known not only as an economist but also as a prolific writer in the field of social philosophy. This is the fourth in a series of publications in which the author contemplates major problems of social and economic policy. The title (literally, "Measure and Center") adequately expresses his point of view and his plea for a middle course between nationalism and communism. In a facile and eloquent style the writer argues the case of what he regards the valid and promising aspects of liberalism, as opposed to its twenti-

eth-century errors. This lasting core is conceived as the philosophy of a social order which is in accord with the immutable elements of human nature, which satisfies its inherent claim for both freedom and order, and which is established on tenets firmer than democracy, equality, and tolerance. The current crisis of the liberal parties is traced to their modern deviations, such as rationalism, relativism, pragmatism, materialism, and progressivism. It is this corrupted and secularized version of the liberal point of view which has become susceptible to the collectivistic bacillus.

In mapping out his course of making Western society invulnerable against the internal threat of communism, the author rejects economic planning, Keynesian economic policies, equalitarianism and the cult of the common man, the welfare state, and industrial concentration. "Freedom from want" is identified with a demand for "security, comfort, equality, and bread and circuses." Truman's Point Four program is regarded as an ill-conceived plan because it will inevitably create new proletariats and additional recruiting grounds for communism. The cultural-lag hypothesis is rejected because of its implicit optimism about the role of technology. The author is never more eloquent than when he comes to speak of the uncritical faith of contemporary man in engineering, mass production, and economic concentration. A sample:

> Is it not the large industrial plant which has changed everything, man, his thoughts, life, and faith? Is it not the large factory which has given us the stony desert of our metropolitan cities and their nomadism? Has not the factory made soft so much of what was once firm, has it not rendered morbid what was healthy, superficial what was profound, and mechanical what once was vital? . . . Has the West not made a terrible mistake when it entrusted its destiny to the "economic and social progress" of large scale industry?

This pessimistic view of history is offered without a redeeming finale, for the author does not locate his image of the good society, which motivates his critique of our time, anywhere within the perceivable horizon of things to come. No promise of a strategic plan is offered, but the outline of a natural order which is organismic, normal, stable, decentralized; it offers its members ownership of home and garden and normal family life, it curbs the growth of industrial giants, and it preserves the crafts and the small enterprise. The present reviewer does not feel called upon to discuss the merits of this social creed, but he does not share the author's confidence that a social policy thus sketched would be able to meet the challenge of communism.

ERNEST MANHEIM

University of Kansas City

Statement on Race. By ASHLEY MONTAGU. New York: Henry Schuman, 1950. Pp. xi+172. $2.00.

Statement on Race by Ashley Montagu is an interpretative edition of *Statement by Experts on Race Problems*, which was first issued by UNESCO on July 18, 1950. In its original form, *Statement by Experts on Race Problems* represents the contributions of an international group of scientists drawn from many fields—biochemistry, embryology, genetics, psychology, physical and social anthropology, general and social biology, sociology, and education. In the present form, *Statement on Race* contains twenty-one orderly arranged paragraphs, each making concise and comprehensive pronouncements on race and race problems.

As reporter and editor of the committee to draft the *Statement by Experts on Race Problems*, Professor Montagu was given the task of writing this *Statement on Race*. He takes each paragraph as a theme (save paragraphs 15–20, which are treated in one chapter) and elaborates on it with sound logical argument. Written in plain English, the book is readable and invaluable. Backed by objective facts, it is convincing to those who may need new revelations. Finally, the book serves its purpose well. It informs the public that the biological fact of race and the myth of "race" are two separate and distinct realities.

Students familiar with the literature on race and race problems will not find any novel facts or acquire novel insights in this book. However, it brings to their minds the urgent need for clearing up the existing muddled thinking on the matter of race and the concept of race. To achieve this aim, there must be a measure of conceptual agreement among them. How best to communicate the biological facts on race to those who in their minds identify race and racial myths is still a moot procedural and pedagogical question of prime importance. To develop a new outlook on group life and eventually to evolve "the ethic of universal brotherhood" might well be the final resolution for race prob-

lems, as the author of this book implies in paragraph 21.

The merit of a book such as this lies in the fact that it gives to professional teachers of the social sciences, as well as to nonprofessionals interested in race relations, the backing of the authoritative statement about race from the point of view of human biology. It gives convincing evidence that race as a biological concept is relatively easy to grasp and merits no further elaboration beyond what the *Statement on Race* has to say. This is not to say that the book makes a claim that all is known about race. What it makes clear is the fact that racial determinism has no basis in scientific facts—race and culture are not dependent variables.

In the opinion of the reviewer, "race" in popular culture—"racism," "socially supposed race," or "racial myth," as it is often called—is as much a reality as race in its strict biological sense. "Race" in popular culture is a product not of the genetic system but of the existing system of ethnic relations. As such, the popular conception of race needs to be investigated within the context of a dynamic society. This is the task which logically falls to the students of race relations.

JITSUICHI MASUOKA

Fisk University

An Autobiography. By SIR ARTHUR KEITH. New York: Philosophical Library, 1950. Pp. vi+721. $4.75.

Sir Arthur writes as he has lived: simply, in friendly style, and with an unostentatious humility. During his eighty-one years of life (this book was finished on February 5, 1947, his eighty-first birthday) he has shared great moments and events of history. In his professional career he has shared man's whole history. His life and his study have given him perspective and objectivity. At times, therefore, he seems to view history and his fellow-man with an air of dispassionate detachment that to some may seem callous. To those of us who have been privileged to study with him, nothing can be further from fact. Behind the scientific evaluation of man and his foibles are a warm, understanding heart and a keen philosophical mind.

It is natural of a man born in the first blush of Darwinism, trained in the great Hunterian tradition of comparative and human anatomy, who today resides in Downe House, Charles Darwin's home, that he concern himself with human evolution—not so much the theory as the facts, the fosil remains, of man's past. Darwinism has influenced Sir Arthur's every contribution to human evolution and to human racial anthropology. Especially is this true of the "natural-selection" aspect of Darwin's hypothesis.

In 1889–92 he went to Siam and the Malay Peninsula as the company physician of an English mining concession. These years were significant: first, there was the opportunity to study firsthand the morphology of many of the Asiatic Primates; second, it was in this general area, in Java, that Dubois discovered the first of the *Pithecanthropus* remains (1890–92). It was only natural, therefore, that Sir Arthur was stimulated to interests and research in Primate and human evolution and morphology that were to continue for the next half-century. It is not an exaggeration to state that his work has proved basic to the modern understanding and interpretations of fossil man. He was a comparative morphologist, and a well-trained one. Morphology—the structure and form—was the keystone in his linking-up of fossil Primates and fossil hominids. While not averse to biometrics, he did not employ them; he studied variability in generic and specific, rather than in statistical, terms. There were times when the diagnosis of a given fossil had to be modified in the light of further finds, but there was never a moment's hesitation in saying, "I was wrong." His *Antiquity of Man* and *New Discoveries Relating to the Antiquity of Man* are still landmarks in the field. Style and exposition are excellent.

The problem of racial origins concerned Sir Arthur greatly. That they arose by selection, he was—as a good Darwinist—quite sure; but how? First and foremost, he thought, races were set apart by endocrine secretions. Sir Arthur had studied acromegaly, cretinism, myxedema, Addison's disease, and so on—all endocrinopathies. Could it not be, he reasoned, that "races" (at least "stocks") were the outcome of certain normal endocrine balances? The dark skin, the prognathism, of the Negroid might be due to a certain pituitro-adrenal balance; the saffron skin, the concave and flat face, of the Mongoloid might be due to a certain thyroid balance; the traits of the Caucasoid, especially depigmentation, might be due to a more harmonious blend of all three glands.

Races—the subdivisions of stocks—may arise, he felt, in certain social factors: endogamy,

taboo, religious restrictions, prejudice, and so on. Anything, any factor, which caused a relative isolation and consequent inbreeding might lead to "race formation." It is this aspect of Sir Arthur's anthropology that has caused so many line-squalls of dissent. He has been called "racist," "superiorist," "fascist"—and yet his *Autobiography* protests again and again that it is the *process*, rather than the result, good, bad, or indifferent, that concerns him. Man is a domesticated animal; he has abrogated most laws of "natural" selection; if, instead, he provides a mechanism of *social* selection, then that is important to study. I must confess that I see little difference in Sir Arthur's view from the Boasian concept of change via immigration (which is a social process!). His *A New Theory of Evolution* merely substitutes one isolating effect ("social") from another ("natural").

Be all this as it may, the storm will probably continue to rage, for "race" is as much emotion as it is biology. The *Autobiography*, if carefully and sympathetically read, will reveal the man as scientist, as philosopher, and as "friend to man"—all these I know him to be.

WILTON MARION KROGMAN

University of Pennsylvania

Georges Sorel—Prophet without Honor: A Study in Anti-Intellectualism. By RICHARD HUMPHREY. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951. Pp. vi+246. $4.00.

Georges Sorel is known to the largest number of Americans who know of his work at all, probably, as the author of *Reflections on Violence*, a volume of loosely connected essays in the course of which he developed a concept of myth as a factor of collective behavior. Though this concept was perhaps not altogether original with him, he seems to have been largely instrumental in giving it a rather wide currency. The impression also has currency that Sorel was an apologist for violence in class struggle, which is true in a sense, and that through his publications he became the prophet and intellectual leader of the syndicalists.

Professor Humphrey has written the present account of Sorel's work in an attempt to bring out, as fully and clearly as may be, the whole truth. He characterizes Sorel as a pessimist, a moralist, in his own distinctive fashion a pragmatist, who refused throughout his career to articulate his ideas into a system and did not, in fact, believe it possible to construct a valid general system of social theory. Holding such views, he naturally left a body of writings from which the diligent student finds it difficult to ascertain just what their writer did teach. Parts of Sorel's are not clearly articulated with one another; and there is the appearance, and even the fact, of contradiction between some things and others, especially between the writings of one period and those of another. Having a subject of this kind to deal with, Humphrey has naturally found it impossible to write a comprehensive interpretation of the work of Sorel which would be easy for his readers to follow.

There is, nevertheless, much that is provocative in the writings of Sorel; and those who have the patience and perseverance to grapple with them will probably feel them rewarding. Since much of his work is untranslated and for other reasons not readily accessible to American students, it will probably prove to be a real service to them to have available this concise volume of summary and interpretation. The Index seems fairly good, but no bibliography of Sorel's writings, though badly needed, is incorporated.

FLOYD N. HOUSE

University of Virginia

The Stereotype of the Single Woman in American Novels. By DOROTHY YOST DEEGAN. New York: King's Crown Press, 1951. Pp. xiv+252.

This book, evidently a Ph.D. thesis in education, is a study of the characteristics of mature single women ("old maids") as depicted in 125 American novels between 1851 and 1935. The tone of the book and its ritualistic, rather than instrumental, use of "scientific" method make it primarily a plea for social reform.

Its major point is that novelists have failed to present the mature single woman as an admirable person who can live a happy, normal, and productive life, but most often portray her as eccentric, dependent, and a social failure. By comparison with objective studies, this is shown to be anachronistic, neglecting the new solutions to the problem of singleness which women are finding. The novelist's stereotype is held to be both symptomatic and productive of the social attitude toward nonmarriage which creates

some of the single woman's most difficult problems of adjustment.

The study suffers from a lack of some guiding conception about the relations of literature and society which would provide a rationale for the selection of techniques and a model for the statement of conclusions and their evaluation. Techniques of the study were chosen because they appeared to be "objective" rather than because they promised to help in the solution of a formulated problem. For example, the novels were chosen by extremely arbitrary criteria rather than because they might be expected to provide relevant evidence. The conclusions amount only to a summing of the characteristics of the "old maid" in American novels and leave unanswered, and even unraised, questions about the process by which stereotypes are brought into play by novelists and maintained through the passive acceptance of audiences. Some conception of the novel as a social artifact, resulting from the interaction within and between audiences and those for whom its production is a form of work or business enterprise, would have forced the author to consider the function of the stereotype of the single woman for novelists and audiences. We get some clue to the stereotype's function for the novelist in the author's note that such characters are seldom fully developed but are introduced as town gossips, etc., being essentially devices for advancing the action of the plot. Similar knowledge of the attitudes of the readers is needed to round out our understanding of the stereotype. The reviewer feels that the content of novels, movies, radio programs, etc., can be profitably analyzed only in the context of the social groups in which they are produced and consumed. An analysis in these terms would have brought the author much more important information on the problem of the single woman than was achieved purely through the analysis of novels.

It should be noted that the author has pointed to an area important to the study of the family: the problems and adjustments of those who are unable or unwilling to enter into the typical family arrangements of our society.

HOWARD S. BECKER

Chicago Area Project

The Social History of a War-Boom Community. By ROBERT J. HAVIGHURST and H. GERTHOM MORGAN. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1951. Pp. xix+356. $4.00.

This work is, in the words of the authors,

> An account of what happened to the people and institutions of a small American town [Seneca, Illinois] as it went through an industrial expansion during World War II. The purpose is fourfold: to study the adaptation of social institutions to rapid social change; to examine the adaptation of people to new conditions of living; to consider the influence of a crisis on the long term history of a community, and to make a record of one significant part of American life in war-time.

In the collecting of data, the authors are guided by the following hypotheses: that the local community will provide for the "non-material" services; that the government or other outside agency will provide for the expansion of the "material" services; and that there will be misunderstanding and friction between the old and the new in the community. In so far as one case can demonstrate it, the data bear out the hypotheses. The adequacy of this framework for studying the boom community can be judged by the reader.

Seneca's history during the period studied was similar to that of other boom towns: the adaptation was spotty. Some problems were more or less adequately dealt with, others remained unsolved. Success in Seneca was at times credited to the fact that some existing institutions, e.g., schools, were capable of expansion without fundamental modification. At other times, credit for success went to effective leadership, as in the case of the child-care program. Likewise, failure at times seemed due to the fact that there was no institutional pattern to follow, as in the recreational program, though the authors seem to entertain the idea that here, too, the quality of leadership might have been determining. However, the data upon which their judgment is based are adequately presented, and the reader may make his own judgment.

The book provides an interesting and valuable account for undergraduates and others who seek to recapture some of the flavor of the times. Whether the categories into which the data are thrown are such as to provide evidence of a systematic theory can be known only when more such studies are available.

W. F. COTTRELL

Miami University

The Prodigal Century. By HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD. New York: Philosophical Library, 1950. Pp. xvii+258. $3.75.

The author presents the nineteenth century as the time in which a hemisphere of undeveloped land resources was opened to man and as the same time at which unheard-of technological inventions became available, with the result that unlimited resources were squandered. However, enough resources were left over for the people of the present century to develop and use wisely, if they will elect to do so. But wisdom of this type calls for long-term social planning.

Such planning requires careful reconsideration of the population problem and birth control; a repudiation of advertising waste; a turning-away from the old-line economy of scarcity, whether advocated by New Dealers or capitalists; a change from a schizophrenic type of society, such as developed in the United States in "the prodigal century," where many people tried to worship both God and Mammon at the same time.

Progress is discussed by the author in terms of both movement and direction toward accepted values. A distinction is drawn between conflict as a value in itself and as "a means of achieving other values." Whereas Lundberg asks whether science can save us and answers affirmatively, provided that we think in terms of social science, Fairchild says No, for "people must save themselves." In addition to science, even social science, there must be spiritual interpretations. The concluding chapters urge strongly the great need for democratically organizing economic activities. Nineteenth-century economic life often cramped freedom and, according to the author's analysis, went so far as to conceal "its essentially restrictive, repressive, and exploitative character." The need at the present time is for a consumer's philosophy which will restore a measure of freedom to people and offset the producer and financial philosophy which has led to powerful concentrations of control over the lives of the great bulk of citizenry. A reference at this point to what is sometimes called "the freest of free enterprise," namely, the co-operative movement, might have been in order.

Abundance, peace, freedom, comprise the author's main goals for the United States. Of these, freedom is perhaps considered the greatest. It is more than the nineteenth-century desire for no restrictions of any kind; it is the freedom of the people to determine "what kind of restrictions shall be applied and by whom." Likewise, democracy is not the absence of control but is control itself—by the people.

Fairchild writes with his usual clarity, fearlessness, and sincere interest in his country's welfare. He presents a unique history of nineteenth-century United States and makes many suggestions for the present and the future. The use of such terms as "public ownership" and "collectivization" calls for further illustrations. Like his economics, Fairchild's sociology is often not orthodox, but in both cases he is always thought-provoking.

EMORY S. BOGARDUS

University of Southern California

Psychological Factors of Peace and War. Edited by T. H. PEAR. New York: Philosophical Library, 1950. Pp. ix+262. $4.75.

Taking their cue from the dictum that "wars begin in the minds of men," the nine contributors to this symposium search men's minds to find bases for international peace. Their articles may be evaluated as contributions either to social planning or to science.

Two contributors, Hilde Himmelweit and H. J. Eysenck, review sections of earlier research. Himmelweit surveys studies of frustration and aggression; Eysenck covers materials on attitudes toward war and on hostile feelings toward minorities and toward other nations. Since Eysenck confines himself largely to questionnaire studies, there is little overlap. These reviews seem reasonably complete. They do duplicate a large part of Otto Klineberg's memorandum on *Tensions Affecting International Understanding* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1950). Himmelweit points to a major dilemma of the studies in her area—the problem of predicting which of many possible sorts of behavior the individual will adopt when his action is blocked. Work on this problem is a natural next step.

T. H. Pear has written a paper which, though disjointed, occasionally reveals keen insight on the theme that war may in part be determined by culture patterns. We are not given data to support his position, but his view of its importance for the prevention of future wars is hinted at in such asides as "since culture-patterns can be changed quickly (cf. the Maoris, the Japanese, the Russians) there may either be hope that the next war could be postponed indefinitely, or fear that it may come sooner than most people expect" (p. 21).

There are other papers specifically relating the incidence of war to culture and its consequences. J. Cohen asks:

> Is it not remotely possible that the causes of war intrinsic in a system of sovereign States are the result of the male as against the female "element" in these societies? Is it not conceivable that wars occur because of the overwhelming influence of men in government, administration, and international affairs? Might not a full emancipation of women promote a more peaceful order? [Pp. 93–94.]

While presenting arguments for the affirmative, she observes that "equality of the sexes is much more marked among the most primitive than among civilized people" (p. 94). She buttresses her views with comparisons of male-female aggressiveness among the courting Hymenoptera (males are more aggresive in courting) and foresees the possibility that a decline in the fertility rate will so affect the balance of power between the sexes that "all children will be born either as a result of an accident or through the mother's initiative with the more or less reluctant consent of the father" (p. 107). She expresses the wish that there were data on the degree to which wives vote as their husbands do. Her wish may largely be granted if she reviews existing literature.

Madeline Kerr speculates about the rewards individuals find in time of war and seems to conclude that these come largely in the form of reduced anxieties as war dissolves old personal and intra-cultural conflicts. How these rewards balance against the deprivations of wartime living is not discussed.

A particularly competent article is H. V. Dicks's report of his studies of German national character based on a large number of interviews with Germans who were made prisoners of war. From his clinical interrogations emerged what Dicks feels is a typical picture of the personal problems and social origins of the POW's he saw. The most important and interesting section of his material is a five-part empirical typology developed for classifying POW's on a continuum of favorableness toward the Nazi regime. The stronger supporters of the Hitler order show significantly greater acceptance of paternal authority; greater leader-worship; stronger expectations of being dominated; more exaggerated shame about, and contemptuous rejection of, tender relationships; overvaluation of masculinity and gang solidarity; a tendency to project; greater acceptance of brutality and of the use of force in order to dominate others and more of a tendency to justify it on the ground of the inferiority or worthlessness of other groups; rejection of orthodox Christianity; and proneness to unconscious guilt and feelings of inferiority. Dicks is not unaware that these differences may be disproportionately distributed by occupational groups and presents some data on this possibility. His paper is a refreshing mixture of illuminating clinical sophistication and scientific caution—a combination that is all too rare in studies of national character.

Two chapters by L. F. Richardson review important collections of statistics about war. He concludes that, (1) as the amount of spending for "defensive" armaments increases, the rate of such spending increases; (2) a Poisson distribution describes the incidence of wars in given years; (3) wars involving a few nations are more frequent than wars involving many nations; (4) most wars involve two neighboring powers; and (5) a historical period, not a people, seems to be "warlike." Unfortunately, there are no data in his collections that might help to explain these patterns.

J. C. Flugel and Gordon Allport have written specifically "applied" papers. Flugel proposes preventing war by three methods: (1) moral and religious, the establishing of a moral order among nations through creating common undertakings and harmless outlets for tensions; (2) political, reconciling national aspirations by providing symbols for, and a sense of participation in, "one world"; and (3) psychological, reducing and rechanneling impulses that find satisfaction in war. Allport, characteristically, is optimistic about the combining of social-science knowledge with an existing reservoir of moral purpose to conquer a "rampant and amoral technology" (p. 154). To this end, he briefly discusses ten research areas where social engineering needs basic data.

Like most symposia, this consists of papers of widely different interest and merit. The book includes a few solid pieces of investigation and critical review and a number of trivial speculations. It is not a very satisfying contribution to realistic planning for the prevention of war. In common with Klineberg's earlier volume in this field, most of the contributors approach such planning from the perspective of studies of individuals and of individual change. There is little sense of war as a relationship among interacting societies. This, of course, is an error of omission, not of commission.

These and other social-scientific proposals will hardly be convincing to policy-makers until the methods for applying the findings to relevant populations are included in the suggestions. Again, policy-makers and citizens will probably demand some guiding strategy that will enable them to evaluate the nature of the problem of "waging peace," the requirements for its solution, and the relevance of past and future research for meeting those requirements. Most contributors are satisfied in believing that their own special interests are somehow relevant and crucial.

Despite the insight in individual papers, the symposium does not quite fulfil the promise on the dust jacket that the authors will show "how rational minds can initiate and bring to fruition such achievenents as offer not only an escape from war but also a hope for a better, more stable, future."

G. E. SWANSON

University of Michigan

Pattern for Industrial Peace. By WILLIAM FOOTE WHYTE. New York: Harper & Bros., 1951. Pp. ix+245. $3.50.

The underlying assumption of this exceptionally readable case study of a union-management relationship is that improving the quality of personal contact between employers and their workers will reduce industrial conflict. Whyte shows how, in the given case, conflict between the union and the company was changed to a constructive and peaceful relationship. What was needed, according to the author, was a sincere desire upon the part of both parties to respect each other's views and to believe that cooperation could be achieved. The case study is an excellent depiction of the human-relations viewpoint.

A basic assumption of this approach is that industrial peace is an inherent and desirable part of any constructive collective bargaining relationship and that, when conflict occurs, it is a result of a breakdown of "normal" relations. Under these circumstances, advocates of the human-relations point of view would say that you merely have to re-establish a common orientation toward the productive process by creating conditions which will produce common goals. They fail to realize that organized labor and organized management do not share common goals but are involved in an indigenous conflict. Normal relations in collective bargaining are not a co-operative and stable relationship but a relationship between two groups who have different and conflicting needs and aspirations. The union must secure increasing benefits for its members, while management must strive to increase profits. These divergent goals form the basis of the conflict which exists in collective bargaining. A peaceful relationship is not due to the re-establishment of "normal" relations but to the ability of management and labor to compromise by expedient adjustment to each other's needs.

The human-relations view is that one can understand institutional practices or relations by examining the nature of face-to-face interaction of individuals representing the institutions. This conception has developed out of the study of small groups and has served as a valuable device in understanding the character of such groups. One example is Whyte's *Street Corner Society*, published in 1943. The assumption is that, if you study small groups and pool your findings, you will be able to understand more complex organizations and society—an assumption which has no basis in fact when we examine more complex organizations and find that they change their character upon becoming more highly organized. A small group cannot be legitimately compared with a large complex institution, although social scientists make such comparisons without regard to their logical inconsistency.

Whyte and other advocates of the human-relations point of view fail to realize that the essential character of present-day labor-management relations is that they occur between organized groups. The individuals involved in any particular collective bargaining relationship are agents for the group that they represent and, as such, are subjected to a wide variety of pressures from within, as well as from other organized groups. For example, Phil Murray of the United Steelworkers of America and Ben Fairless of the United States Steel Corporation, the key individuals involved in negotiating a contract between the union and the corporation, have a great deal of respect for each other's integrity as individuals; but, as agents of their groups, they are subject to a variety of pressures which determine their relations with each other. Murray is not only negotiating for his union and rank-and-file members but for the entire industry, other unions within the context of pattern-setting in the mass-production industries, the labor movement, and is also sub-

ject to pressures from government, public opinion, and so on. Likewise, Fairless is negotiating a contract for his company and its stockholders, as well as for the entire industry, and is subject to pressures from trade-associations, competitive companies, government, the public, and so on. While respect for each other creates a relationship conducive to settling differences, it is of secondary importance in achieving a satisfactory collective bargaining agreement. In the reviewer's opinion, the most realistic appraisal of present-day bargaining between unions and management begins with the realization that the relationship is subjected to a wide variety of pressures from within and from outside. What is required of management and labor representatives is to compromise their differences in the face of existing pressures and reach the most satisfactory agreement possible.

We must think of collective bargaining as a fluid process in which unions, by the very nature of their need to survive and grow as well as to secure more benefits, as mentioned above, are continually seeking to encroach upon managerial prerogatives. Such encroachments, which vary from situation to situation, have the effect of changing the relationship between labor and management. It is often in this area that peace changes to conflict and conflict changes to peace. Whyte listed a set of prerogatives which the company felt were not subject to negotiation. In the case he described, the union apparently felt no pressure to impinge upon these prerogatives, at the moment, and was able to concentrate upon other areas of difference to get the best possible contract for its members. A compromise was effected because the management and union representatives were able to adjust their differences and work out an agreement. The quality of respect that the author stresses as being of paramount importance in the working-out of a peaceful relationship could just as quickly have produced conflict if the union had felt that one of the managerial prerogatives, like a union shop, strict seniority on promotions and layoffs, or time and a half or double time for work on Saturdays and Sundays, was an essential minimum requirement.

Collective bargaining does not operate in an area of personal relations between individuals, as assumed by the human-relations point of view, but in a society composed of highly organized and complex groups. Failure to recognize that relations between organized groups differ from those between individuals has the effect of preventing a realistic understanding of the collective bargaining process. While management in a small plant may find it easier to develop a peaceful working arrangement with the union, it can do so only within the framework of patterns established by larger unions and companies. Yet Whyte and others study small groups and assume that such relatively simple relationships will enable them to understand collective bargaining in the majority of American industries. Although the author presents a convincing case for his point of view, an inevitable conclusion is that he fails to depict the essential character of labor-management relations.

JACK LONDON

University of Chicago

The Making of Public Opinion. By EMORY S. BOGARDUS. New York: Association Press, 1951. Pp. x+265. $4.00.

This book is divided into five major parts comprising some fifteen chapters, all in the space of 233 text pages. Part I considers the "Nature and Functions of Public Opinion." Public opinion is described as being made up of the integration of many personal opinions. An attempt is made to distinguish between public opinion, personal opinion and private opinion, majority opinion and minority opinion, coalition opinion, consensus opinion, and general opinion. Consensus opinion is stressed, for this is what results from democratic discussions. It is opinion through democratic discussion, which Bogardus stresses consistently as most desirable and most needed for our success as a democracy. In a sense this is the theme of the book.

"What Makes Public Opinion?" is the topical heading for Part II, and the question is answered in the chapters covering "Personal Conversation," "Reading Newspapers," "Seeing Motion Pictures," "Listening to the Radio," "Reacting to Education," "Participating in Discussion Groups." Included in this section is a chapter entitled "The Opinion-making Processes." Building on Ross and Cooley, Bogardus lays out his conception of the process by discussing the six stages in opinion-making: disturbances, partisanization, propagandization, discussion and education, decision, and redefinition. This brief chapter is perhaps the heart of the book, in that it presents Bogardus' view of the processes involved in the making of opinion.

Implicit in this discussion, as in Part I, is the proposition that public opinion always results from issues around which controversy is generated and sides can be chosen. From the resolving of the issues in decisions and redefinitions, new issues themselves arise, which in turn commence the cycle of the process again. Unfortunately, this is not made explicit enough or clearly related to the realities of how public policy is formulated.

Part III concerns itself with "Limitations of Public Opinion," whose general "weaknesses," propaganda distortions, and consorship barriers, are discussed. It is difficult to conceive of applying the term "weaknesses" to the psychosociopolitical phenomenon of public opinion. Actually, "weaknesses" as used by the author means the failure to achieve a public opinion that will lead us to more and better democracy. This discussion, like some other sections of the book, considers in a casual or naïve way the relationship of public opinion to our political processes. It is hard to know why public opinion should not be a "bedfellow with politics." It is difficult to understand the condemnation of "blocs" as bad, without any relating of "blocs" to interest-group representation in our system. One also wonders how carefully thought through is the suggestion that we need *legislation* to protect the public from unsound propaganda.

"Measuring Public Opinion" is the heading given to Part IV of the book. It consists of one chapter on "Polls and Scales" and one entitled "Case Studies of Public Opinion." The former is a standard treatment and summary of problems and successes in this area. In the latter, Bogardus suggests that we need more than the quantitative methods of studying public opinion. Reference is made to the case-study method of the law or of the social worker. Briefly treated are four cases that illustrate the "process aspects of opinion—formation": the women's suffrage movement; the prohibition movement; the West Coast Japanese evacuation; and the 1948 presidential campaign. Most students will agree on the value of the case-study approach, particularly as tied to given controversial issues. But it is hard to perceive that the methodology which the author presents is genuine. For the most part, his treatment of incidents as cases is accomplished by canvassing the available literature and discussing them in terms of his "opinion-making process." Unfortunately, case-study analyses where public policy is involved do not lend themselves to brevity. Bogardus' treatments are all too brief to demonstrate the possibilities of the case-study method in the study of public opinion. At best, they are suggestive.

The final section is concerned with "Conclusions about Opinion Making" in terms of sequences and tentative laws. Actually, the "laws" are no more than chapter-by-chapter summaries of the essential points contained in each.

For the introductory student in the social sciences or the general reader this is a competent treatment of the many-sided elements of the process of public opinion. In brief form it synthesizes into a readable whole a good portion of the available and significant literature in this field. If this is its virtue, it is also its weakness to the advanced and more sophisticated student in the field, for frequently it is overly and contradictorily eclectic.

SEYMOUR Z. MANN

Harpur College

Principles of Intensive Psychotherapy. By FRIEDA FROMM-REICHMANN, M.D. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950. Pp. xviii+245. $3.75.

This book is addressed, "first, to psychoanalytically interested psychiatrists and to young psychoanalysts and, second, to serious students of living" who are interested in "increasing their skill in conducting interviews, in remedial work, and in interpersonal guidance" (p. vii).

"Intensive psychtherapy," incidentally, is distinguished from "brief therapy" and other short cuts whose therapeutic goal is to "cure symptoms and effect social recoveries." In contrast, the goals of the former include "promoting personality changes" and "producing insight into the genetics and dynamics of a patient's problems." In this connection the author asserts her "psychiatric philosophy," namely, "that there is no valid *intensive* psychotherapy other than that which is psychoanalytic or psychoanalytically oriented" (p. x).

The first third of the book will interest some sociologists perhaps more than the rest of the work for its discussion of "The Psychiatrist: Personal and Professional Requirements"; the role of the psychotherapist in the doctor-patient relationship; problems raised by "Cultural and Ethical Values"; the "Treatment Situation"; and "The Initial Interview." But for other so-

ciologists there may also be some news in the examination which follows, of the psychotherapeutic process in detail, with special attention to problems and principles of "interpreting" (psychoanalytically and therapeutically). Here is traced the fairly recent shift away from emphasis upon the content of "free associations" to the underlying psychodynamics of the particular patient's behavior.

In common-sense terms, it appears that the psychiatrist of Dr. Fromm-Reichmann's persuasion is less concerned with "total recall" and orthodox Freudian interpretations of early psychosexual experiences and is more alertly interested in the present dynamics motivating the patient's repressions, dissociations, and security operations, especially as these enter into his current interpersonal dealings, including those with the therapist. "Directed associations, observation of marginal thoughts, and attention directed to the timing and context in which the symptomatology arose" are now recommended to the psychiatrist; and the sociological field worker may well find that these and other therapeutic tools can be adapted, with proper precautions, in applications of his own professional skills.

A review of one book—even one such as this, which provides so readable and comprehensive an introduction to modern psychotherapy (including a reference list of 175 well-chosen titles)—is not the place for an essay on the implications of psychoanalysis for sociology. This reviewer believes that some orientation to the psychoanalytic perspective can be of considerable value to the sociologist who works directly with the people who provide the data of sociological interest, if only to sharpen his awareness of the covert psychodynamics of any given social role, including the role of the researcher himself, and his awareness of the interpersonal processes of the interview.

The role of the sociological field worker is not, of course, primarily that of a therapist, in relation either to the group or to the individual, and a division of labor among the sciences of man might make this more explicit. The injection of therapeutic functions into the sociological researcher's role may or may not be motivated by the high prestige of the healer in our civilization; but in any case the sociological researcher ought to know who he is and what he is doing. For a simple example, the sociologist's interviewing may provide some "catharsis" for the interviewee, and a series of interviews with an informant may even build up something analogous to "transference," not to mention "countertransference." The sociological field worker needs to be aware of these interpersonal phenomena and to know the limits of his role with respect to such therapeutic by-products.

One limit is indicated by reflecting upon the responsibilities assumed by a recognized therapist both to a patient (group or individual) and to a set of colleagues. Too great involvement in such relationships would seem to impair the sociologist's functioning as a social scientist. Another limit is set by the complete futility of straining after the extremes of ideal detachment and objectivity, for the field researcher inevitably places himself among, and is placed by, the people in the social system he studies. This means he achieves some kind of "practical" role in the eyes of the people with whom he works, which may give him a set of obligations, privileges, etc., quite distinct from those rights and duties which he has as a colleague of other social scientists. He must learn to behave in interpersonal relations which thus may at times far surpass in complexity those which a psychiatrist must ordinarily maintain.

Dr. Fromm-Reichmann's book shows what some psychiatrists have been learning about this aspect of their work, and, in reflecting upon what the modern psychiatrist must know, the modern sociologist might well ask what he and his colleagues need to learn about analogous contexts in their own work.

BUFORD H. JUNKER
University of Chicago

Projective Psychology: Clinical Approaches to the Total Personality. Edited by LAWRENCE E. ABT and LEOPOLD BELLAK. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950. Pp. xvi+485+xiv. $6.00.

Perhaps the most significant development in the field of personality assessment is the rapid growth and widespread interest in projective techniques. This book is a product of this development and, as such, represents both its advances and its limitations. It is the work of many authors, each expert in some segment of the field.

The basic fact of "projective psychology" is simply that psychological processes are revealed in the different ways in which different individuals manipulate relatively ambiguous materials. When L. K. Frank created the phrase

"projective techniques" in 1939, he saw the need for conceptual clarification of their theoretical basis. Since then, empirical studies and clinical experience have vastly increased their utility for diagnostic purposes, but adequate and systematic theory has not developed at the same pace. The first two chapters, one by Bellak and one by Abt, attempt to provide such theory. Though certainly a step in the right direction, the particular attempts are disappointing to the critical psychologist or sociologist. Both authors talk in the broadest of generalities, personality is described as "dynamic," "configurational," "holistic," and in other such terms, at times diffuse, sometimes inaccurate. Thus Abt at one point tries to show the essential similarities between psychoanalysis and Gestalt psychology. He states that "there is close agreement in general between the two theories with respect to the structure and development of personality." And, again, he implies that both systems share an interest in the "essential and intimate working relationship between psychological mechanisms and dynamisms functioning within the individual and the socioanthropological culture and milieu of which he is always a part." However, when concerned with less general statements, there is considerable interesting material in these chapters. Bellak's distinction between apperception and projection and his effort to understand a variety of psychoanalytic concepts and phenomena in terms of apperception and apperceptive distortion are ingenious and valuable. What troubles this reviewer most is the implied proposition that "projective psychology" is a new field, requiring its own theory of personality and somehow at war with older psychologies. Paradoxically, the authors draw on the studies of non-"projective psychologists" but at the same time assert that projective psychology is the "psychology of protest."

The second, and largest, part of the book consists of chapters on a variety of projective techniques. These include: Robert M. Lindner, "The Content Analysis of the Rorschach Protocol"; Ruth L. Monroe, "The Inspection Technique for the Rorschach Protocol"; M. R. Harrower, "Group Techniques for the Rorschach Test"; Leopold Bellak, "The Thematic Apperception Test in Clinical Use"; Frederic Wertham, "The Mosaic Test"; Sidney Levy, "Figure Drawing as a Projective Test"; Suzan K. Deri, "The Szondi Test"; Adolf G. Waltmann, "The Bender Visual-Motor Gestalt Test"; Joseph M. Sacks and Sidney Levy, "The Sentence Completion Test"; and Asya L. Kadis, "Fingerpainting as a Projective Technique." These chapters contain valuable descriptions of the various test materials, methods of analysis and interpretation, and clinical utility of these procedures.

Part III contains two chapters on the application of projective procedures in nonclinical areas. Brower and Weider discuss industrial applications, and Proshansky the uses of projective techniques in action research.

For the clinical psychologist, both practicing and student, and for the researcher in the field of personality interested in psychodiagnostic methods, this is a valuable work. This compilation, in one volume, of the experiences of experts with a variety of techniques can provide a source of clinically useful information. But the social scientist who is less concerned with clinical problems and more with psychological theory will not find in it a satisfactory conceptual scheme. He may be intrigued, but as likely appalled, by the inferences about personality drawn from so little material. The enthusiasm of the various authors is obvious, but the interested outsider may question whether it is wholly warranted.

SHELDON J. KORCHIN

Chicago

When Minds Go Wrong. By JOHN MAURICE GRIMES, M.D. Chicago: John Maurice Grimes, M.D., 1949. Pp. 237. $5.00.

This work is a collection of the author's views and experiences concerning the current treatment of the mentally ill in state hospitals. Whatever factual basis it may have is the author's survey for the American Medical Association, published in 1934 under the title *Institutional Care of Mental Patients in the United States*. The occasional introduction of these twenty-year-old data sacrifices fairness to intensity and careful analysis to an urge for reform. But the enthusiasm for eliminating the evils in the current treatment of the mentally ill in state hospitals is not a substitute for analyzing the conditions which threaten the therapeutic situation in most of these hospitals today.

The work under review will prove of little interest to the professional sociologist or psychiatrist, even though certain lay persons may find it informative and seemingly progressive in outlook. In order to get his story told, the author uses his own personal experiences, reports of

custodial practices in the various state hospitals with which the author has been connected, attacks on the apparent apathy of the doctors in these hospitals, and statements from patients about the brutal treatment they have received. These materials lead Grimes to the conclusion that the institutions are not hospitals at all. The heart of the problem is that they are under the domination of the political party in power in the various states. Grimes does not qualify his charge but thinks that, to a greater or lesser degree, it describes the situation in all state hospitals.

He comes to the conclusion, however, that we can make radical changes to achieve real treatment, inasmuch as such changes have already been made in the past. He then draws a vision of the state hospital of the future which would be a small village patterned after the Belgian town of Gheel, where mental patients would live in the community and carry on those particular activities necessary for the maintenance of community life.

Nowhere does Grimes indicate that the real improvement of our mental hospitals must be based upon a sounder social knowledge of them than we have had in the past. When we have a more adequate knowledge of institutional structures and the consequences of the different kinds of administration, we will be in a position to chart what will be the most desirable plan for the treatment of the mentally ill in the future. While the picture which Grimes presents concerning current practices in mental hospitals is by no means completely untrue, it does not take account of the tremendous changes that have been made in the state hospitals during the last fifty years. There is, no doubt, much still to be desired, but the means to permanent improvement are not going to be a muckraking exposé of terrifying conditions in the hospitals and political corruption in the community, but rather must be based upon a sounder social knowledge of these institutions.

H. WARREN DUNHAM

Wayne University

Handbook of Statistical Methods for Demographers. By A. J. JAFFE. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1951. Pp. viii+278.

This volume was prepared to facilitate the training of census workers of other countries. It therefore emphasizes "those methods which are of interest to a population technician in a census office" and gives secondary consideration to "methods which are useful primarily in 'pure' academic research." Nevertheless, teachers and research workers in demography—academic or otherwise—will find the book an invaluable text and manual. American universities and colleges offer very little formal training in modern demographic methods. Presumably, one reason for this gap has been the lack of adequate text materials; such an excuse will no longer serve.

The six principal chapters cover life-table construction, standardization methods, evaluation and correction of census data and vital statistics, methods of measuring internal migration, and techniques for making population estimates. In each case the author has achieved a synthesis and collation of methods which are a marked improvement over treatments hitherto available in book form. The major part of the volume is devoted to reprintings of original methodological papers, many of which are classics but difficult to obtain elsewhere. Their content is skilfully pulled together and amplified by the author's introductory statements in each chapter. The exposition is not wholly elementary but rather presupposes familiarity with census categories and nomenclature and with such elementary techniques of analysis as the sex ratio and the population pyramid. A useful feature of the book is the provision of a set of laboratory exercises.

As Jaffe suggests, many of the methods discussed are applicable to other than strictly demographic problems. This is particularly true of the very flexible technique of standardization. It is hoped that sociologists will be stimulated by the author's excellent treatment of the method, to investigate its seemingly great possibilities for handling problems not amenable to experimental or correlational control.

The present edition is described as a preliminary one. Perhaps in the revision it will be possible to broaden the scope somewhat, in the "purist's" interest, to include fuller treatment of such topics as reproduction rates and indexes, stable population analysis, and cohort techniques.

OTIS DUDLEY DUNCAN

University of Chicago

Manuel de sociologie avec notices bibliographiques. By ARMAND CUVILLIER. 2 vols. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1950. Pp. xxviii+380; 720. Fr. 600; 52c.

The intention of this sociological manual in two inexpensive, but carefully edited and printed, pocket-sized volumes is stated by the author as follows: a "very elementary" work guide for sociology students preparing for teachers' certificates and a condensed summary of basic knowledge as a starting point for more profound studies. Extensive bibliographies are included as an essential component of such an *instrument de travail*. The body of the book considers the basic theoretical problems of the science and discusses critically the contributions made by different authors to their solution. "J'ai surtout," writes Cuvillier in the Preface, "cherché à montrer comment des problèmes qui sont généralement l'objet de toute une série d'études distinctes—les études juridiques ou les études économiques par exemple—s'éclairent d'une lumière nouvelle, si on les envisage du point de vue propre de la sociologie." This treatment is somewhat reminiscent of Sorokin's famous *Contemporary Sociological Theories;* yet one admires the logical precision, sure recognition of what is essential, and comprehensiveness that characterize this French text.

There is also an interesting and, to our knowledge, new twist. In two chapters the history of sociology before and since Comte is briefly surveyed in more or less chronological order and with emphasis on individual authors. From there on, the primary concern is with the problems, not the men. The second part offers an excellent clarification of the object and method of sociology, distinguishing clearly between the various schools of thought on the subject. American sociologists are fully represented, while references to anthropological and psychological literature, though abundant, seem not equally complete. The third part, on "Morphologie sociale," consists of a brief chapter dealing with anthropogeography, demography, ecology, and related matters. It is probably the least satisfactory section of this summary.

Of considerable interest is the content of the second volume with chapters on "Sociologie économique," "Sociologie juridique et morale," "Sociologie domestique," and "Sociologie politique," under the general heading of "Physiologie sociale." While this part corresponds, with certain omissions and additions, to the conventional sections on social institutions in American textbooks, the selection of topics reflects the close association of the social sciences with the study of law and moral philosophy in Continental universities, as well as the greater familiarity of European sociologists with the subject matter of economics, political science, jurisprudence, and ethics. The specifically sociological viewpoint is well expressed in the introduction to "Sociologie juridique": to determine the *réalité objective*, to study the genesis of the rules of law, to distinguish between different types of legal organization, and to analyze the principal ideas and their development. Other special sociologies are represented only in the form of extensive bibliographies because their knowledge happens not to be required by French boards of examiners.

Many American sociologists will feel that Cuvillier relies too much on rational argument and too little on empirical data. But all should find his survey a very useful *instrument de travail*, far more readable and lucid than most American texts on the history of sociology. Cuvillier's textbook reflects characteristic differences in the teaching methods of American and European universities. By and large, European students do not expect to find all there is to know in any particular field predigested and neatly packaged in their textbooks; the main emphasis is upon learning how to learn rather than upon the possession of dogmatically formulated and transmitted knowledge. Consequently, students are given no short cuts to learning but are guided judiciously through the basic monographs and original treatises in the field.

E. K. Francis

University of Notre Dame

ERRATUM

The *Journal* regrets that in the review of Nathaniel Cantor's *Learning through Discussion* in the September, 1951, issue, page 201, the place of publication was improperly stated. This book was published in Buffalo, New York, 443 Delaware Avenue.

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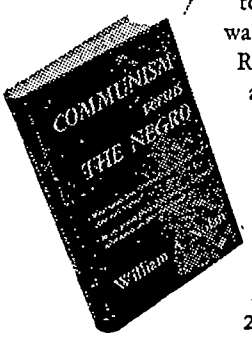

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IN THIS ISSUE

This issue of the *Journal* is devoted to the subject "The Sociology of Work." In the Foreword the editor in charge of the issue, **Everett C. Hughes,** professor of sociology at the University of Chicago, states the proposition that an aspect of work behavior found in one occupation will probably be found in all others. Thus an occupation may be selected for study because it demonstrates with particular force some universal quality of the drama of work.

"Quota Restriction and Goldbricking in a Machine Shop" is the title of a work diary, kept during eleven months when the writer was a drill operator in the machine shop of a steel-processing plant. It shows how men at work decide among themselves what is a fair day's work. The author, **Donald Roy,** is now an instructor at Duke University.

When a Negro member achieves office in his labor union, his position is likely to be largely symbolic and he functions, in the end, to support the white leaders' control of the union. This hypothesis is stated by **William Kornhauser,** a Social Science Research Council Fellow in the department of sociology at the University of Chicago, in his paper, "The Negro Union Official," in this issue.

Ely Chinoy, instructor in sociology at Smith College, contributes to this issue "The Tradition of Opportunity and the Aspirations of Automobile Workers." In it he describes how industrial workers, realizing that they themselves will never "get ahead," still cling verbally to the traditional ambition and cherish it for their children.

The typical ethnic background, social class, and occupational culture of the professional boxer are described in this issue in an article by **S. Kirson Weinberg,** associate professor of sociology at Roosevelt College, and **Henry Arond,** now a teacher of retarded children in Gary, Indiana, but formerly a boxer, trainer, and manager of boxers.

From his doctoral dissertation in sociology at the University of Chicago, **Howard S. Becker,** who is now engaged in research at the Chicago Area Project, has contributed to this issue a statement of the part played by principals, colleagues, parents, and pupils in forming the personal ambitions of the public schoolteacher.

Within the occupation of the retail furrier, there exist two classes of functionary, the custom and the business furrier, whose occupational values differ widely. According to **Louis Kriesberg,** who states these distinctions in his paper in this issue, the differences are to be explained by the relation of each type to the customers. The author is the holder of a Ford Foundation Research Training Fellowship at the University of Chicago.

In the occupations where high income and low status are found together there will arise characteristic frustrations and aggressions. These, as found in the occupation of the apartment-house janitor, are described in "Janitors versus Tenants: A Status-Income Dilemma," by **Raymond L. Gold,** a candidate for the doctorate in sociology at the University of Chicago.

Seymour M. Lipset, assistant professor of sociology at Columbia, and **Reinhard Bendix,** associate professor of sociology at the University of California, contribute to this issue the final instalment of a report on social mobility which was begun in the preceding issue of the *Journal*. From a sample of wage-earners they learned that mobility is chiefly within and not between the categories of nonmanual and manual work, despite the American tradition of free opportunity.

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THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

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THE SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF WORK: AN EDITORIAL FOREWORD

All of this issue of the *Journal* treats of people at work; not all of it has to do with industry, even as currently defined. People nowadays do indeed speak of the "restaurant industry," the "advertising industry," and even of the "amusement industry," although I am not sure they would include boxing in it. No one has yet, so far as I know, talked of the medical, educational, and labor-union industries, but I suppose someone will.

The extension of the term "industry" to include so much more than manufacturing is itself an interesting datum. I take it to mean that in the minds of many people the ideal organization for getting work done is the manufacturing industry operated by a limited liability company. Just as certain occupations look to the professions as models, so others look to industry. One raises the prestige of his line of business if he thinks of it and persuades others to speak of it as an industry (the junk-dealers are busy renaming their business the salvage or recovery industry). It is not surprising that sociologists who study people at work should go along with the trend and call themselves "industrial sociologists."

Some huge proportion of our working force is hired by the large manufacturing concerns which people generally have in mind when they speak of industry or of big industry. The managements of such industries are, for various reasons, interested in having social scientists analyze at least certain aspects and certain levels of their organizations; what is more, they have money which can be easily turned to the purpose. Trade-unions, professional and educational institutions, small trades and businesses, have not the money and often not the wish to have their organizations so looked at. Accordingly, it is industrial rather than professional or business or labor-union sociology which has flourished. Some say it has become a fad. So it has. It does not follow that research done under the name is sound or unsound in a proportion or degree different from other sociology. For while there may be connections between the motives for undertaking a piece of work and the validity of the method with which it is done and the honesty with which it is reported, such connections are not necessary. A piece of work is not made false by insinuating or even by proving that it was undertaken on behalf of the enemy or from a frivolous motive. Industrial sociology needs no apology if it be good sociology.

Social science appears to have a double burden laid upon it. The one is to analyze the processes of human behavior, and especially of persistence and change thereof, in terms relatively free of time and place. The other is to tell the news in such form and perspective—quantitatively and com-

paratively—as to give clues for the taking of those chances of which action consists. The balance between these two functions or burdens varies from man to man, from time and place to time and place. Social science thrives on the strain between the two. Industrial sociology is pursued in the main by people who lean to the news-telling side. Since the big story about work lies in problems of huge organizations and nearly automatic machines, we may expect most students of human work to try to make sense out of it. This is what C. Wright Mills does in *White Collar* and Georges Friedmann in *Où va le travail humain?*

Why, then, give a large part of an issue of this *Journal* over to such whimseys as the special culture of the few professional boxers who fly up like moths from the morass of the slums and drop back again in a little while and as the disappearing breed of small custom-furriers; to such oddities as janitors and schoolteachers? In the first place, not even a majority of people work in the big organizations and on the new machines. There are still many ways of working besides those which fill the most space in census tables. Some of these other kinds of work are refuges for those who do not want to work in the big system or are rejected by it. Other occupations may be related in various ways to the larger show and to the major trends. The meanings and functions of work are many, not all of them included in the usual questionnaires and classifications. Part of the duty of even the news-telling social scientist is to be the ethnologist of his own time and place, illuminating the less obvious aspects of his own culture.

A deeper reason for the apparent whimsey is that for an understanding of human work one must look at a wide variety of kinds of work and of their social matrixes. Only so will we get that relative freedom from time, place, and particular circumstance that is required of those who would analyze processes. Even that part of social science which is a telling of the news for action's (prediction's) sake depends for its efficacy upon putting of the particular into some larger perspective of other cases described in generalized terms.

The sample of cases for analyzing processes is one thing; that for telling and predicting the news is another. A small error of quantities in the news sample can send one "Galluping" off at a slightly wrong angle that will land him miles from his desired destination. In getting the process sample, one cares less about quantities of each kind so long as he gets that full variety and contrast which will allow him to tell the particular from the general and will, hence, enable him to give his categories just that balance between universality and particularity of reference needed for effective comparison. This issue of the *Journal* does not, of course, draw into view any great variety of the kinds of work current in our society, let alone those of other societies and times. It does go outside the usual boundaries of industry and the professions which have so limited sociological students of work. And it does so in quest of a broader, more useful frame of reference for studying work.

Comparison of widely divergent cases may also help break the bonds of conventional naming. If the big show in the world of work is large-scale industry, the prestige show is still, in some degree, in the professions. Many occupations have lately tried to pattern themselves after their notion of what a profession is and fight to be so named. Part of the process is to prove to the lay world that the work done is of such nature that the client is no judge either of what he needs or of what he gets; hence, it is work to which the principle of *caveat emptor* cannot safely be let apply. But if one studies plumbers and janitors, who do not yet claim to be of professional rank, one finds the same basic contention that laymen are not competent to judge much of the service which they ask and/or get. Furthermore, both the humble janitor and the proud physician have to protect themselves against the overanxious and importunate client (tenant or patient); both must

keep their distance in order not to let any one client interfere with one's duties to others or with one's own ongoing program of work and leisure. Now the conventional and evaluative term "profession" carries as connotation the contention that there is no conflict of interest or perspective between professional and client—or at least that there is none between the good professional and the good client. Consequently, doctors, professors, schoolteachers, and their like conceal in various degree from laymen generally, from naïve investigators in particular, and from themselves their feelings of antagonism and resistance toward their dear but troublesome patients, students, and pupils' parents. The janitor and the jazz musician are troubled by no such problem of public relations or anxious guilt. Basing one's study upon a conventional term, such as "profession," may lead one to group together and observe only those occupations which, since they cherish and publish a common stereotype of themselves, engage in a common concealment. The social scientist may become the dupe of this common concealment; the more so, since he, too, fancies himself a professional. The study and comparison of occupations without regard for conventional categories may sharpen our sensitivity to certain problems which we might otherwise overlook. Almost any occupation is a good laboratory animal for some aspect of work control, organization, or culture. It may disclose easily some aspect which is hidden in other cases, or it may show in developed form something which is incipient in others.

I think it a good rule to assume that a feature of work behavior found in one occupation, even a minor or an odd one, will be found in others. The fact that it is denied at first by the people in some occupation, or that it has not been revealed by previous research, should not be considered sufficient evidence that it is not there. A generation that knows its Freud should know that the difference between what people do about certain matters is often less than the difference in what they reveal to themselves and others.

Restriction of production is a good case in point. As it is generally defined, it means the wilful refusal by workers in industry to do as much work as their employer believes they can and ought to do. The latter, having hired a man's time, expects some large power over its disposition. It is assumed by the employer that his will—enlightened, informed, and reasonable—should determine how hard a man should work. If the worker consciously does less, the employer may use the words "theft" and "bad faith." It has long been recognized that a withholding of paid-for effort—the British ca'canny—is a powerful means of industrial conflict. Employers blame it on trade-unions. But Max Weber maintained that putting on the brakes could occur without unions, and without conscious agreement, as part of the workingman's unending struggle with his employer over the price of his labor—a struggle which he feels in his very body.[1] It can happen in concert either by conscious intent or as an almost instinctive common defensive definition of the situation by workers faced with changes of piece rates, machinery, or other practices.

Mr. Roy gives us a unique record and penetrating analysis of restriction in an industrial shop and of the group interaction by which it is defined and maintained. But why should we not expect some restriction of production to be found in all occupations? In the social drama of most kinds of work, people interact in several established roles. The people of each category have their own conceptions of their interests, rights, and duties toward one another and toward people in the other categories. An object of these conceptions will nearly always be the

[1] Max Weber, "Zur Psychophysik der industriellen Arbeit (1908–9)," in *Gesammelte Aufsaetze zur Soziologie und Sozialpolitik* (Tübingen, 1924), pp. 61–255. " 'Putting on the brakes' will occur in the absence of union organization wherever the working force or even some considerable fraction of it feels some measure of solidarity" (*ibid.*, p. 156).

measure of effort and of product of work, both of which will also vary from person to person, from day to day, and even from hour to hour. Even in organizations where everyone is devoted and hard-working, there is often someone whose effort and product are regarded as heroic in scale, and perhaps even more often persons whose punctilious attention to duty is looked upon as queer. Certainly it is hard to think of occupations in which there is no group preoccupation with definition of proper levels of effort and product and of those levels which, since they may encourage others in the work drama to expect too much, are potentially dangerous for all who share the fate of living by the given trade or calling. Students, even graduate students, learn from their fellows how many of the too many assigned books to read; they may not, as in a certain normal school, write "D.A.R." (Damned Average Raiser) on the door of an eager student whose examination results tend to skew the grade distribution upward to the disadvantage of most. At any rate, I think it good to start one's investigation of any line of work with the assumption that there is some struggle of wills or of consciences or both over the level of effort and of product. But, to use the assumption, one must state it so as to fit his case. If there be no employer, it cannot be stated as the question why workers do not do as much as the employer wants them to or in any other way which uses the employers' will as a criterion. It is better stated, in a general way, as discovering the processes, social and psychological, by which levels of effort and product are determined in various kinds of work and in various kinds of organization for work. When the problem is so defined, better questions can be asked concerning the industrial case itself.

It is of importance for the understanding of human work—in the industrial and in other settings—that we develop a set of problems and processes applicable to the whole range of cases. The terms for describing these problems and processes can be got by comparison of the work drama in various occupations. Each paper in this series was chosen because it deals interestingly with one or more aspects of this drama in one line of work. In so studying work, we are not merely applying sociology to work. We are studying work by sociological methods. We do not learn our method in some pure or generalized society or part of society and then apply it and the findings to industry, crime, or religion. Rather, we study group life and process where they occur, learning our method and developing our knowledge of society as we go. We may learn about society by studying industry and human work generally. In our particular society, work organization looms so large as a separate and specialized system of things, and work experience is so fateful a part of every man's life, that we cannot make much headway as students of society and of social psychology without using work as one of our main laboratories.

EVERETT CHERRINGTON HUGHES

University of Chicago

QUOTA RESTRICTION AND GOLDBRICKING IN A MACHINE SHOP

DONALD ROY

ABSTRACT

When the production behavior of industrial workers is examined by participant observation, it is seen that loafing on the job may not be the simple line of inactivity that some students of the subject have thought it. Close scrutiny of the particulars of "soldiering" in one piecework machine shop revealed that group adherence to a "bogey" was but one of several kinds of output restriction in the repertoire of machine operatives and that the work group was restricting production day in and day out.

Even those sociologists who nurse a distaste for studies of industrial administration, either because the problems involved are "practical" or because they fear managerial bias, will recognize that study of restriction of industrial output may yield knowledge free of both taints.[1] Systematic "soldiering" is group activity. One may learn about the "human group" by studying behavior on a production line as well as in an interracial discussion group. And, if someone should find the knowledge useful, even for making a little money, perhaps its scientific value will not be completely vitiated.

I here report and analyze observations of restriction made during eleven months of work as a radial-drill operator in the machine shop of a steel-processing plant in 1944 and 1945. For ten months I kept a daily record of my feelings, thoughts, experiences, and observations and of conversations with my fellow-workers. I noted down the data from memory at the end of each workday, only occasionally making surreptitious notes on the job. I recorded my own production openly in the shop. I did not reveal my research interests to either management or workers. I remained "one of the boys on the line," sharing the practices and confidences of my fellows and joining them in their ceaseless war with management, rather indifferently at first, but later wholeheartedly.

As a member of the work group, I had access to inside talk and activity. As a machine operator, I could put various operations under the microscope. These were great advantages, for *restrictus vulgaris* is a wary little thing. He does not like to be studied. Where groups are so sensitive and so skilled in eluding observation, participation observation can be a sensitive detector of relevant facts and relations (although the participant observer can spoil it all by overworking this method or by claiming that it is the sole means of scientific observation). I will limit this paper to the presentation of a few discriminations which break up the blanket term "restriction" into several kinds and to a rough measuring of these restrictions in the shop where I worked.

From November 9, 1944, to August 30, 1945, I worked 1,850.5 hours. 1,350.9 (73 per cent) were "production-piecework" hours.[2] The remaining 499.6 hours were taken up with time study, rework, and set-up. In 669.4 (49.6 per cent) of the production-piecework hours, I "made out." That is, I produced enough pieces of work to "earn," at the piece rates for the kinds of work done, the 85-cent-per-hour "base rate" which we received for every hour spent on the job. I thus "earned" my 85 cents in about half the hours when there was opportunity—through completing more pieces—to earn more than

[1] In my doctoral dissertation recently accepted by the University of Chicago I analyze the literature on this problem as well as other cases which I studied in the role of known research man. Cf. also Daniel Bell, "Exploring Factory Life," *Commentary*, January, 1947; Herbert Blumer, "Sociological Theory: Industrial Relations," *American Sociological Review*, XII (June, 1947), 271–78; Wilbert Moore, "Current Issues in Industrial Sociology," *American Sociological Review*, XII (December, 1947), 651–57.

[2] I have omitted some days of work in September, 1945, because of irregularities occasioned by reorganization of the shop at that time.

that. Obversely, about half the time my "turn in" (work done and turned in) fell below the base-rate standard.

THE BIMODAL PATTERN OF OUTPUT

My hourly earnings on production piecework varied from $0.09 to $1.66, a range of $1.57. Table 1 shows that the spread of

TABLE 1

PRODUCTION PIECEWORK HOURS WORKED BY TEN-CENT EARNING INTERVALS

Earnings per Hour (In Cents)	Hours Worked		Per Cent	
Unknown*	103.9		7.7	
5–14	3.0		0.2	
15–24	51.0		3.8	
25–34	49.8		3.7	
35–44	150.1		11.1	
45–54	144.5		10.7	
55–64	57.7		4.3	
65–74	63.8		4.7	
75–84	57.7		4.3	
Total under 85 cents		681.5		50.4
85–94	51.2		3.8	
95–104	19.5		1.5	
105–114	17.9		1.3	
115–124	83.0		6.1	
125–134	496.3		36.7	
165–174	1.5		0.1	
Total 85 cents or more		669.4		49.6
Total		1,350.9		100.0

* All "unknown" hourly earnings fell below the base-rate level of 85 cents per hour.

hourly earnings for the various jobs, or "operations" performed, was bimodal; this distribution suggests two major types of output behavior.

About one-half of my hours of piecework "earnings" fell on either side of the 85-cent-an-hour "day-rate" and "make-out" point, indicating 85 cents as an approximate median. However, this distribution by no means forms a bell-shaped curve, with 85 cents as a modal point. "Make-out" and "non-make-out"–piecework hours form two almost separate distributions, with 74.1 per cent of the 669.4 "make-out" hours concentrated in the $1.25–$1.34 interval, and 43.2 per cent of the 681.5 "non-make-out" hours clustered in two adjacent intervals, $0.35–$0.54. Concentration of "make-out" hours is even more marked. For 82.8 per cent fall within three 5-cent intervals, $1.20–$1.34, and 64.1 per cent fall within the one 5-cent interval, $1.25–$1.29.

That this bimodal pattern of hourly earnings for the ten-month period does not represent the joining of the "tails" of two temporal distributions—i.e., one for an initial learning period and the other showing completely different production behavior with the acquisition of skill—is indicated by a comparison of earning distributions for two periods of four and six months, respectively. In this comparison (Table 2) the period from November through February represents one level of skill; that from March through August, a higher level. Although the proportion of make-out hours for the second period was more than double that of the first and although concentration of make-out hours in modal earning intervals increased, the pattern was clearly bimodal in both periods. Both "levels of skill" show the same modal earning interval of $1.25–$1.34 for make-out hours. The modal earning interval for non-make-out hours advanced but one notch, from $0.35 to $0.44 to $0.45 to $0.54.

While I did not keep a complete record of the hourly earnings of my "day man" on the radial drill (I worked a "second" shift), I frequently jotted down his day's run. His figures were roughly correlative with my own. References to the diary will be made to show that I was not out of line with other operators in the shop.

The bimodal pattern was the rule of the shop. An outsider might believe that it reflects the struggle of workers with two kinds of jobs, hard and easy. He might then posit any number of reasons why the jobs fall into two piles rather than into one bell-shaped heap: some peculiarity of time-study men or some change of company policy. It would indeed be difficult so to set piece rates that it would be equally easy to "make out" on all kinds of work. But one sophisticated in shop ways and aware of all the devices of time-

study men would hardly credit them with either the ability or the will to turn up "tight" and "loose" piece rates in other than a single bell-shaped distribution. He would not attribute the bimodal distortion of hourly earnings to anything so improbable as bimodal distribution of hard and easy jobs. It could be that the operators, ignoring cents an hour on Job A, he rejects that amount and drops to a level of effort that earns only 50 cents an hour and relies upon his 85-cent base-pay rate for "take home." Job B has therefore become the "gravy" job, and Job A the "stinker." Into the "stinker" bin goes A, along with 90-cent jobs, 85-cent jobs, and 60-cent jobs.

TABLE 2

PRODUCTION-PIECEWORK HOURS WORKED, BY TEN-CENT EARNING INTERVALS, PER TWO DIARY PERIODS

Earnings per Hour (In Cents)	Period 1 (November through February)		Period 2 (March through August)	
	Hours Worked	Per Cent	Hours Worked	Per Cent
Unknown*	66.4	11.4	37.5	4.9
5–14	3.0	0.5	.....	.....
15–24	13.5	2.3	37.5	4.9
25–34	37.8	6.5	12.0	1.6
35–44	93.0	16.0	57.1	7.4
45–54	74.0	12.8	70.5	9.1
55–64	43.1	7.4	14.6	1.9
65–74	36.8	6.3	27.0	3.5
75–84	49.0	8.5	8.7	1.1
Total under 85 cents	416.6	71.7	264.9	34.4
85–94	39.1	6.7	12.1	1.6
95–104	9.7	1.7	9.8	1.3
105–114	3.8	0.7	14.1	1.8
115–124	18.0	3.1	65.0	8.4
125–134	93.2	16.1	403.1	52.3
165–174	.....	.....	1.5	0.2
Total 85 cents or over	163.8	28.3	505.6	65.6
Total	580.4	100.0	770.5	100.0

* All "unknown" hourly earnings fell below the base-rate level of 85 cents per hour.

finer distinctions in job timing, sort jobs into two bins, one for "gravy" jobs, the other for "stinkers."

Let us assume that the average of worker effort will be constant from job to job. Job A might be rated as 5 cents an hour "harder" than Job B. But Job A turns out to yield 75 cents an hour less than Job B instead of the expected 5 cents an hour less. One suspects that effort has not been constant. When an operator discovers that he can earn $1.00 an hour on Job B, he will then put forth extra effort and ingenuity to make it $1.25. When, however, he finds that he can earn only 95

The pronounced dichotomy in the production behavior of the machine operator suggests that restriction might be classified into two major types, "quota restriction" and "goldbricking." The heavy concentration of hours at the $1.25–$1.34 level with no spilling-over to the next level makes "quota restriction" appear as a limitation of effort on "gravy" jobs in order not to exceed set maximums. It could also be inferred that "goldbricking" appears as a "holding-back," or failure to release effort, when a close approach to the quota seems unattainable.

QUOTA RESTRICTION

It is "quota restriction" which has received the most attention. The Mayo researchers observed that the bank-wiring group at Western Electric limited output to a "quota" or "bogey."[3] Mayo inferred that this chopping-off of production was due to lack of understanding of the economic logics of management, using the following chain of reasoning: Insistence by management on purely economic logics, plus frequent changes in such logics in adaptation to technological change, result in lack of understanding on the part of the workers. Since the latter cannot understand the situation, they are unable to develop a nonlogical social code of a type that brought social cohesion to work groups prior to the Industrial Revolution. This inability to develop a Grade-A social code brings feelings of frustration. And, finally, frustration results in the development of a "lower social code" among the workers in opposition to the economic logics of management. And one of the symptoms of this "lower social code" is restriction of output.[4]

Mayo thus joins those who consider the economic man a fallacious conception. Now the operators in my shop made noises like economic men. Their talk indicated that they were canny calculators and that the dollar sign fluttered at the masthead of every machine. Their actions were not always consistent with their words; and such inconsistency calls for further probing. But it could be precisely because they were alert to their economic interests—at least to their immediate economic interests—that the operators did not exceed their quotas. It might be inferred from their talk that they did not turn in excess earnings because they felt that to do so would result in piecework price cuts; hence the consequences would be either reduced earnings from the same amount of effort expended or increased effort to maintain the take-home level.

When I was hired, a personnel department clerk assured me that the radial-drill operators were averaging $1.25 an hour on piecework. He was using a liberal definition of the term "averaging." Since I had had no previous machine-shop experience and since a machine would not be available for a few days, I was advised to spend some time watching Jack Starkey, a radial-drill man of high rank in seniority and skill.

One of Starkey's first questions was, "What have you been doing?" When I said I had worked in a Pacific Coast shipyard at a rate of pay over $1.00 an hour, Starkey exclaimed, "Then what are you doing in this place?" When I replied that averaging $1.25 an hour wasn't bad, he exploded:

"Averaging, you say! Averaging?"

"Yeah, on the average. I'm an average guy; so I ought to make my buck and a quarter. That is, after I get onto it."

"Don't you know," cried Starkey angrily, "that $1.25 an hour is the *most* we can make, even when we *can* make more! And most of the time we can't even make that! Have you ever worked on piecework before?"

"No."

"I can see that! Well, what do you suppose would happen if I turned in $1.25 an hour on these pump bodies?"

"Turned in? You mean if you actually did the work?"

"I mean if I actually did the work and turned it in!"

"They'd have to pay you, wouldn't they? Isn't that the agreement?"

"Yes! They'd pay me—once! Don't you know that if I turned in $1.5c an hour on these pump bodies tonight, the whole God-damned Methods Department would be down here tomorrow? And they'd retime this job so quick it would make your head swim! And when they retimed it, they'd cut the price in half! And I'd be working for 85 cents an hour instead of $1.25!"

From this initial exposition of Starkey's to my last day at the plant I was subject to warnings and predictions concerning price cuts. Pressure was the heaviest from Joe

[3] Fritz Roethlisberger and J. Dickson, *Management and the Worker* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939).

[4] Elton Mayo, *Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1938), pp. 119–21.

Mucha, day man on my machine, who shared my job repertoire and kept a close eye on my production. On November 14, the day after my first attained quota, Mucha advised:

"Don't let it go over $1.25 an hour, or the time-study man will be right down here! And they don't waste time, either! They watch the records like a hawk! I got ahead, so I took it easy for a couple of hours."

Joe told me that I had made $10.01 yesterday and warned me not to go over $1.25 an hour. He told me to figure the set-ups and the time on each operation very carefully so that I would not total over $10.25 in any one day.

Jack Starkey defined the quota carefully but forcefully when I turned in $10.50 for one day, or $1.31 an hour.

Jack Starkey spoke to me after Joe left. "What's the matter? Are you trying to upset the apple cart?"

Jack explained in a friendly manner that $10.50 was too much to turn in, even on an old job.

"The turret-lathe men can turn in $1.35," said Jack, "but their rate is 90 cents, and ours 85 cents."

Jack warned me that the Methods Department could lower their prices on any job, old or new, by changing the fixture slightly, or changing the size of drill. According to Jack, a couple of operators (first and second shift on the same drill) got to competing with each other to see how much they could turn in. They got up to $1.65 an hour, and the price was cut in half. And from then on they had to run that job themselves, as none of the other operators would accept the job.

According to Jack, it would be all right for us to turn in $1.28 or $1.29 an hour, when it figured out that way, but it was not all right to turn in $1.30 an hour.

Well, now I know where the maximum is—$1.29 an hour.

Starkey's beliefs concerning techniques of price-cutting were those of the shop. Leonard Bricker, an old-timer in the shop, and Willie, the stock-chaser, both affirmed that management, once bent on slashing a piecework price, would stop at nothing.

"Take these $1.25 jobs. One guy will turn in $1.30 an hour one day. Then another fellow will turn in, say, $1.31 or $1.32. Then the first fellow will go up to $1.35. First thing you know they'll be up to $1.50, and bang! They'll tear a machine to pieces to change something to cut a price!"

In the washroom, before I started work, Willie commented on my gravy job, the pedestals.

"The Methods Department is going to lower the price," he said. "There was some talk today about it."

"I hope they don't cut it too much," I said. "I suppose they'll make some change in the jigs?"

"They'll change the tooling in some way. Don't worry, when they make up their minds to lower a price, they'll find a way to do it!"[5]

The association of quota behavior with such expressions about price-cutting does not prove a causal connection. Such a connection could be determined only by instituting changes in the work situation that would effect a substantial reduction of "price-cut fear" and by observing the results of such changes.

Even if it should be thus indicated that there is a causal relationship, testing of alternative hypotheses would still be necessary. It may be, but it is not yet known, that "economic determinism" may account for quota restriction in the shop investigated. It may also be, but it is not known, that factors such as Mayo's "failure to un-

[5] John Mills, onetime research engineer in telephony and for five years engaged in personnel work for the Bell Telephone Company, has recently indicated the possibility that there were factors in the bank-wiring room situation that the Mayo group failed to detect: "Reward is supposed to be in direct proportion to production. Well, I remember the first time I ever got behind that fiction. I was visiting the Western Electric Company, which had a reputation of never cutting a piece rate. It never did; if some manufacturing process was found to pay more than seemed right for the class of labor employed on it—if, in other words, the rate-setters had misjudged—that particular part was referred to the engineers for redesign, and then a new rate was set on the new part. Workers, in other words, were paid as a class, supposed to make about so much a week with their best efforts and, of course, less for less competent efforts" (*The Engineer in Society* [New York: D. Van Nostrand & Co., 1946], p. 93).

derstand the economic logics of management" are influential.

"WASTE TIME" ON QUOTA RESTRICTION

Whatever its causes, such restriction resulted in appreciable losses of time in the shop. I have evidence of it from observation of the work behavior and talk of fellow-operators and from my own work behavior. Since ability to "make out" early was related to skill and experience, it was some time before I found enough time wasted on quota restriction to record. But I discovered early that other operators had time to burn.

One evening Ed Sokolsky, onetime second-shift operator on Jack Starkey's drill, commented on a job that Jack was running:

"That's gravy! I worked on those, and I could turn out nine an hour. I timed myself at six minutes."

I was surprised.

"At 35 cents apiece, that's over $3.00 an hour!"

"And I got ten hours," said Ed. "I used to make out in four hours and fool around the rest of the night."

If Sokolsky reported accurately, he was "wasting" six hours per day.

Ed claimed that he could make over $3.00 an hour on the two machines he was running, but he could turn in only $1.40 an hour or, occasionally, $1.45 or $1.50 for the two machines together. Ed said that he always makes out for ten hours by eleven o'clock, that he has nothing to do from 11:00 to 3:00, and has even left early, getting someone to punch his timecard for him.

"That's the advantage of working nights," said Ed. "You can make out in a hurry and sit around, and nobody says anything. But you can't get away with it on day shift with all the big shots around. Jack has to take it easy on these housings to make them last eight hours, and that must be tough.

"Old Pete," another "old-timer" confided in me:

"Another time when they timed me on some connecting rods, I could have made $20.00 a day, easy. I had to run them at the lowest speed on the machine to keep from making too much. I had a lot of trouble once when I was being timed, and they gave me $35.00 a hundred. Later they cut it to $19.50 a hundred, and I still made $9.50 a day."

If Old Pete could have made $20.00 a day, he was "wasting" four hours a day.

My own first "spare time" came on November 18.

Today I made out with such ease on the pedestals that I had an hour to spare. To cover the hour I had to poke along on the last operation, taking twice as much time to do 43 pieces as I ordinarily would.

But it wasn't until March, when I experienced a sudden increase in skill, that I was capable of making out early on any job but the pedestals. With this increase in skill I found the pedestals quickly fading as the supreme distributors of "gravy." One and one-half hours of loafing recorded on March 22 was a portent of things to come.

I stalled along tonight, turning out only 89 pieces, adding in my kitty of 40 pieces for a turn-in of 129. Joe had a kitty of 13, and I figured that the 116 pieces left would just do him tomorrow. I finished my last piece about 9:30 and started cleaning up the machine about ten o'clock. I noticed that Tony was also through early, standing around his machine.

"This is the earliest you've made out, isn't it?" he asked.

Dick Smith remarked to me, "That's the kind of a job I like. Then I can go at it and enjoy it."

On April 7 I was able to enjoy four hours of "free time."

I turned out 43 pieces in the four hours from three to seven, averaging nearly 11 an hour (or $2.085 per hour). At seven o'clock there were only 23 pieces left in the lot, and I knew there would be no point in building up a kitty for Monday if Joe punched off the job before I got to work. I could not go ahead with the next order (also a load of connecting rods) because the new ruling made presentation of a work order to the stock-chaser necessary before material could be brought up. So I was stymied and could do nothing the rest of the day. I had 43 pieces plus 11 from yesterday's kitty to turn in for a total 54.

I sat around the rest of the evening, and none of the bosses seemed to mind.

By August I was more sophisticated in the art of loafing, and complaints of being "stymied" were not recorded.

I had good luck with the reamers and had my needed 26 pieces by six o'clock. I did 10 more for a kitty for Monday and wound up the evening's work at seven o'clock. The last four hours I sat around and talked to various operators.

I reached my peak in quota restriction on June 27, with but three and a half hours of productive work out of the eight.

AN ESTIMATE OF THE DEGREE OF QUOTA RESTRICTION PRACTICED

The amount of quota restriction practiced by operators on the drill line may be estimated from my own production behavior.

During the ten-month diary period I received approximately 75 different piecework jobs, some of which were assigned from two to six times, but the majority of which were assigned only once. On only 31 of the jobs did I ever make out.

Of the 31 make-out jobs, only 20 afforded quota earnings of $1.25 an hour or more; 5 afforded maximum earnings of from $1.20 to $1.24 an hour; 1, maximum earnings of $1.09 an hour; and 5 of the 31 yielded maximums of less than $1.00 an hour (85-99 cents). Total quota hours were 497.8, or slightly over a third of the total piecework hours.

By extending effort past quota limits to find the earning possibilities of the jobs, I discovered that on 16 of the 20 quota jobs I could have earned more than $1.30 an hour; on 4 of the 20 I was unable to exceed $1.30 per hour.

For example, on the "NT bases," I turned out pieces at the rate of $2.55 for a test hour, and I turned them out at the rate of $2.04 for a full eight-hour shift. On the "G sockets," I was able to earn $2.53 an hour; this job was touted by experienced operators to yield $3.00 an hour.

I ran 4 other jobs at a rate in excess of $2.00 an hour. Maximums on another 4 jobs came to $1.96 or better. All but 3 of the 16 "excess-quota" jobs yielded possible earnings of over $1.75 an hour.

Besides the 16 excess-quota jobs, I found 4 "nonquota-make-out" jobs (maximum earnings less than $1.25) that showed potentialities in excess of quota limits. That I did not actually achieve quota on these 4 jobs was due to slow starts; since the 4 were not assigned to me again, I could not cash in on my discoveries. If these 4 are included, the number of jobs with excess-quota potentials total 20.

Given a quota of $1.25 an hour, or $10.00 an eight-hour day, and a job that will yield $1.25 an hour but not appreciably over that rate, the operator will have to expend a full eight hours of effort to achieve the quota. But, if the job will yield earnings at the rate of $2.50 an hour, it will take the operator only four hours to earn his $10.00. A $2.50-an-hour job is thus a four-hour job, and the remaining four hours of the workday may be considered wasted time. If the operator were to extend himself for the full eight hours on a $2.50-an-hour job and were permitted to turn in the results of his effort, his earnings would be $20.00 instead of his quota of $10.00. Thus there is incurred a financial loss to the operator as well as a loss of production time to the company when the quota is observed.

Table 3 lists the twenty jobs which showed potentialities of yielding hourly earnings in excess of $1.30. Waste time and loss in earnings is computed for each job according to maximum earnings indicated in each case by actual test and according to the number of hours devoted to each job. For instance, operation "pawls," which leads the list with 157.9 total hours worked, showed, by test, possibilities of earnings of $1.96 per hour. At potentialities of $1.96 per hour, over 36 per cent of each hour is wasted when the operator holds his turn-in to $1.25 an hour. Total waste time in the 157.9 hours expended on the pawls could then be computed at 57.2 hours, or over a third of the time actually put in. Earnings might have

been, at $1.96 per hour, $309.48; whereas, at the quota level of $1.25, they would have been but $197.38—a loss of $112.10.

Total waste time for the 20 jobs is seen to be 286 hours, or 36.4 per cent of a total 786.5 hours actually put in on them. This represents a wastage of 2.9 hours on each 8-hour day put in, or a total loss of 35.75 days out of 98.3 actually worked. With potential earnings of $1,584.43 for the 98 days and wastage of considerable magnitude—an over-all hourly income loss for 1,850.5 hours of 32½ cents an hour!

In order to generalize for the drill line from observation of my own behavior, I would have to establish (1) that I was an "average" performer and (2) that my job repertoire was representative of those of other operators.

Of the men on the same shift doing my

TABLE 3

TIME AND EARNINGS LOSSES ON OPERATIONS WITH POTENTIALITIES OF YIELDING HOURLY EARNINGS IN EXCESS OF $1.30 PER HOUR

Operation Tested	Total Hours Worked	Maximum (Per Hour)	Waste Time (Per Hour)	Total Waste Time (In Hours)	Potential Earnings	Earnings at $1.25	Loss in Earnings
Pawls	157.9	$1.96	0.3625	57.2	$309.48	$197.38	$112.10
Pedestals	120.5	1.71	0.2625	31.6	206.08	150.63	55.43
NT bases	111.0	2.55	0.5125	56.9	283.05	138.75	144.30
Con rods	94.4	2.33	0.4625	43.7	219.95	118.00	101.95
Sockets	75.8	1.76	0.2875	21.8	133.41	94.75	38.66
B. housings	46.0	1.96	0.3625	16.7	90.16	57.50	32.66
Pinholes	37.7	1.87	0.3250	12.3	70.50	47.13	23.37
Casings	28.5	2.03	0.3750	10.7	57.86	35.63	22.23
Gear parts	24.0	1.83	0.3000	7.2	43.92	30.00	13.92
Replacers	19.3	2.20	0.4375	8.4	42.46	24.13	18.33
Spyglasses	18.0	1.57	0.1875	3.4	28.26	22.50	5.76
R. sockets	14.9	1.48	0.1375	2.0	22.05	18.63	3.42
Move. jaw	9.6	1.99	0.3625	3.5	19.10	12.00	7.10
Ped. $8.90	7.0	2.12	0.4000	2.8	14.84	8.75	6.09
Spot J1728	6.7	1.91	0.3375	2.3	12.80	8.38	4.42
G. sockets	4.5	2.53	0.5000	2.3	11.39	5.63	5.76
Ped. $5	4.3	1.85	0.3250	1.4	7.96	5.38	2.58
CB hubs	4.1	1.65	0.2375	1.0	6.77	5.13	1.64
SD cups	1.5	1.89	0.3250	0.5	2.84	1.88	0.96
Bolts	0.8	1.96	0.3625	0.3	1.57	1.00	0.57
Total	786.5 (98.3 days)			286.0 (35.75 days)	$1,584.43	$983.18	$601.25

with quota earnings at $983.18, the wage loss to the worker would be $601.25, or $6.12 per day, or 76½ cents per hour.

By this logic, if the worker could "cut loose" on the 20 jobs listed, he would average $2.01 an hour instead of $1.25. And since the 786.5 hours actually put in on the 20 jobs represented 58.2 per cent of the 1,350.9 total piecework hours for the period, and 42.5 per cent of a grand total of 1,850.5 hours that included all nonpiecework activity as well, it is evident that losses resulting from quota restriction alone could represent

kind of work, four (McCann, Starkey, Koszyk, and Sokolsky) could turn out greater volume than I and were my betters in all-around skills. Seven were below me in these respects, of them only three (Smith, Rinky, and Dooley) worked long enough to be in the core of the group. I was about average in skill and in the work assigned me.

The maximums on which the losses are figured represent only potentialities discovered in tests of relatively short duration. Yet it is likely that had I remained in the shop long enough to allow the 20 jobs an-

other time around, I could have routinized many of the maximums and could have raised some of them. It is also likely that if organizational changes were instituted to induce operators to abolish quota limits and "open up" production, the writer's discovered maximums would be quickly raised to higher levels by the efforts of the group. Under adequate motivation the better operators would employ their superior skills and the results of their application would be disseminated to others. In my opinion, the production potentialities are underestimates of the output possibilities inherent in the situation. This hypothesis can be tested, of course, only through observation of experimental changes.

As a check on the foregoing appraisals, an estimate of the *actual* amount of time wasted by the writer through quota restriction may be made by reference to Table 4.

TABLE 4

QUOTA HOURS LOAFED, BY PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL QUOTA HOURS AND AVERAGE HOURS PER QUOTA DAY OF LOAFING
(By Months, March through August, 1945)

Month	Total Quota Hours	Quota Hours Loafed	Per Cent Hours Loafed	Hours Loafed per Quota Day
March.....	69.3	7.6	11.0	0.88
April.....	76.3	10.35	13.6	1.09
May.....	69.8	5.15	7.4	0.59
June.....	83.5	15.2	18.2	1.46
July.....	84.8	21.4	25.2	2.02
August.....	85.9	22.2	25.8	2.06
Total.....	469.6	81.9	17.4	1.39

The 469.6 quota hours represented 60.9 per cent of 770.5 total piecework hours for the period, and 41.8 per cent of 1,123.2 total hours worked.

With an average of 1.39 hours "wasted" per day of "quota piecework," the average hours worked were 6.61; so, at quota limits of $1.25 an hour, or $10.00 per day, earnings while I was actually working on "quota piecework" would be $1.51 per hour for the six-month period. If I had turned in 8 hours' production per day at $1.51, my daily earnings on "quota piecework" would have been $12.08. I therefore lost $2.08 per day, or 26 cents per hour on quota piecework. Since quota piecework represented 41.8 per cent of total hours worked, the over-all loss per day due to quota restriction alone would be $0.87, approximately 11 cents an hour.

During the last two-month period, July and August, I was "wasting" on the average over 2 hours a day while on "quota piecework." If my production during August may be considered indicative of my developed skill, and portentous of things to come had I stayed, then estimates of future wastages become greater. With 2.06 hours per quota-piecework day loafed, the length of the "actual" average quota workday becomes 5.94 hours and the average earnings for "actual" work time put in becomes $1.68 per hour. At $1.63 per hour for a full 8-hour day, the writer would earn $13.44; the daily loss would then be $3.44 and the hourly loss 43 cents. And since quota piecework for August represented 71.5 per cent of total piecework for the month, the loss per day on piecework was $2.46. And, since quota piecework represented 46 per cent of total hours worked, the over-all loss per day was $1.58 and the over-all hourly loss nearly 20 cents.

This daily loss for August would be slightly reduced if the actual quota turn-in is considered in place of the assumed $1.25 per hour. The writer actually averaged $1.27 per hour on quota piecework, raising the as-

sumed average by 2 cents per hour, or 16 cents per day. The computed average daily and hourly losses on quota piecework would then be $3.28 and $0.41, and the over-all losses would be $1.51 and $0.19.

PIECEWORK GOLDBRICKING

On "gravy jobs" the operators earned a quota, then knocked off. On "stinkers" they put forth only minimal effort; either they did not try to achieve a turn-in equal to the base wage rate or they deliberately slowed down. Jobs were defined as "good" and "bad" jobs, not in terms of the effort or skill necessary to making out at a bare base-rate level, but of the felt attainability of a substantial premium, i.e., 15 cents an hour or more. Earnings of $1.00 an hour in relation to a $1.25 quota and an 85-cent base rate were considered worth the effort, while earnings of 95 cents an hour were not.

The attitude basic to the goldbricking type of restriction was expressed succinctly thus: "They're not going to get much work out of me for this pay!"

Complaints about low piecework prices were chronic and universal in the shop.

> The turret lathe men discussed the matter of making out, one man stating that only half the time could a man make 84 cents day rate on a machine. It was agreed: "What's the use of pushing when it's hard even to make day rate?"

His 50-50 estimate was almost equal to my own experience of 49.6–50.4. Pessimistic though it was, it was less so than usual statements on the subject:

> I asked Jackson if he was making out, and he gave me the usual answer, "No!"
>
> "They ask me how I'm making out, and I always say, 'O.K.' As far as I'm concerned, I'm making out O.K. If they start asking me further, I'll tell them that this place stinks.
>
> "The day man isn't making out either. We get a lot of little jobs, small lots. It's impossible to make out when you're getting small jobs all the time."
>
> Joe was working on a new job, time study on some small pieces tonight. I asked him, "Something good?" and he replied, "Nothing is good any more!"

There seemed to be no relation between a man's ability to earn and his behavior on a "stinker." That the men who most frequently earned the quota goldbricked like the rest on poor jobs appears in the following extracts:

> Al McCann (the man who made quota most often) said that he gives a job a trial, and if it is no good he takes his time. He didn't try to make out on the chucks tonight.
>
> Joe Mucha, my day man, said of a certain job: "I did just one more than you did. If they don't like it they can do them themselves. To hell with them. I'm not going to bust my ass on stuff like this."
>
> Old Peter, the multiple drill man, said "I ran some pieces for 25 minutes to see how many I could turn out. I turned out 20 at 1½ cents apiece (72 cents an hour). So I smoke and take it easy. I can't make out; so ——— it."
>
> I notice that when Ed Sokolsky, one of the better operators on the line, is working on an operation he cannot make out on, he does not go at his task with vigor. He either pokes around or leaves his machine for long periods of time; and Paul (set-up man) seems always to be looking for him. Steve (supt.) is always bellowing, "Where in hell is Ed?" or "Come on, Ed, let's have some production around here!" Tonight I heard him admonishing Ed again, "Now I want you to work at that machine 'til three o'clock, do you understand?"
>
> Mike Koszyk, regarded as a crack operator: The price was a poor one (a few cents a hundred) and the job tough. Mike had turned out only 9 pieces in 3 hours. When Mike takes his time, he really takes his time!
>
> According to Al, Jack Starkey turned in 40 cents an hour today on his chuck parts. Al laughed, saying, "I guess Jack didn't like this job."
>
> Gus Schmidt, regarded as the best speed-drill operator on the second shift, was timed early in the evening on a job, and given a price of $1.00 per 100 for reaming one hole, chamfering both sides of three holes, and filing burrs on one end of one hole. All that for one cent!
>
> "To hell with them," said Gus.
>
> He did not try to make out.

The possibility of covering "day rate" was ordinarily no spur to the machine operator to bestir himself on a job. A remark of Mucha's was characteristic: "I could have

made out," he said, "but why kill yourself for day rate?"

Average hourly earnings of less or even a little more than $1.00 an hour were usually thrown into the "day-rate" category.

Joe Mucha drilled 36 of the bases (at $8.80 per 100) today. "The most I'll ever do until they retime this job is 40," he said. "Do you know, they expect us to do 100? Why, I wouldn't bust my ass to do 50, for $8.00, when day rate is almost that!"

McCann was put to drilling some pieces at $6.50 per 100. I noticed him working furiously and walked over to see what he was doing. He asked me to figure out how many pieces at 6½ cents he had to turn out per hour to make $1.20. When I told him 18 or 19 he said, "I give up," and immediately slowed down.

A few minutes later I met him in the washroom, and he said, "I wouldn't work that hard for eight or ten hours even if I could make out. I thought I'd try it for an hour or so and see what I could do."

He figures that he was making 95 cents an hour. At lunch time he said that he had averaged $1.00 an hour for the two hours and thought maybe he would try to make out.

THE SLOWDOWN

Resentment against piecework prices that were considered too low to offer possibilities of quota earnings often resulted in deliberate attempts to produce at lower rates than mere "dogging it along" would bring. This kind of goldbricking was particularly noticeable on jobs that came relatively often and in large lots. Toward a short order of poor price that was assigned to his machine but once or twice a year, the operator's attitude was likely to be one of "I don't give a damn," and the result would be production below "standard." But toward a low-priced order assigned every month or two and in amounts that would take several shifts to a week to process, i.e., jobs that played a major part in the operator's repertoire, the attitude was likely to be, "Just for that, you'll get as little as I can turn out and still be operating this machine!"

The hinge-base fight is an example of deliberate restriction on a major job that was regarded as poorly priced. This fight went on for at least nine months at the machine operated by Jack Starkey. During this period three men worked second shift on Jack's machine in the following sequence: Ed Sokolsky, Dooley, and Al McCann.

December 19.—Ed Sokolsky and Jack Starkey have not been doing well. Ed cusses intermittently and leaves his machine for long periods of time. The foremen find the machine idle, and Steve bellows about it. Ed calls the piece he is working on a "stinker." I know it is, because Ed is free with his advertising of the "gravy" he finds.

Ed seems to have constant trouble with his jig, a revolving piece attached to the side of the table. Two disks seem to stick together, and Ed is constantly (every day or so) using the crane to dismantle the jig (a very heavy one). He sands the disks and oils them, taking several hours for the cleaning operation. Steve saw the dismantled jig again tonight and bellowed, "Again?" Steve does not like it.

Paul, the set-up man, gets concerned, too, when he finds the jig torn down and Ed away somewhere. He says, "Where the hell's Ed?" in a provoked manner.

February.—I noticed that Ed was poking along and asked him if he had a good job. He shook his head, saying that he was making but 46 cents an hour, turning out 2 pieces an hour that paid 23 cents each.

February 26.—Jack Starkey told me tonight that although his job on the hinge bases was retimed, there was no raise in price. The price is still 23 cents.

I said, "All you've got to turn out is 5 an hour to make $1.15."

"I'd just like to see anybody turn out 5 of these an hour," said Jack, "with a tolerance of 0.0005!"

Later, Ed Sokolsky said that he and Jack were turning out about 24 pieces in a ten-hour period (2.4 an hour), that the job had been retimed several times, but no raise in price had been given.

Ed and Jack asked for a price of 38 cents. Ed said that they could turn out 3 an hour, but, until they got a decent price, they were turning out 2 an hour.

Toward the end of the evening I noticed that Ed's machine was idle, and Ed was sitting on a box, doing nothing.

"What's the matter, did they stop the job on you?" I asked.

"I stopped it," said Ed. "I don't feel like running it."

March.—Dooley worked on the hinge bases again tonight. He admitted that he could barely make out on the job, but "Why bust my ass for day rate? We're doing 3 an hour or less until we get a better price!"

This 3-an-hour-or-less business has been going on several months. The price is 23 cents; so Dooley and Jack turn in 69 cents an hour (or less).

May.—McCann said that Starkey was arguing all day over the price of the hinge bases. The methods men maintain that they can't raise the price "because the jacks that the parts go on sell for $14.00 apiece." They plan to retool the job and lower the price. According to McCann, Jack told them that if he didn't get a decent price he was going to make out on the job but scrap every one of the pieces.

"Jack fights it out with them," said McCann. "He'll stay right with the machine and argue. I get disgusted and walk away.

"Jack turned out 28 today," McCann went on. "That's too many, nearly 3 an hour. He'll have to watch himself if he expects to get a raise in price."

Starkey was running the hinge bases again tonight. I remarked, "I see you're in the gravy again."

His reply was, "Yeah! 69 cents an hour!"

McCann did not seem to enjoy the hinge bases either. He looked bored, tired, and disgusted all evening. His ten hours is a long stretch at day work. He cannot make out early and rest after 11 o'clock (for four hours), but has to keep on the machine until three.

August 14.—Al McCann was working on the hinge bases tonight, one of the jobs that he and Jack are protesting as to price. Gil (the foreman) sat and stood behind Al for at least an hour, and I could see that Al did not like it. He worked steadily, but with deliberate slowness, and did not look at Gil or speak to him. Al and Jack have agreed to restrict production on the hinge bases until they get a better price, and Gil was probably there to see what Al could really do. I think that Al and Jack could make out on the job, but not at $1.25 an hour, and they cut production to less than 80 cents an hour.

August 16.—Al told me that they had won a price raise on the hinge bases, from 23 to 28 cents, and another raise to 31 cents.

"But it's still not high enough. As it is now we can make exactly 94 cents an hour. We're trying to get 35 cents. We can turn out 1 in exactly 16 minutes. That's not 4 an hour. We've been giving them 3 an hour."

AN ATTEMPT TO ESTIMATE THE DEGREE OF PIECEWORK GOLDBRICKING

I failed to earn the base rate of 85 cents for slightly over half my piecework hours, but I cannot claim that I failed in spite of a maximum effort. There were only a few occasions when I tried to "make out," but could not, and did not let failure diminish my efforts. Normally, I behaved in the manner of my fellow-operators; I "tried out" a job for a short sampling period of an hour, more or less, and slowed my pace to a restrictive one if the job did not show "possibilities." There were numerous occasions when even "trial runs" were not attempted, when I was forewarned that the job was a "stinker." Since possible output was not determined, the amount of restriction cannot be computed.

There were times when the words of various operators indicated that they could have "covered" day rate if they had tried; the expression, "Why bust my ass for day rate?" was considered adequate explanation for failure to press on to the maximum attainable. If claims of ability to achieve the scorned "day rate" could be accepted as indicative of the true possibilities inherent in a job, it is clear that the man who turned in 42.5 cents an hour for a day's average hourly earnings, and who says that he could have made 85 cents an hour, has accomplished but 4 hours' work in 8. A man who turned in 21.25 cents an hour, instead of a possible 85 cents, has done 2 hours' work in 8, and has "wasted" 6 hours. That an operator has turned in 42.5 cents an hour, or 21 cents, or 10 cents may be determined easily enough; the difficulty lies in inability to test his claims of what he could have done.

Recorded observations do allow some ob-

jective estimate of losses incurred by goldbricking in isolated cases. For instance, the four operators assigned to Jack Starkey's machine made it a practice to restrict production on the hinge bases to from 2 to 3 pieces an hour. To this restriction were attributed two price increases, from 25 cents to 28 cents to 31 cents per piece. Thus, at the 31-cent price in effect in August, and at the output rate of 3 pieces per hour, the men were turning in 93 cents per hour, or $7.44 per 8-hour day. Since their special base rate, as experienced operators on a machine handling heavy fixtures, was $1.10 per hour, they were earning 17 cents an hour less than they were paid. One of the operators involved, Al McCann, claimed that by test they could turn out 1 piece in exactly 16 minutes. At this rate they could have turned in 3.75 pieces per hour for earnings of $1.16 per hour, or $9.28 per day. "Waste" time could be computed at 1.6 production-hours, and the loss in "earnings" at 23 cents per hour.

McCann's estimate of the job's possibilities proved to be low, however; for, a few weeks later, upon abandoning hope for a further increase in piecework price, he "made out easily in 6 hours."

> Al said tonight that he was making out on the hinge bases, that he got disgusted Friday, speeded up the tools, and turned in 31 pieces for earnings of $9.60 ($3\frac{7}{8}$ pieces per hour, or $1.20 per hour earnings).
>
> "It was easy, just as easy as the frames. Now I'm kicking myself all over for not doing it before. All I did was to change the speed from 95 to 130. I was sick of stalling around all evening, and I got mad and decided to make out and let the tools burn up. But they made it all right, for 8 hours. What's the use of turning in 93 cents an hour when you can turn in $1.25 just as easy? They'd never raise a price you could make 93 cents on anyhow. Now maybe they'll cut it back."
>
> Tonight Al made out easily in 6 hours, though he stretched the last few pieces to carry him until 10:30.

Since McCann reported a turn-in of 31 pieces for earnings of $9.60, or $1.20 an hour on the previous workday, his first day of "making out," it was likely that his "making out" at the 6 hours involved regular quota earnings of $1.25 an hour. A turn-in of 32 pieces would net $9.92 per day, or $1.24 an hour; accomplished in 6 hours, such output would mean that McCann earned $1.65 an hour while working and was now "wasting" 2 hours a shift on quota restriction. And the $1.65-per-hour earnings meant, when compared to previous earnings of 93 cents an hour while goldbricking, that McCann had been "wasting" 3.5 hours a day each time the hinge bases were assigned to his machine; his former earnings loss had been 72 cents an hour, or $5.76 per day. (Actually less than this if "earnings" be defined as "take-home" and not as "turn-in," for McCann's "day rate" had been raised to $1.10 an hour. His personal loss would thus have been 17 cents less per hour—55 cents an hour, or $4.40 per day.)

McCann, engaged in goldbricking, estimated that he could turn out a piece every 16 minutes; this means that he saw production possibilities to be 3.75 pieces per hour and earning possibilities to be $1.16 per hour. But under piecework incentive he actually turned out 5.33 pieces per hour and earned $1.65 per hour while working. If the difference between his estimated and his achieved production can be taken as indicative of such differences in general, then the man who claims that he could have covered his day rate of 85 cents an hour but did not try to do so could have boosted his earnings to $1.21 an hour. In other words, if an operator can see day-rate earnings in a job, he can make quota earnings. My experience would seem to bear this out. If I found that I could make out on a job at day rate, such a discovery motivated me to "wring the neck" of the particular operation for quota earnings. The bimodal pattern production would suggest this; my total quota-piecework hours were 75 per cent of my total make-out–piecework hours, and the latter included short runs of once-assigned jobs that did not receive adequate "test." Though the words of fellow-operators indicated the "pour-it-on" point to be $1.00 an hour, it is possible that ener-

getic performance on 85-cent-an-hour jobs would yield the desired quota.

By the foregoing logic a worker who limits his output to 68 cents an hour, when he thinks he can make 85 cents an hour, is "potentially" limiting output by 44 per cent instead of by the assumed 20 per cent.

DAYWORK GOLDBRICKING

Operators on "nonpiecework," or "daywork" jobs, followed almost uniformly a pattern of restriction of the goldbricking type. They kept in mind rough estimates of output that they felt would fall appreciably below "day-rate" standards if and when the "nonpiecework" jobs were timed and priced.

Nonpiecework jobs in the shop were of two kinds: "time study" and "rework." "Time-study" operations were those that either were so newly established that they were not yet timed and priced or were jobs whose price had been "removed." In either case, timing procedures and a piecework price were expected in the immediate future.

"Rework" was the reprocessing of defective pieces that were considered salvageable. Rework carried no premium pay and no expectations of it, but rough standards of output limitation were applied.

I worked 300 hours at time study and 53 hours at rework, 16 per cent and 3 per cent of total hours put in. Thus, roughly, one-fifth of my time was employed at nonpiecework production, and for this one-fifth the operator could be counted upon, without fail, to be goldbricking. A concise bit of advice, offered by McCann, then set-up man and wise in the ways of production lines, stated the common attitude:

> It was a time-study operation, drilling and tapping a set-screw hole in some sprockets.
>
> "Take it easy," advised McCann.

This advice I, already of five months' shop experience, considered unnecessary. By no stretch of the imagination could my accustomed pace on time study be regarded as other than "easy." But, under McCann's expert tutelage, I discovered that there were degrees of goldbricking, and that for time study, a mere "punking along" exceeded worker standards.

> McCann started me out at 95 speed on the drill and spot-facer, and 70 on chamfer and taps.
>
> "Isn't that too slow for the drill?" I asked.
>
> "It's fast enough on this tough stuff for time study. Run it that way 'til they speed you up. If you go too fast today, you won't get a good price when it's timed."

Even this slow pace looked too fast for Gus Schmidt, who watched from the next machine.

> Later in the evening Schmidt said to me, "Aren't you going too fast with that time study?"
>
> I did not think I was going very fast and told him so.
>
> "Well, maybe it just looks fast because you're going so steady at it. You've got to slow down on time study or you won't get a good price. They look at the record of what you do today and compare it with the timing speed when it's timed. Those time-study men are sharp!"
>
> Toward the end of the evening I raised the speeds of the taps and chamfer to 95. It was going too slow for me and actually tired me out standing around waiting for the taps to go through. My legs were tired at the end of the day; yet I had not worked hard.

Goldbricking on time study may be indistinguishable, even to a fellow-operator, from "quota restriction." On one occasion I noticed that Tony, the speed-drill man, was "fooling around," and asked him if he had made out already. Only through information supplied by Tony did I become aware that my neighbor was goldbricking on a time-study job and not relaxing his efforts after achieving quota. In order to classify operator behavior when an operator is "doing nothing," one must have access to additional facts not provided by casual observation. There are times when an operator may be mistaken in classification of his own restriction of output. He may think he is loafing on time study when he is in reality loafing on piecework.

> I discovered, when I came to work, that yesterday's job on the pedestals had been timed.

Joe said, "I see you didn't make out yesterday."

I had turned in 60 pieces, priced $4.90, for a day's earnings of less than $3.00. I was glad I didn't know the job was timed, with a price like that.

REWORK RESTRICTION

I received advice on "rework" that led to the same productive results on time-study operation.

Joe finished the gears, and I spent a slow evening on time study and rework. The first job was 15 gear brackets, a time-study job. The next was the reworking of 1 jack shell.

Said Al, when I told him I was on rework, "Well, you've got all night to turn it out. When they give you a rework job, that's a sign they've got nothing for you to do."

"You mean they expect me to take all night at it?"

McCann was hesitant. "No, I don't mean that. But you can take your time."

About ten o'clock Paul (set-up man) suggested that we "take it easy."

"We're doing too much as it is, on this rework," he said.

When Ed Sokolsky heard that we had done 4, he was surprised. "I wouldn't have done that many," he said.

AN ATTEMPT TO ESTIMATE THE DEGREE OF NONPIECEWORK RESTRICTION

An indication of the amount of restriction practiced on nonpiecework operations can be obtained in a comparison of the writer's output on a job before it was timed and priced, and his output on the same job after a piecework price was set.

One day some gear parts were assigned as time study. I accepted the advice to take it easy proffered by the set-up man, McCann, and by a fellow-operator, Schmidt, and turned in a total of 64 pieces for the day's work. The next day I came to work to discover that the job had been timed at $7.95 a hundred. Joe Mucha reported the job a good one, but I was dubious.

"It's a good job," he said. "They timed me for $1.20 an hour, and it worked out just that. You can do 16 an hour. But watch yourself, now, and don't turn in too many!"

"Don't worry, I probably won't get 100," I assured him.

Yesterday's 64 had given me the feeling that I would have to push very hard to turn out 100 ($1.00 per hour).

I had underestimated the job. My effort reached a peak of $1.83 per hour, or 23 pieces per hour, and I completed 150 pieces in 7.5 hours for average earnings of $1.59 an hour for the time worked.

After lunch I decided to try to see how many I could turn out. I did manage to complete 12 in half an hour but never got higher than 23 for the whole hour. The speeds were set at 225 for drilling and 95 for the other tools, just as I finished yesterday. At 10:30 I had completed 150 pieces.

At a price of $7.95 per 100, the 64 pieces turned out on time study would have represented average earnings of about 64 cents an hour. Since I expected to turn out no more than 100 pieces with full effort on piecework, my assumed restriction on time study was 36 per cent, with a "loss" of 36 cents an hour, or $2.86 a day, and with a time "waste" of 2.9 hours.

But with an actual subsequent output of 20 per hour for 7.5 hours, a rate of 160 per day, restriction the first day turned out to be 60 per cent, with a loss of 95 cents an hour, or $7.63 per day, and a time "waste" of 4.8 hours a day. And with a "potential" output of 23 per hour, a rate of 184 per day, restriction the first day turned out to be 65 per cent, with a "loss" of $9.55 a day, or $1.19 an hour, and a time "waste" of 5.2 hours a day.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

These appraisals of output limitation can be accepted only as suggestive of the amount of time wasted by operatives in piecework machine shops. Certainly, the "waste" is great.

I have indicated that the time "wasted" on my own quota restriction for a six-month period was 1.39 hours out of every 8. I was 83 per cent "efficient" for the 469.6 quota piecework-hours put in, by my own standards of performance, and thus could have increased production by 21 per cent by

abandoning quota limitations. If my wastage of 2 hours a day on quota restriction during the last two months of employment is accepted as characteristic of the behavior of more seasoned operators, efficiency would be 75 per cent, with immediate possibilities for a 33.3 per cent increase in production on quota jobs.

Also, by experimenting with twenty jobs which represented 58 per cent of the total piecework hours put in during a ten-month period, and which offered earning possibilities beyond quota limits, I derived an estimate of "potential quota restriction" of 2.9 hours a day. This restriction represented an efficiency of 64 per cent, with possibilities for a 57 per cent increase in production.

Furthermore, from observations of the work behavior of fellow-operators, I was able to speculate with some objective evidence on the degree of slowdown goldbricking practiced on non-make-out piecework. It was pointed out that four drill operators had been restricting production at a rate of 3.5 "waste" hours out of 8, as indicated by the output achieved by one of the four men when he ceased goldbricking. Efficiency had been 56 per cent, with immediate possibilities for a 78 per cent production increase. Renunciation of goldbricking did not, in this particular case, mean fulfilment of possibilities, however; for the conversion was to quota restriction with stabilization at 75 per cent efficiency.

In addition, I essayed an estimate on daywork goldbricking, first cousin to piecework goldbricking and easily mistaken for the latter. This estimate was obtained by comparing output on a job before and after it was timed. The "before" efficiency was determined to be at least as low as 40 per cent, possibly 35 per cent, with 150 per cent improvement in production a "cinch" and 186 per cent improvement an immediate possibility. But like the case of piecework goldbricking just cited, the switch was to quota restriction; so possibilities were never realized.

Since these appraisals were confined to the behavior of machine operators, the loss of time accountable to the sometimes remarkable restraint exercised by the "service" employees, such as stock-chasers, tool-crib attendants, and inspectors, was not considered. Likewise unmentioned were the various defections of shop supervisors. A more complete record might also include the "work" of members of management at higher levels, whose series of new rules, regulations, orders, and pronunciamentos designed for purposes of expediting production processes actually operated to reduce the effectiveness of the work force.

Confining scrutiny to the behavior of machine operators, the observer sees output restriction of such magnitude that the "phenomenal" results of the organizational innovations tried in the steel industry under the guiding genius of Joe Scanlon[6] do not seem at all surprising. The concept of "cultural drag" might be more descriptive than "cultural lag" in depicting the trailing of some of our industrial practices behind technological advance. Our organization of people for work is in general so primitive that anthropologists need not attempt to justify their interest in the "modern" industrial scene.

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[6] John Chamberlain, "Every Man a Capitalist," *Life Magazine*, December 23, 1946; Russell W. Davenport, "Enterprise for Everyman," *Fortune*, June, 1950.

THE NEGRO UNION OFFICIAL: A STUDY OF SPONSORSHIP AND CONTROL

WILLIAM KORNHAUSER

ABSTRACT

For a Negro to be selected for office in a predominantly white trade-union, there must ordinarily be a sizable Negro membership and the union must be facing a conflict. The typical mode of selection is sponsorship by white leaders who recognize the expediency of the sponsorship in meeting the conflict. The two major roles the sponsored Negro official plays—the symbolic and the liaison—support the white leaders' interests in maintaining control over the union. They present problems for the personal career of the Negro official, who consequently may try to modify them.

Selection of some and exclusion of others to fill positions in a trade-union, as in other organizations, are aspects of the control of the organization for those in authority and determinants of personal career for those aspiring to union office. Therefore the processes of selection of new personnel reveal aspects of the ways in which unions function, the ways in which personal careers in unions develop, and the manner in which the two are related.

The bases of selection involve positively and negatively evaluated social categories of people available for recruitment. A person may be selected for advancement because the way in which he is categorized has strategic significance for the organization from the point of view of the leadership. This is illustrated by the manner in which a Negro becomes an official in a union with a predominantly white membership. Selection of a Negro for union office involves recognition by white leaders of the expediency of his advancement within the organization. When this recognition occurs, the white officials may *sponsor* a Negro for union office—since it is through such a mode of selection that those in authority may single out persons possessing the desired attributes—and use their personal power to encourage and advance them in the organization. Such a system of selection impinges upon vital interests of the union leadership, as well as upon the different interests of the sponsored. The following examination of instances of selection of Negroes for (higher) union office relates these two sets of interests to personal careers and the functioning of the union within which they are carried out.[1]

CONDITIONS LEADING TO SELECTION OF NEGRO UNION OFFICIALS

SIZE AND IMPORTANCE OF NEGRO MEMBERSHIP

The Negro's chances for entrance into and advancement within the union hierarchy are related to the size and importance of the Negro membership in his local and in

[1] The research on Negro union officials was carried on as part of a larger project reported in William Kornhauser, "Labor Unions and Race Relations: A Study of Union Tactics" (unpublished M.A. thesis, department of sociology, University of Chicago, 1950). The study was made possible by the guidance of Professor Louis Wirth and funds provided through a Livingston Fellowship by the Anti-Defamation League.

The cases were discovered during this research on race-relations actions of the thirty-four largest national unions, together comprising almost three-fourths of all organized workers in the country. No attempt was made to study all Negro officials in these unions, although most on a national level were covered. The data were acquired through personal interviews, supplemented by questionnaires, analysis of documents, and perusal of secondary sources. A recent comment attests to the paucity of knowledge on career lines of Negro union leaders: "One of the big gaps in our information on Negro leadership during the past fifteen years is in the trade union area. We know who the colored labor leaders were; we know little of the political and sociological factors involved in their rise to positions of prominence" (Wilson Record, *The Negro and the Communist Party* [Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press (1951)], p. 180).

the international and to the significance of race relations for the position of the union in a given situation. Where Negroes are numerous in the international, they often will be successful in pushing one of their local leaders into a high position in the union.[2] This is supported by observations that where Negroes are scattered through white locals and therefore have more difficulty in acting as a unit, they usually will fail to develop their own strong leadership. White union officials commented that they "cannot find Negro leaders to push in the union."[3] The reasons may include those identified by one of these officials, namely, either the whites keep the Negroes from becoming leaders on a local level (where most union careers begin) or/and Negroes develop a sense of inferiority and futility in predominantly white locals and consequently keep quiet. Where the national union's membership is solely or largely Negro, there develops the strongest, most outspoken Negro labor leadership. Outstanding cases in this respect are A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and spokesman for Negroes in the AFL, and Willard Townsend, president of the United Transport Service Employees Union and only Negro vice-president of the CIO.

But there are cases in which a sizable and vocal Negro membership has not led to selection of a Negro for high union office.

Case 1.—At the 1948 convention of the United Mine Workers Union, thirteen locals with large Negro memberships proposed resolutions on the theme that Negroes, 100,000 strong in the union, are not given enough recognition inside the organization hierarchy. Typical of these resolutions are the following:

> WHEREAS, The question of Board members of the Negro race has been put before the last three International Conventions and the same was referred to the Executive Board for consideration and no action was taken . . .
> . . . requesting this convention to adopt a fair employment practice as to the appointments of appointed officers of UMW.
> . . . we think it is high time that the Negro membership . . . should have representation on the International Executive Board.[4]

These resolutions were not even brought to a vote at the convention, and no Negro was selected for national office.

Hence, the "push" that a Negro union leader, or would-be leader, receives from Negro members is not sufficient for his selection as an official in a union in which Negroes are in a minority. There must be a "pull" from the white leadership of the union to put him in office above the local level.

CONFLICT SITUATION FACING UNION LEADERSHIP

To stay in power, the union leadership must be able to (1) win union members in competition with employers, other unions, and antiunion or apathetic workers, (2) gain union members' support in conflicts with other unions seeking to win over its membership, and (3) hold union members' loyalties in conflicts with other persons and groups seeking to take over the union leadership. These three types of conflict situations, as defined by the top union leadership, are the three major kinds of conditions under which Negroes are selected for union office.

1. Many unions, primarily industrial types, have faced the continuous problem of organizing Negro workers for the following reasons: they often found Negroes in large numbers and strategically located in their jurisdictions, they met employer attempts to divide the work force along racial lines, they faced other unions which used the race issue against them, and they found a good deal of white-worker hostility against organizing Negroes and distrust of the union on the part of the Negroes. Of the thirty-

[2] "To rise to a position of leadership the black trade unionist must usually come from a local that has a large number of Negroes. To move further up the ladder he must be in an international that also has a substantial number of Negroes. What else is involved would have to be determined by a more extensive inquiry" (Record, *op. cit.*).

[3] This and all succeeding quotes from union leaders were obtained in personal interviews during 1949 unless otherwise noted.

[4] *United Mine Workers Convention Proceedings, 1948.*

four unions studied, half have been confronted with all or most of these conditions. All seventeen of these unions have selected Negroes as organizers in situations in which a sizable number of Negroes have been involved and in which special appeals of this sort to the Negro workers have been considered expedient. Furthermore, where an initial organizing effort is being made, a majority of these unions often manipulate the newly formed local's elections to get Negro representation among its officers. This tactic is employed to increase the likelihood that the local will stay organized and not split along racial lines. It has been used principally in the South, less frequently in the North. White union leaders volunteered cases of their selection of Negroes under these conditions of initial organization of a local.

Case 2.—We had one local with mostly Negroes in the South. A white man was elected president. I told him to resign and let a Negro become president. He did. But if he hadn't, I would have called another meeting, and had a new election.

Case 3.—There was a mixed local with a large majority Negro. I thought there should be a Negro president, so I went up to the Negroes and told them to run a Negro for president. Their leader took me aside and told me that the Negroes didn't want that now, that it would only cause more trouble than it would help. You see, they know the score and want to move slowly. As it is, in this local I got a Negro vice-president in. Another thing, the Negroes have their leaders in the locals, and if any young buck gets out of line, these leaders slap their ears back. In this way the situation is kept under control.

Case 4.—About sixteen years ago, we organized the locals in S——, Alabama. We organized both whites and Negroes. We had to mechanically select officers from both groups to make them see we meant to have no Jim Crow.

Case 5.—In the South, the CIO organizing drive has been licking Jim Crow. (Shows interviewer a copy of a union newspaper, with a picture of a local's executive board, including two Negroes.) Here was a bad situation which was successfully met by working on the local to get Negro officers.

2. A second type of conflict situation facing the union leadership is that of jurisdictional strife with other unions. Under these conditions, the leadership must be able to build up and hold the allegiance of the membership. Where a strategically significant number of Negroes is involved, the leadership will be likely to make special appeals for their support, employing such means as the sponsorship of a Negro member for high union office.

Case 6.—The Farm Equipment Workers Union (at the time affiliated with CIO) became involved in a bitter jurisdictional battle with the United Automobile Workers Union, CIO, the climax coming in the spring of 1949, when elections were held at the big McCormick Works of the International Harvester Company to determine which union would be certified as the bargaining agent for the workers there. FE had the plant and was trying to keep it. Race relations became a crucial issue, since many Negroes were employed at the McCormick Works. Previous to 1949, FE leadership had selected an active Negro member of the McCormick local for a position on the national executive board. In 1948, anticipating the coming election at McCormick, FE leadership sponsored this Negro, William Smith, as a candidate for vice-president of the union. Following his election, and just previous to the election at McCormick, FE ran an advertisement in the Chicago edition of a large Negro newspaper:

> "Why hasn't the UAW ever elected a Negro to national office, to its international executive board or as a district director?" At the recent national convention of the FE, CIO, William Smith of Chicago, a worker in the McCormick Works plant, was elected vice-president of the union.
>
> . . . WALTER REUTHER'S MACHINE IN THE UAW DOESN'T WANT NEGROES IN ITS LEADERSHIP. This union is currently trying to raid the FE-CIO at McCormick.[5]

[5] *Pittsburgh Courier* (Chicago ed.), April 16, 1949, p. 5.

When asked about this jurisdictional dispute, an officer of UAW put the matter this way:

> FE used the issue [race] there against us very successfully. They had a Negro on the executive board. When they saw the fight against us coming, they elected a Negro vice-president of the union. Then they played it for all it was worth. They passed out leaflets with his picture on them, they put ads in the newspapers with his picture, and since he lived in Chicago, he was in the fight at the plant all the time. This weapon proved very successful for FE.

FE won the election, and an officer of the union commented, "The Negro vote was solid for us."

3. The third type of conflict situation facing the union leadership, or would-be leadership, is an internal struggle for power. Again, where Negroes are numerous in the union, special appeals will be made to them to get their votes, and here, too, sponsorship of a Negro for high office is effective. In the following case political gains were made by a faction within the union through such sponsorship efforts even though the sponsorship itself failed.

Case 7.—Since 1939, a large and strategically located Negro membership in the United Automobile Workers has urged the appointment of more Negroes as organizers and representatives on the national staff. "Since 1940, demands had been raised in the UAW for the creation of a special post for a Negro on its executive board. Negro members seemed largely to favor this proposal, perhaps seeing in it a way to protect their status in the union."[6] This demand was sponsored by the union's left wing in its struggle for control of the union at the 1943 convention. In delegates' elections prior to the convention where large numbers of Negroes were involved, the left campaigned on the platform of electing a Negro as a Negro to the executive board.[7] One hundred and fifty Negro delegates were elected out of a total of 2,000. Defining these 150 votes as a bloc, the left continued to press the demand in convention debate, winning considerable Negro support in the process. Although the proposal was defeated in the crucial election of officers the left wing's seventy-vote victory was attributed to its sponsorship of the special Negro post.[8]

In summary, the conditions underlying the selection of a Negro for higher union office are twofold: (1) the "push" of a sizable Negro membership in the union and/or in the union's jurisdiction and (2) the "pull" of white leaders faced with a conflict in which their sponsorship of a Negro promises to have tactical advantage. The sponsorship is, in part, an anticipation or recognition of the power of Negroes as a group in the outcome of the conflict. Hence, careers of Negroes in unions are tied to the position of Negroes as a group in the work force and union, where that position is defined as important by those in power in the union—for those in control are the sponsors (actual or potential) of Negro officials, and sponsorship is the crucial means by which Negroes get into union office.

THE PROCESS OF SELECTION OF NEGRO UNION OFFICIALS

SPONSORSHIP

The modes of recruitment of people to fill positions in an organization vary from impersonal and formal processes to highly personal and informal ones. Systems of sponsorship approach the latter pole, since sponsorship involves the use of personal power by some to pick others for entrance into and advancement within the hierarchy.

Sponsorship in unions usually takes one of two paths. Either a person is chosen for nomination on the administration's or opposition's slate of candidates for elective offices or, if the position is appointive, he is put directly into office. Who does the sponsoring and how it is done vary widely from the very nature of such an informal and personal process. Sponsorship by white

[6] Irving Howe and B. J. Widick, "The U.A.W. Fights Race Prejudice," *Commentary*, September, 1949, p. 265.

[7] Clayton W. Fountain, *Union Guy* (New York: Viking Press, 1949), p. 166.

[8] *Ibid*, p. 165; see also Howe and Widick, *op. cit.*

leaders of Negroes for office illustrates this point. Generally, when certain white leaders decide they want a Negro elected to office, they take into consideration the sentiments of the Negro members, usually by choosing a Negro officer or informal leader of a local with a large Negro membership. That is what happened in case 3, above: The white official approached the informal leader of the Negro members of the local as a potential candidate for a local office. When sponsorship is for a national office, the Negro selected almost always is already an officer of a local or a member of the national staff, as in the following case.

Case 8.—The top Negro leader of a large AFL union got into his present position when the president of the union chose him to appear on the administration slate of candidates. At the national convention the southern delegates threatened to oppose this nomination, demanding a secret ballot on the vote. The president opposed them on the ground that the membership had a right to know how its elected delegates voted. The resolution was defeated. Then the president personally nominated the Negro for a position on the national executive board. This effectively squelched any further opposition. The president had chosen this Negro because, in the words of an official of the union, "There were growing demands from the Negroes that they have a representative on the board. [The president] agreed, and picked a Negro for the post by going to the largest Negro local and taking their business agent." This official continued:

> You see, he [the union president] must be able to win Negroes in organizing campaigns.... He has been particularly sensitive to this of late, since [the rival CIO union] has the advantage with Negroes of having a much better reputation on the race issue. And CIO uses the race issue in their leaflets in [organizing] fights with us.

CAREER LINES

Up to this point, selection of Negroes for office has been discussed from the perspective of the sponsoring white leadership. From the point of view of the sponsored Negro, patterns of recruitment appear as career lines and contingencies. The generalized pattern consists of (1) a large and strategically important Negro membership in the union which exerts more or less pressure on the union leadership to recognize it by placing one or more of its group in office; (2) a conflict confronting the union leadership, involving another union, a faction within the union, management, or some other group; (3) a decision on the part of the white leadership to sponsor Negro leadership in light of the particular conflict; (4) the selection of the Negro by the white leaders, the choice usually being a leader of a local with a large Negro membership; (5) the appointment of that Negro to a position on the national staff or his nomination on the slate of national officials. In all cases examined the career line of the Negro leader in a union with Negroes in a minority began in his being active in a local, usually in an office of the local; then came his appointment to a staff position or election to a national office, or his appointment came first and then his election to national office.[9] In the following case, a Negro moved directly from local to national office.

Case 9.—A large southern local of a CIO union has a predominantly white membership but a sizable Negro minority. After a number of incidents in which the local was internally split along racial lines, the local's white president decided that the inclusion of a Negro on the executive committee might improve the situation. In the course of a hard struggle, he convinced the other officials of the local that such a move was wise. He then personally picked a Negro,

[9] The impression should not be given that Negroes frequently are nominated for national office. Only seven of the thirty-four unions studied had Negroes on their national boards in 1949. Several more had Negroes in staff positions, usually as national organizers or international representatives.

This discussion of Negro career lines may be compared with C. Wright Mills's discussion of those of national union leaders as a whole. Cf. C. Wright Mills, *The New Men of Power* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1948).

T., whom he knew in the plant, nominated him for a place on the executive committee, and saw him get elected. Thereafter, he encouraged T. to learn as much about the union as possible, teaching him a great deal himself. Two years after his initial election, T. was elected delegate from the local to the national convention. A year later, a factional dispute broke out in the national union. Leaders of the faction trying to get into power wanted a Negro on their slate of candidates for the national executive board, partly to win Negro votes in the election. As a result of the backing of the white leaders who had originally sponsored him for local office, T. won a position on the national slate. This faction won the election, and T. became a national officer of the union.

FUNCTIONS OF SELECTION OF NEGRO UNION OFFICIALS

If the Negro union official typically is selected in conflict situations and by means of white sponsorship, then these conditions and modes of recruitment should have their counterparts in the functions of the Negro so selected. That is, one would expect the system of sponsorship to have consequences defined as tactically advantageous by the white sponsors and as more or less problematic for personal careers by the sponsored Negroes.

SYMBOLIC FUNCTION

To win and keep Negroes as union members and as supporters of their actual or proposed administration, those in power or aspiring to it often will sponsor one or more Negroes for union office, particularly when there is an immediate contender for the Negroes' allegiance. The sponsors expect that the Negro in office under their auspices will serve as a symbol of the union, or faction within it, to the Negroes whose allegiance is sought. This *symbolic* Negro official, defined on the basis of the manifest function for the sponsors, probably typifies the majority of national Negro officials in predominantly white unions. The Negro officials in cases 2–8, above, were expected by the white leaders to perform this symbolic role by being sponsored. In case 6, the symbolic function was performed successfully by the sponsored Negro, from the viewpoint of the sponsors. And in case 7, even though the sponsorship failed, the *act* of sponsoring was a success for the sponsors —the Negroes by and large supported the sponsors in the crucial union election. In general, the rationale of the sponsors is that, by taking the initiative in giving the various groups in the union representation among the officials of the union, those in control can stay in control or those aspiring to power can gain power.

Case 10.—A national official of a CIO union speaks of his organization in these terms:

> Most of the elections of officers is along racial [*sic*] lines like these: a guy is elected by the French because the guys who are French are in the majority. Once they get elected to minor posts, the international quite frankly selects people for higher offices on the basis of race [*sic*] —so there'll be representatives of all groups. We can't have any of these nationalities feel discriminated against!

Once in office, the sponsored Negro leader may be encouraged to expand and reinforce his symbolic function by acting on race relations and civil rights issues in the name of the union.

Case 11.—In two large CIO unions, the top Negro official is head of the union's fair employment practices committee, takes charge of civil rights cases coming to the union's attention, and functions as a key figure in the union's initiation of policies and programs directed toward the Negro membership.

In summary, then, the symbolic leader is expected by the sponsors to win the support and confidence of Negro members for the union and/or a particular faction within the union, first, because his very presence in office is a symbol of the union leadership's professed interest in championing Negro rights and, second, because his actions in office also are a symbol of the supporting and protecting of Negro interests.

LIAISON FUNCTION

A second type of Negro union leader is the "liaison" man. He may be distinguished abstractly as a separate type, but actually all Negro officials more or less share his qualities. His situation and role closely parallel those of the Negro personnel man as described by Professor Everett C. Hughes:

> The Negro personnel man is one of the latest strawbosses; he acts as a liaison man between management and Negro help. [Parallel: The Negro union leader in a predominantly white union acts as a liaison man between the union leadership and the Negro rank and file.] He cannot himself be considered a candidate for any higher position or for any line position in industry; his is a staff position which exists only so long as Negroes are hired in fairly large numbers, and so long as Negro help is considered sufficiently different from other help to require special liaison. [Parallel: The Negro usually does not become a candidate for the highest union offices; his position exists only so long as Negroes constitute a fairly large bloc in the union, and so long as the Negro group is defined as a bloc.] If the race line disappeared, or tended to disappear in industry, there would be no need of the Negro personnel man. There might be personnel men who are Negroes. Thus, the Negro personnel man is performing a racial function; he is not part of the regular line of authority, and does not represent a rung in the ladder of regular advancement to higher positions. [Parallel: The Negro union leader usually serves as a contact between Negro members and white leaders.][10]

The role of the Negro as liaison man between white union leaders and Negro workers is apparent in the following case. (The condition and manner of his selection furnish a good illustration of the foregoing discussion.)

Case 12.—R. is a Negro business agent for the largest of those locals which have Negro members in an AFL craft union. After learning the trade at a Negro school, R. was able to get a job in the trade when jobs previously denied Negroes by the union were opened to them by a federal-court ruling banning union control. When the union regained control over these jobs, whites were given union cards, but Negroes were excluded. Hence, R. helped organize the Negro craftsmen on an informal basis and later obtained for his group a charter as a federal local of the AFL. Shortly thereafter, R. met D., boss of the craft union which excluded Negroes. D. told R. to have his Negroes work for Negro contractors for the present, with the understanding that they would be admitted into the union after a "probationary" period. This understanding resulted from a deal between the AFL and a group of four Negro legislators in the state whereby the Negro legislators voted for an AFL-sponsored anti-injunction bill in return for a promise on the part of the union to organize Negro craftsmen. R. describes what followed:

> We fooled around and fooled around, always talking to D to try to get better jobs and meet union requirements. Finally, D agreed we should become union members, and asked one of us to act as a go-between—a sort of unofficial business agent. Several guys volunteered, but D asked me to do it; I guess he took a liking to me. . . . Finally, we were off probation and became full union members. This after more than ten years! D made me official business agent at the time.

In answer to a question on his functions, this Negro business agent said: "My job is to cover the district from ——— to ——— [an all-Negro area]. And whenever there is any trouble [involving race relations], I'm called in to straighten things out."

Thus, the Negro official in the predominantly white union typically is given authority primarily over Negro members. Particularly in times of racial conflict he is expected to "straighten things out" by "dealing with his own people." This is the case even though the formal constitution dictates that all union offices have control over areas of activity rather than over racial or ethnic membership groups. Thus, the presence of a Negro in office initially tends to redefine the function of that office. That is, the office comes to involve expectations

[10] E. C. Hughes, "Queries concerning Industry and Society," *American Sociological Review*, XIV, No. 2 (April, 1949), 218. Parenthetical statements are my own.—W. K.

on the part of the white leadership that the Negro official will act as a representative and leader of Negro members, serving as a link in the hierarchy of communication and control.

The liaison function of Negroes in official capacities means that they have an integrative role in the organization. But what does "integration" mean? In part, it refers to the day-to-day structure of action in the union and to its system of communication and control, in which the Negro leader is a sort of transmission belt of directives downward and collective demands upward. But in part, too, it refers to a public relations function of the union, where the audience is the Negro membership, plus other groups involved in a given situation. At this point, the liaison type of Negro leader merges with the symbolic type. The typical presence of both in concrete situations is evident in the following case.

Case 13.—To organize Negro dining-car employees in competition with an all-Negro independent union, the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union, AFL, set up a special dining-car division within its ranks and selected a Negro as vice-president to represent it. In 1947, a left-wing group split off from this division and elected new Negro officers to run it. One of the charges this group made was that the HRE, with a predominantly white membership, was consistently refusing to protect the interests of its Negro members. The international through its Negro vice-president removed the newly elected officials of the dining-car division on charges of improper procedure and reappointed defeated officials to their former positions. A. Philip Randolph, spokesman for Negroes in the AFL, supported the union's actions against the secessionist movement, pointing to the election of a Negro vice-president as proof of the president's "sense of fair play."[11] Thus the Negro vice-president acts both as the liaison between white officials and Negro members—being the one sent in to remove the left-wing Negro officers and to replace them with other Negroes—and at the same time as a symbol of the union's race relations, since he is the one who is singled out as symbolic of the union's insistence on "fair play" for its Negro members.

A Negro union leader made a more bitter appraisal of the functions of Negro officials:

> Some unions have a Negro on the staff, or a committee to deal with these matters [of race relations]. But they have no power! Their only function is to *take care of* the Negroes, and they don't do that! Having a Negro on the staff is *just a show* for most unions!

This is not to conclude that Negro officials have no influence on union actions. Frequently they do not; "liaison" is not a particularly creative function. But at times they do become active factors in union race relations—less frequently in other areas. The prime example has been Randolph's actions inside the AFL, a continuous pressure on the Federation to take a stand in favor of civil-rights legislation and, less successfully, to take a stand against its own affiliates which discriminate.

CONSEQUENCES OF SPONSORSHIP FOR NEGRO OFFICIALS

From the point of view of the Negro official in a paid capacity the system of sponsorship is a bread-and-butter proposition as well as a series of problems for his ideal goals. Caught between a Negro membership to which he generally owes his primary allegiance and a white leadership to which he probably owes his position in the union, with both making often conflicting demands on him, the Negro union official will tend to see his role as "ambassador" of the Negro members, winning as much as possible for the group while at the same time keeping the good will of the white leadership. As a consequence, occasionally the Negro officer will develop a vested interest in the separate organization of Negroes inside the union.

Case 14.—A white officer of a large CIO union stated:

[11] *The Catering Industry Employee,* December, 1947.

The main opposition to ending Jim Crow is from the Negro local itself. The fellows down there [where the union was trying to combine a white and Negro local into one local] don't want to lose their union jobs. It's just like in the Negro baseball leagues up here. Now that the Majors are getting interested in Negro ball players, the Negro business men who stand to lose dough in the deal are hollering like hell. But they gotta choose between increasing mixture and business. This is the way things are down South: the Negro leaders are kicking because they think that amalgamation will make them lose their jobs.

Case 15.—Shortly after being elected as a national officer of a union, a Negro proposed at a meeting of the executive board that Negroes organized in the retail end of the industry be segregated into separate locals. The white members of the board protested that it was against union policy. A white officer of the union suggested that this Negro officer desired to maintain the separate existence of the Negroes to protect his power in the union: "He thinks of himself as an ambassador of the Negro members."

These two cases are extremes, but the problem underlying them is not atypical. Negro officials know that their position depends upon the continuation of a Negro bloc in the union, although very few of them favor any form or shape of segregation; to repeat, cases 14 and 15 are *exceptions*, but exceptions which reveal the underlying problem. They also know that their position depends upon support from the Negro bloc as well as from the white leaders.

Case 16.—A white AFL official said:

In the main, there has been very little Negro leadership in the union. Even where Negroes are in a majority [in a local], where Negroes are officers, the rank and file Negroes remain suspicious. We hired a Negro business agent. The girl was very capable but she couldn't swing her own membership. So we had to let her go.

With such experiences in mind, several Negro union leaders indicated in interviews that the major problem for them is to change the definition of them made by white leaders, that is, to break down the conception which makes them a special type of union member and official because they are Negroes. The demand of the Negro official may take such form as the following comment of a Negro UAW official on the situation reported in case 7 above.

We almost had a riot in our 1943 convention. The international representatives were ordered off the floor, the fight got so rough. The whites on the left were pushing for a general understanding that one post on the executive board be for a Negro. We [Negroes] opposed them [*sic*]. We resented their attempt to make a Negro an officer no matter whether he had the ability or not. But we didn't fight for or against the resolution at the convention. We just let it ride, until it blew over. We know that a union with a million members is going to have political machines, and it isn't going to be a secret. What we want is for a Negro to get put on the machine slate—not get elected because there's a special post for him—but to get the machine backing because he's proved himself as an important guy in it. That's what we're working for!

The problems involved in reaching this goal of the Negro union leader are difficult to overestimate. As one Negro official remarked:

You know, it's hard to tell any of these fellows [white union leaders] at the top what to do. They came up the hard way, and have to play politics. They don't give a damn about Negroes, except that they may happen to threaten their positions.

Nevertheless, there is evidence to indicate that, once a Negro gets into a high position in the union, by means of small day-to-day acts he sometimes is able to change his initial role of sharply circumscribed functions to one covering wider and wider areas of action commensurate with that of the white man filling a formally equivalent office. For example, two Negro officials are known to have moved into active participation in union-management negotiations, although continuing to perform symbolic and liaison functions as well. Thus, in spite of his initial role, the Negro union official occasionally moves into areas of activity in which he drops the racial functions and

assumes those inherent in the office as such.

If this shift should come to characterize more than a few scattered cases of Negro leaders, it would indicate, as Professor Hughes pointed out with reference to the Negro personnel man, that the race line in industry was disappearing.

CONCLUSIONS

The color of a man's skin may lead to his sponsorship for or exclusion from a job. Therefore it is a career contingency for him. The color of a man's skin may have power or status or other functions for an organization or looser work group. Therefore, it is a control contingency for those in power. This has been seen to hold in the instance of the labor union, where sponsorship of Negro members for positions in the organization occurs in certain types of conflict situations. Similar observations have been made with respect to the Negro personnel man in management[12] and the Negro officer in political parties,[13] to mention two of the more obvious cases.

[12] Hughes, *op. cit.*

[13] E.g., see the discussion of Negro officers in the Communist party in Record, *op. cit.*

But a person's racial identification is not the only type of social category which serves as a basis of selection or exclusion. In this respect the member of a minority who is recruited for office on the basis of that membership is no different from the doctor who is sponsored for his "family name" by the "inner fraternity" of medicine or the lawyer sponsored for his "contacts" by the law firm. In all such cases the sponsors' expectations for the role of the sponsored, and the manner in which that role is supported and modified by the latter's conduct, reveal aspects of the dynamics of the group as a whole. Therefore, it is suggested that, by investigating the social characteristics imputed to and sought in new personnel by sponsors in various occupations, the conditions under which such attributes are singled out, and, finally, the functions of the sponsored for the organizational or work-group leadership, a more adequate picture of interrelations between personal careers and the institutions within which these careers are carried out may be drawn.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE TRADITION OF OPPORTUNITY AND THE ASPIRATIONS OF AUTOMOBILE WORKERS[1]

ELY CHINOY

ABSTRACT

Industrial workers face a patent disparity between the promises of the tradition of opportunity and the realities of their own experience. Caught between tradition and reality, the automobile workers who were studied confine their aspirations to those limited alternatives which seem possible for men with their skills and resources. They have not surrendered their identification with the tradition of opportunity, however, and they reconcile their limited aspirations with the cultural imperative to aim high and persevere by redefining "getting ahead," by focusing their ambitions on their children, and by verbally retaining the illusion of small business ambitions.

The United States is widely pictured as the "land of promise," where golden opportunities beckon to everyone without regard to his original station in life. The Horatio Alger sagas of "little tykes who grow into big tycoons," it is asserted, "truly express a commonplace of American experience."[2] School children learn early of humble Americans whose careers fulfilled the promise, and the occasional new arrival at the top of the success ladder is publicly acclaimed as a fresh illustration that opportunity is open to all.[3]

Based on some concrete facts plus a substantial admixture of myth and optimism, the tradition of opportunity which has been a sprawled folk gospel deeply imbedded in the American character has now also become a consciously manipulated dream only partially related to the changing conditions of American life. Large corporations, rendered defensive by the events of the post-1929 decades, and the conservative press have tried to bolster their version of free enterprise by energetically fostering the belief that, to quote one newspaper advertisement, "There are more opportunities in this country than ever before."

The American experience has indeed been distinctive in the opportunities it offered to able and ambitious men. The expansion across a rich unpeopled continent of a population that roughly doubled every twenty-five years between 1790 and 1914 enabled farm boys, bookkeepers, prospectors, peddlers, clerks, and mechanics to rise significantly in the world, to become in some cases captains of industry and titans of finance.

But, with the closing of the frontier, the leveling of the rate of population growth, and the concentration of industry, upward mobility by men starting at the bottom has become more difficult. In this era of big business, with its heavy capital requirements for independent enterprise and its demands for specialized managerial and technical skills in industry, factory workers, with whom we are centrally concerned, are severely handicapped. "It is widely recognized," declared the authors of a report prepared for the Temporary National Economic Committee in 1940, "that substantial opportunity does not exist for a large proportion of workers in either small or large corporations. . . . Most of them, therefore, must look forward to remaining more or less at the same levels, despite the

[1] I am indebted to the Social Science Research Council for the fellowship which made possible the research upon which this paper is based. The paper was read at the annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association in Montreal, June 7, 1951.

[2] Eric Johnston, *America Unlimited* (New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1944), pp. 5–6.

[3] The American Schools and Colleges Association, for example, annually presents "Horatio Alger Awards," with much fanfare to businessmen whose "rise to success symbolizes the tradition of starting from scratch under our system of free competitive enterprise."

havoc this might visit upon the tradition of 'getting ahead.'"[4]

Industrial workers, therefore, face in their occupational lives a palpable disparity between the exhortations of the tradition and the realities of their own experience. On the one hand, they are encouraged to pursue ambitious goals by the assurance that anyone with ability and determination can, by his own efforts, "get ahead in the world"; on the other hand, only limited opportunities are open to them.

This paper, which is a partial summary of a larger investigation, is an attempt to explore what opportunity looks like to a group of automobile workers in a middle-sized midwestern city. What are the goals of men who are caught between the promises of the culture and the exigencies of their workaday world? What, if anything, does "getting ahead" mean to them?

Automobile workers were chosen for this investigation because they work in an industry which poses sharply the problems related to opportunity. Automobile manufacturing is a glamorous, relatively new industry whose spectacular growth dramatized and gave new substance to the American success story but whose present characteristics—giant plants, an extremely high degree of mechanization, and specialized corporate bureaucracies—make it difficult for the men who operate its machines to rise from the industrial ranks.

The research for the study was done over a period of fourteen months, from August, 1946, to July, 1947, plus the summer months of 1948. The bulk of the data was secured in seventy-eight prolonged interviews with sixty-two men employed in one large automobile plant. Since the problem of aspirations takes a somewhat different form among Negroes and, perhaps, among immigrants and second-generation Americans, interviews were confined to white workers who, with few exceptions, were at least third-generation citizens. All but six were married. In age they ranged from twenty to sixty-three, with no marked concentration at any age level and a mean age of thirty-eight. Thirty-five men had been employed in the plant prior to the outbreak of the war, fifteen had been hired during the war, and the rest were postwar employees. The group included fifteen skilled workers, ten machine operators, nine assembly-line tenders, and twenty-eight others who held various semiskilled jobs. Most types of work in the plant were represented. The data drawn from interviews were supplemented by several weeks of work in the factory by the investigator, by reports from informants, and by innumerable hours of casual conversation and informal social participation with men from the plant.

The aspirations of the automobile workers who were thus studied represent a constant balancing of hope and desire against the objective circumstances in which they find themselves. Recent research has tended to picture industrial workers as creatures of feeling and sentiment whose "social logic" contrasts sharply with the "rational logic" of managers and engineers.[5] But, as our data clearly show, the aspirations of these men are controlled by a reasonably objective appraisal of the opportunities available to them. Given the unreliable picture presented by the culture, they are remarkably rational in their selection of goals. By and large they confine their aims to those limited alternatives which seem possible for men with their skills and resources.

[4] M. Dimock and H. K. Hyde, *Bureaucracy and Trusteeship in Large Corporations* ("Temporary National Economic Committee Monographs," No. 11 [Washington: Government Printing Office, 1940]), p. 55.

[5] The major sources for this point of view are F. J. Roethlisberger and W. J. Dickson, *Management and the Worker* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939); and Elton Mayo, *Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1933), and *Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1945). See also the approaches of B. Gardner, *Human Relations in Industry* (Chicago: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1945) and O. Collins, M. Dalton, and D. Roy, "Restrictions of Output and Social Cleavage in Industry," *Applied Anthropology*, V (summer, 1946), 1–14.

With few exceptions, they see little chance of ever rising into salaried positions in the large corporation in which they work. To them the admonition to "think of the corporation as a pyramid of opportunities from the bottom toward the top with thousands of chances for advancement"[6] has little meaning. They are clearly aware that engineering and management have become so highly selective as to exclude them almost completely. Not one of these workers ever suggested the possibility of moving into the top-salaried ranks. Only foremanship, which itself rarely leads to better managerial posts,[7] remains as an obvious escape hatch from wage labor on the factory floor. And even this seemed to hold little promise for most of the workers who were interviewed.

In normal times only eight or ten openings on the supervisory level occur each year in this plant of almost six thousand workers. To many of them, therefore, it seems as though, in the words of one disillusioned toolmaker with fifteen years' seniority: "They'll have to die off in my department before anybody could get to be a foreman."[8] Since forty of the sixty-two men interviewed had not completed high school, their chances of gaining promotion were further contracted, as they can readily see, by management's increasing preference for men with substantial educational qualifications.[9]

Even in these circumstances, however, a few workers with only limited education still manage to become foremen, and their example might provoke a good deal of hope and effort, were it not for uncertainties in the selection process. Since new foremen are chosen on the basis of recommendations by foremen, the crucial question for workers seeking advancement is: What qualities and actions will bring us to the favorable attention of our supervisors? According to management, only merit and ability are taken into account when considering men for promotion. But, because the criteria used to define merit and ability remain unspecified, workers tend to stress "pull," "connections," and various personal techniques for gaining favor—"buddying up to the foreman," "running around squealing on everybody," sending the foreman a Christmas card, or getting one's name in the union paper.[10] The rich variety of invidious terms applied to many of these techniques, however —"bootlicking," "brown-nosing," "sucking around"—indicates how workers feel about them. And in any case there was no consensus as to which methods were effective, no guide lines to direct men's efforts.

It is not surprising, therefore, that only five of the sixty-two men interviewed expressed any real hope of ever becoming foremen.[11] While seven others had given up the hopes they had once had, fifty said that they would not want to be foremen[12] or

[6] Alfred P. Sloan, *Adventures of a White Collar Man* (New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1941), p. 153.

[7] Two discontinuous ladders of promotion seem to have emerged in modern industry. One ladder, open to workers, is short, with few rungs, usually ending at best—for only a handful of men—with foremanship. The other, open to those who start as technicians or white-collar employees in the office, is longer and may eventually lead to the top levels of industry.

[8] This pessimism was probably particularly strong at the time the research was done because of the fact that in the preceding year, just after the end of the war, employment in the plant had been cut from almost twelve thousand to less than six thousand and over two hundred men who had been foremen were returned to wage jobs in the factory. To a large extent, management was drawing upon this reservoir of experienced personnel as new openings occurred.

[9] According to the plant's personnel manager: "We try to get the fellows from State College [located in an adjoining town] and from our own technical school into supervision."

[10] Many men felt that management paid careful attention to the contents of the union's weekly paper.

[11] In a *Fortune* poll of factory workers in 1947, only 12 per cent thought that they would some day become foremen (*Fortune*, May, 1947, p. 10).

[12] This finding is consistent with the *Fortune* poll cited above, in which 58 per cent of the sample said that they would not care to be foremen, and with E. W. Bakke's conclusion from his study of unemployed workers in New Haven: "Inasmuch as foremanship was the highest status in the shop to which most workers might aspire, it was a bit surprising to find a rather general lack of enthusiasm

that they had never thought of the possibility. Given the obstacles to advancement into supervision, it is easy to imagine the build-up of verbal objections to foremanship as a rationalization against the likely disappointment of any hopes men might secretly entertain. Or, alternatively, men may protect themselves against the prospect of failure by disclaiming any interest in the goal.

Yet it is not unlikely that the disparagement of foremanship and the lack of interest are in many cases genuine. There are those who, for various reasons, are unwilling to assume responsibility. And the difficulties in the foreman's position which have been documented by numerous academic investigators[13] are clearly evident to the men in the shop.

It is interesting to note that the five men who had hopes of becoming foremen were all still relatively young and that they had done fairly well for themselves in the plant. One was thirty-five, the others between twenty-nine and thirty-two. Three were skilled workers, two of whom had moved up from semiskilled labor during the war. One was a former line tender who had become an inspector, a more pleasant if not a better-paying job; one was a group leader in the shipping department, who had started there as an unskilled laborer. The seven men who had given up hope were, on the average, older and had not moved ahead in the shop. Only two were under thirty-five, while the others were thirty-eight or older. Only one had gained any personal advancement, a toolmaker who had finally become a group leader—after thirteen years in the plant. Two had been moved down after the war from skilled to semiskilled work, and the others were all on about the same level on which they had begun in the plant anywhere from five to sixteen years earlier. These facts suggest the possibility that, unless industrial workers gain some evidence while still young that advancement is possible, they are likely to confine their aspirations to modest objectives.

But the advancement which might encourage hope for foremanship or other substantial objectives is hard for these men to secure. Constant mechanization of automobile production has left most automobile workers as semiskilled operatives who can be moved about easily from one job to another. There were relatively few unskilled workers in the work force of almost 6,000, while only 300 were skilled craftsmen.

For the semiskilled workers who constitute the great majority in the plant, the obvious line of advancement would be into the few remaining skilled jobs, which represent the top of the wage hierarchy. But the leveling of skill makes it impossible for the plant to provide any sequence of progressively more demanding tasks which might lead toward the skilled occupations.

In the years before recognition of the union it was sometimes possible to learn enough as a helper to be able to pass one's self off as skilled. Now that the union insists that men work only within their job classifications, this possibility has been virtually eliminated; a helper cannot try to do the work of a journeyman, even under the latter's guidance. With this informal route closed—at least in this plant—apprentice training has become the only way to acquire a trade. Admission to apprentice training, however, is limited to high-school graduates not over twenty-one years old, stipulations which exclude most of the workers studied.[14] Only during the war, when there was an acute shortage of skilled labor, were semiskilled men—"upgraders," as they were called—trained by journeymen to do at least part of a skilled job.

Thus to practically all the semiskilled workers interviewed entry to the skilled trades seemed to be completely closed. Only two veterans whose war service exempted

for such promotion" (*The Unemployed Worker* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940], pp. 51–52).

[13] See, e.g., B. Gardner and W. F. Whyte, "The Man in the Middle: Position and Problems of the Foreman," *Applied Anthropology*, IV (spring, 1945), 1–28; and F. J. Roethlisberger, "The Foreman: Master and Victim of Doubletalk," *Harvard Business Review*, XXIII (spring, 1945), 283–98.

[14] The number of apprentices is also limited to one for each ten journeymen.

them from the age limitation on apprentice training were planning to enter the trade through this route. And one former upgrader who had been returned to semiskilled work after the war still had hopes that he might some day be recalled to a skilled job.[15]

With both foremanship and skilled work out of reach, the best that most workers can see for themselves in the factory is a series of isolated small gains—transfer to a job that pays a few cents more per hour or to one that is easier, steadier, or more interesting. Substantial wage increases for individual workers are almost out of the question, however, since wage rates for semiskilled jobs are highly compressed. In 1947, in the production, inspection, and material-handling divisions of the plant, for example, maximum wage rates[16] for 240 of 280 job classifications fell within a 9-cent range, from $1.41 to $1.50 per hour, while only seven classifications brought as much as $1.64 per hour.

The achievement of even those small monetary gains which are possible has been taken out of the hands of individual workers by the impersonal seniority rule which provides that promotion to better-paying jobs should go to the men with the longest service.[17] For the most part, therefore, higher wages and other economic benefits are now achieved through gaining and holding standardized agreements, a collective effort in which the union rather than the individual plays the central role.

As a result, the factory is not a place where men can do much as individuals to gain personal advancement. If they have worked in the plant long enough to "know the ropes," they may be able to secure a transfer to an easier, steadier, or more interesting job; otherwise they are exposed to the chance job shifts occasioned by constant changes in technology. The traditional imperatives for success—hard work and inventiveness—play an insignificant role in the context of carefully timed jobs and organized scientific research. Nor are "character" and "personality"—the other important traditional requisites for advancement—of much value to men who work with things rather than with people.

Despite the fact that they saw few opportunities for advancement in the factory, most of the workers studied could see no other future for themselves. Although forty-eight of the sixty-two answered "Yes" to the question: "Have you ever thought of getting out of the shop?" only eight had gone past wishful thinking or escapist dreams. Five of these were planning to buy a small farm or to go into some kind of small business. One had applied for a position on the local police force. And the other two—one a twenty-year-old single man, the other a twenty-nine-year-old veteran who could receive governmental assistance—were planning to go to college. The other forty who answered "Yes" quickly qualified their desire to leave with reasons why they could not do so or confessed that they had only vague, unfocused desires. Much as many of these men would like to gain independence and to escape from the factory, they soon recognize that they have neither the financial resources nor, in some cases, the educational and personal qualifications that are needed.

Nevertheless, the possibility of leaving the shop forms a staple topic of conversation on the job. A dozen men spontaneously observed that "everybody" or "almost everybody" talks about getting out of the shop. This endless discussion, though unrelated in most cases to feasible plans or substantial hopes, serves an important psychological function. As one assembly-line tender put it: "It makes the time go quicker and easier if I keep thinking about that turkey farm I'd like to buy." A few minutes later he admitted that he could never hope to save enough money to buy the farm. Even

[15] Five other upgraders who were interviewed felt that their recall to skilled work was most unlikely.

[16] Maximum rates, which are 10 cents above the starting rates are reached by two 5-cent increases, one thirty days after being hired, the other after ninety days.

[17] According to the union contract, seniority is supposed to apply only when "ability, merit, and capacity are equal," but in practice seniority is almost automatically applied.

though hopes shrivel when put to the test of reality, however, the talk and daydreams they generate soften the harsh reality of the moment.

To summarize our findings thus far: Of the sixty-two men interviewed, only eight felt that they had a promising future outside the factory. Within the factory, five men had real hope that they might some day become foremen, while only three semiskilled workers felt that it might be possible to move into the ranks of skilled labor. The remaining forty-six, both skilled and nonskilled, could see little room for personal advancement and hence restricted their ambitions to small goals.

Despite their limited aspirations and their pessimism regarding opportunity for themselves, these men have not given up the success values of American society. "Everybody wants to get ahead," said a machine operator, and none of his fellows would contradict him. But if they accept the success values and yet see little opportunity for themselves, how do they explain their failure to move up in the economic order? How do they reconcile their limited aspirations with the cultural admonition to aim high and to persevere relentlessly?[18]

The tradition of opportunity itself provides a ready-made explanation for failure which is accepted by some of these workers. Responsibility is placed squarely upon each individual. Failure cannot result from lack of opportunity but only from lack of ambition or ability, from unwillingness to make the necessary sacrifices, or from defects in one's character and personality. "I guess I'm just not smart enough," said one worker. "It's my own fault," said another. "Sometimes," he went on, "I look at myself in the mirror and I say to myself, "Pat, you dumb so-and-so, you could have been somebody if you'd only set your mind to it." By thus focusing criticism upon the individual rather than upon its institutions, society protects itself against the reactions of those who fail.

But the self-blame thus engendered is obviously painful, and men therefore seek other ways of reconciling their small ambitions with their acceptance of success values. This they do primarily by redefining the meaning of advancement in terms closer to the realities of their own experience, and to a lesser degree by fostering ambitious hopes for their children and by verbally retaining the illusion of out-of-the-shop ambitions.

By labeling the small goals they pursue in the shop as "getting ahead," these workers maintain for themselves the appearance of sustained effort and ambition. Then, if they manage to secure a job that pays 5 cents an hour more or one that is less exacting or more interesting, they seem to be advancing. "I'll be getting ahead all right," said a discontented line tender, "if I can just get off the line." But, as men reach the low ceiling imposed on this kind of advancement or as they come to the conclusion that they are in dead-end jobs, they must turn to other meanings if they are to avoid admission of failure.

Since there are few opportunities for occupational advancement, they shift their attention toward security, on the one hand, and toward the acquisition of material possessions, on the other, identifying both as "getting ahead." Security, which has always been a crucial concern for automobile workers because of the erratic employment pattern in the industry, is now equated with advancement. Questions which tried to elicit from these workers the relative importance assigned to security as over against opportunities for advancement proved to be virtually meaningless. They could see no difference between the two. "If you're secure, then you're getting ahead," explained one worker with many years of seniority.

As with wages, security has taken on a collective character. Protection against arbitrary layoffs and assurance of recall

[18] Maintenance of a high level of aspiration not only is encouraged by the assurance that perseverance must eventually lead to success but is also required as evidence of full participation in American life. "Failure" is defined as withdrawal from the race, as well as the inability to cross the finish line a winner. "Failure is ceasing to try! 'Tis admitting defeat," writes Edgar Guest.

after a shutdown are provided by the seniority rule incorporated in the union contract. In 1950 pensions were gained via collective bargaining, and the union has now set its sights on a guaranteed annual wage. Only in the accumulation of personal savings, which is itself defined as advancement, does security retain an individual character. "If you can put away a couple of hundred dollars, then you're getting ahead," said a worker struggling to make ends meet. If one can pay one's bills and meet the instalments on the house, the car, or a new refrigerator and still save a little money, then one is moving forward.

The visible evidence of advancement in this world of anonymous jobs and standardized wage rates, however, is the acquisition of material possessions. With their wants constantly stimulated by high-powered advertising, they measure their success by what they are able to buy. A new car standing in front of one's own home —this is the prevailing symbol of advancement, with a new washing machine, living-room furniture, and now probably a television set as further confirmation that one is "getting ahead." This shift in the context of advancement from the occupational to the consumption sphere is justified whenever possible by stressing the potential economic returns from a large purchase, particularly in the case of a home and a car.

Even if men can see little hope for personal advancement in the present, they may still maintain their identification with the tradition of opportunity by focusing their aspirations upon their children's future, a practice strongly encouraged by the culture. "What sustains us as a nation . . . ," wrote Eleanor Roosevelt in one of her daily columns, "[is] the feeling that if you are poor . . . you still see visions of your children having the opportunities you missed." "I never had much of a chance," said a semiskilled laborer whose entire working life had been spent in this one large plant, "but I want my kid to go to college and do something better than work in a factory." All of the twenty-six men with sons not yet old enough to work felt that their children could do better than factory work; none of them wanted their sons to go into the factory, except perhaps as skilled workers. But, with their limited income and lack of knowledge, these fathers can provide little financial assistance or occupational guidance. Yet they all felt that, if their sons would exert the necessary effort and make the requisite sacrifices, they could move up in the economic order. By thus placing responsibility upon their sons, however, they protect themselves against the disappointment they are likely to experience.

Finally, men seek to maintain the illusion that they themselves are still striving by constantly talking about their intention to leave the shop, even though, as we have seen, they admit when pressed that they would probably never do so. Stimulated both by the still lively small-business tradition and by their urgent desire to escape from factory jobs, many of these workers continue to believe that at least modest success as a small entrepreneur is possible for the hardworking, personable man with ideas and initiative. They therefore verbally entertain, in usually disorderly succession, various business ambitions which are critically scrutinized and rejected as impractical or are mulled over, dreamed about, vaguely examined, and eventually permitted to fade away because there is little likelihood of their immediate realization.

From our analysis it seems evident that these automobile workers have to a large extent retained the form but lost the substance of the American tradition of opportunity. It is, of course, difficult to gauge how often and under what conditions these men see through their fabric of rationalization and self-justification to the fact that they are confined to their working-class status despite the promises of the culture. But as long as they can "get ahead," even on their own terms, they are unlikely to question seriously the validity of the tradition of opportunity.

SMITH COLLEGE

THE OCCUPATIONAL CULTURE OF THE BOXER

S. KIRSON WEINBERG AND HENRY AROND

ABSTRACT

Professional boxers are recruited from among the youth of the lower socioeconomic levels. Their changing ethnic composition reflects the ethnic shifts in the urban lower socioeconomic levels. Fighting is an important road to increased social status, and successful boxers are role-models of the youth. Trainers, managers, and promoters view boxing in different ways from the boxers and frequently affect boxers' careers.

Herein is described the culture of the professional boxer as discovered by personal experience, by reading of firsthand literature, and by interview with sixty-eight boxers and former boxers, seven trainers, and five managers.[1] The aspects covered are recruitment, practices and beliefs, and the social structure of the boxing world.

RECRUITMENT

Professional boxers are adolescents and young men. Nearly all are of low socioeconomic background. Only two of our fighters might possibly have been of middle-class family. Most are immigrants to the city and are children of such. Their residences at the time of becoming boxers are distributed like the commoner forms of social disorganization, being almost all near the center of the city. Nearly all Chicago boxers lived on the Near South and Near West sides. There is an ethnic succession of boxers which corresponds to that of the ethnic groups in these areas. First Irish, then Jewish, then Italian, were most numerous among prominent boxers; now, Negroes (Table 1).

The traditions of an ethnic group, as well as its temporary location at the bottom of the scale, may affect the proportion of its boys who become boxers. Many Irish, but few Scandinavians, have become boxers in this country; many Filipinos, but very few Japanese and Chinese.

[1] One of us (Arond) has been a boxer, trainer, and manager. We first determined some common values, beliefs, and practices by a few unstructured interviews. We used the material thus gained to plan guided interviews which would help us sift out what is ethnic from what belongs properly to boxing culture. Mr. Leland White helped in the interviewing.

The juvenile and adolescent culture of the lower socioeconomic levels provides a base for the boxing culture. Individual and gang fights are encouraged. The best fighter is often the most admired, as well as the most feared, member of a gang. A boy who lacks status tries to get it and to restore his self-esteem by fighting.[2] Successful amateur and professional boxers furnish highly visible role-models to the boys of the slum; this is especially so

TABLE 1

RANK ORDER OF NUMBER OF PROMINENT BOXERS OF VARIOUS ETHNIC GROUPS FOR CERTAIN YEARS*

YEAR	RANK		
	1	2	3
1909.....	Irish	German	English
1916.....	Irish	German	Italian
1928.....	Jewish	Italian	Irish
1936.....	Italian	Irish	Jewish
1948.....	Negro	Italian	Mexican

* Data tabulated from *World's Annual Sporting Record* (1910 and 1917); *Everlast Boxing Record* (1929); *Boxing News Record* (1938); and *Ring* (1948 and 1949). The numbers in the succeeding years are: 103, 118, 300, 201, and 149. There may be biases in the listings, but the predominance of two or three ethnic groups is marked in all the years. The Irish were very much above others in 1909 and 1916 (about 40 per cent of all boxers listed); in 1948 nearly half of all boxers listed were Negro. The Jews and Italians did not have so marked a predominance.

[2] Some juveniles who fought continually to retrieve their self-esteem and also in sheer self-defense later became boxers. One adolescent who was half-Negro and half-Indian was induced to become a boxer by a trainer who saw him beat two white opponents in a street fight. Another boxer admitted that he fought continually because other boys called him a "sissy." A third boxer fought continually because he was small and other boys picked on him. This compensatory drive among boxers is not unusual.

among urban Negroes at present. Since he has otherwise little hope of any but unskilled, disagreeable work, the boxing way to money and prestige may appear very attractive. As an old-time manager put it, "Where else can a poor kid get a stake as fast as he can in boxing?"

Since the ability to fight is a matter of status among one's peers, is learned in play, and is the accepted means of expressing hostility and settling disputes, boys learn to fight early.

One fighter thought of becoming a boxer at the age of ten, because he could not participate in team games as a child; his mother insisted that he had a "bad heart." He stated: "I tried to fight as soon as I got old enough, to be the roughest, toughest kid on the block." He fought so frequently and was arrested so often for fighting that one policeman told him that he might as well get paid for it. At the age of fourteen he participated in fights in vacant lots in the neighborhood. Because of his prowess as a fighter, the other boys in the neighborhood began to respect him more, and he began to associate status with fighting. When he was about seventeen, an amateur fighter told him about a gymnasium where he could learn to become a "ring fighter" instead of a "street fighter." He claimed: "I love fighting. I would rather fight than eat."

Most boxers seem to have been influenced to become "ring fighters" by a boxer in the neighborhood or by a member of the family.[3] One middleweight champion claimed that he "took after" his brother, followed him to the gymnasium, imitated him, and thus decided to be a boxer before he was fifteen years old. Another fighter was inspired by a neighbor and became his protégé. He continually followed his hero to the gymnasium and learned to fight himself. Eventually the neighbor induced his manager to take his protégé into the stable. A third fighter has stated:

I was twelve when I went to the gym first. If there's a fighter in the neighborhood, the kids always look up to him because they think he's tough. There was an amateur in my neighborhood and he was a kind of hero to all us kids. It was him that took me to the gym the first time.

A former welterweight and middleweight champion who has been boxing since he was eleven years old has written in a similar vein:

I didn't do any boxing before I left Detroit. I was too little. But I was already interested in it, partly because I idolized a big Golden Gloves heavyweight who lived on the same block with us. I used to hang around the Brewster Center Gym all the time watching him train. His name was Joe Louis. Whenever Joe was in the gym so was I. He was my idol then just like he is today. I've always wanted to be like him.[4]

Some managers and trainers of local gymnasiums directly seek out boys who like to fight and who take fighters as their models. One such manager says that he sought boys who were considered the "toughest in the block" or "natural fighters." He would get them to come to the gym and to become amateur boxers. He entered some in tournaments, from which he received some "cut," then sifted out the most promising for professional work.

It is believed by many in boxing circles that those in the lower socioeconomic levels make the "best fighters":

They say that too much education softens a man and that is why the college graduates are not good fighters. They fight emotionally on the gridiron and they fight bravely and well in our wars, but their contributions in our rings have been insignificant. The ring has been described as the refuge of the under-privileged. Out of the downtrodden have come our greatest fighters. . . . An education is an escape, and that is what they are saying when they shake their heads—those who know the fight game—as you mention the name of a college fighter. Once the

[3] For the last twenty-five years of boxers, we found the following brother combinations among boxers: 3 sets of five brothers, 5 sets of four brothers, 24 sets of three brothers, and 41 sets of two brothers. We also found sets of father-son combinations. This number, very likely, is less than the actual figures, because some brothers fight as amateurs only and not as professional, and thus their records cannot be traced.

[4] "Sugar Ray" Robinson, "Fighting Is My Business," *Sport*, June, 1951, p. 18.

bell rings, they want their fighters to have no retreat, and a fighter with an education is a fighter who does not have to fight to live and he knows it. . . . Only for the hungry fighter is it a decent gamble.[5]

It can be inferred tentatively that the social processes among juveniles and adolescents in the lower socioeconomic levels, such as individual and gang fights, the fantasies of "easy money," the lack of accessible vocational opportunities, and the general isolation from the middle-class culture, are similar for those who become professional boxers as for those who become delinquents. The difference resides in the role-model the boy picks, whether criminal or boxer. The presence of one or several successful boxers in an area stimulates boys of the same ethnic groups to follow in their footsteps. Boxing, as well as other sports and certain kinds of entertainment, offers slum boys the hope of quick success without deviant behavior (although, of course, some boxers have been juvenile delinquents).[6]

Within the neighborhood the professional boxer orients his behavior and routine around the role of boxer. Usually acquiring some measure of prestige in the neighborhood, he is no longer a factory hand or an unskilled laborer. He is admired, often has a small coterie of followers, and begins to dress smartly and loudly and to conceive of himself as a neighborhood celebrity, whether or not he has money at the time. Nurtured by the praise of the trainer or manager, he has hopes that eventually he will ascend to "big-time fights" and to "big money." The money that he does make in his amateur and early professional fights by comparison with his former earnings seems a lot to him.

OCCUPATIONAL CULTURE OF THE BOXER

The intrinsic occupational culture of the boxer is composed of techniques, illusions, aspirations, and structured roles which every boxer internalizes in some measure and which motivate him both inside and outside the ring. At the outset of his career the boxer becomes impressed with the need for training to improve his physical condition and to acquire the skills necessary to win fights and to avoid needless injury. When he has such status as to be sought out by promoters, he assigns a specified interval for training before the bout. But in the preliminary ranks he must keep himself in excellent physical shape most of the time, because he does not know when he will be summoned to fight. He may be booked as a substitute and cannot easily refuse the match. If he does, he may find it difficult to get another bout. The particular bout may be the chance he has been hoping for. The fighter is warned persistently by tales of the ritualistic necessity of "getting in shape" and of the dire consequences if he does not. "There is no more pitiable sight," stated one boxer, "than to see a fighter get into the ring out of condition."

The boxer comes to regard his body, especially his hands, as his stock-in-trade. Boxers have varied formulas for preventing their hands from excess swelling, from excessive pain, or from being broken. This does not mean a hypochondriachal interest, because they emphasize virility and learn to slough off and to disdain punishment. But fighters continually seek nostrums and exercises for improving their bodies. One practiced Yogi, another became a physical cultist, a third went on periodic fasts; others seek out lotions, vitamins, and other means of improving their endurance, alertness, and punching power.

"You have to live up to being a fighter." This phrase justifies their deprivations and regulated living. There is also a cult of a kind of persevering courage, called a "fighting heart," which means "never admitting defeat." The fighter learns early that his exhibited courage—his ability, if necessary, to go down fighting—characterizes the respected, audience-pleasing boxer. He must cherish the lingering hope that he can win by a few more punches. One fighter was so severely beaten by another that the referee

[5] *Ring*, July, 1950, p. 45.

[6] Merton has noted that, while our culture encourages the people of lower standing to orient their conduct toward wealth, it denies them opportunities to get money in the framework of accepted institutions. This inconsistency results in a high rate of deviant behavior (Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* [Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949], p. 137).

stopped the bout. The brother of the beaten fighter, a former fighter himself, became so outraged that he climbed into the ring and started to brawl with the referee. In another instance a boxer incurred a very severe eye injury, which would have meant the loss of his sight. But he insisted on continuing to fight, despite the warnings of his seconds. When the fight was stopped, he protested. This common attitude among boxers is reinforced by the demands of the spectators, who generally cheer a "game fighter." Thus the beaten fighter may become a "crowd-pleaser" and may get matches despite his defeat. On the other hand, some fighters who are influenced by friends, by wives, or by sheer experience recognize that sustained beatings may leave permanent injuries and voluntarily quit when they are beaten. But the spirit of the code is that the boxer continue to fight regardless of injuries. "If a man quits a fight, an honest fight," claimed one fighter, "he has no business there in the first place."

Fighters who remain in the sport are always hopeful of occupational climbing. This attitude may initially be due to a definite self-centeredness, but it is intensified by the character of boxing. Boxing is done by single contestants, not by teams. Emphasis is on the boxer as a distinct individual. The mores among boxers are such that fighters seldom admit to others that they are "punchy" or "washed-up."[7] One fighter said: "You can tell another fighter to quit, but you can't call him punchy. If you do, he'll punch you to show you he still has a punch." He has to keep up his front.

Further, the boxer is involved in a scheme of relationships and traditions which focus upon building confidence. The boxing tradition is full of legends of feats of exceptional fighters. Most gymnasiums have pictures of past and present outstanding boxers on the wall, and identification with them comes easy for the incoming fighters. Past fights are revived in tales. Exceptional fighters of the past and present are compaired and appraised. Second, the individual boxer is continually assured and reassured that he is "great" and that he is "coming up." As a result, many fighters seem to overrate their ability and to feel that all they need are "lucky breaks" to become champions or leading contenders. Many get self-important and carry scrapbooks of their newspaper write-ups and pictures.

The process of stimulating morale among fighters is an integral accompaniment of the acquisition of boxing skills and body conditioning. The exceptions are the part-time fighters who hold outside jobs and who are in the preliminary ranks. They tend to remain on the periphery of the boxing culture and thus have a somewhat different perspective on the mobility aspects of the sport.[8]

Since most bouts are unpredictable, boxers usually have superstitions which serve to create confidence and emotional security among them. Sometimes the manager or trainer uses these superstitions to control the fighter. One fighter believed that, if he ate certain foods, he was sure to win, because these foods gave him strength.[9] Others insist on wearing the same robe in which they won their first fight: one wore an Indian blanket when he entered the ring. Many have charm pieces or attribute added importance to entering the ring after the opponent. Joe Louis insisted on using a certain dressing-room at Madison Square Garden. Some insist that, if a woman

[7] Because of the changing character of boxing at the present time, promoters or managers may sometimes tell fighters that they are "through"; but fighters, as we have indicated, seldom make these appraisals of other fighters.

[8] Since the number of local bouts have declined with the advent of television, many preliminary fighters and local club fighters are compelled to work at outside jobs in order to meet their daily expenses.

[9] According to boxing folklore, a former heavyweight champion, Max Baer, was stimulated into action by his trainer who gave him a mixture called "Go Fast," which presumably had the properties of making a "tiger" out of the one who drank it. The suggestive effects of this drink were so great that Baer knocked out his opponent. Thereafter, he demanded it in subsequent fights. This suggestive play also proved effective with a former middleweight champion, Ken Overlin. The drink itself was composed of distilled water and a little sugar.

watches them train, it is bad luck. One fighter, to show he was not superstitious, would walk under a ladder before every fight, until this became a magical rite itself. Consistent with this attitude, many intensify their religious attitudes and keep Bibles in their lockers. One fighter kept a rosary in his glove. If he lost the rosary, he would spend the morning before the fight in church. Although this superstituous attitude may be imported from local or ethnic culture, it is intensified among the boxers themselves, whether they are white or Negro, preliminary fighters or champions.

When a fighter likes the style, punch, or movement of another fighter, he may wear the latter's trunks or one of his socks or rub him on the back. In training camps some fighters make a point of sleeping in the bed that a champion once occupied. For this reason, in part, some take the names of former fighers. All these practices focus toward the perspective of "filling the place" or taking the role of the other esteemed fighter. Moreover, many fighters deliberately copy the modes of training, the style, and the general movements of role-models.

Since fighters, in the process of training, become keyed to a finely balanced physical and emotional condition and frequently are irritable, restless, and anxious, they also grow dependent and suggestible. The superstitions and the reassuring statements of the trainer and manager both unwittingly and wittingly serve to bolster their confidence.

Before and during the bout, self-confidence is essential. Fighters or their seconds try to unnerve the opponent. They may try to outstare him or may make some irritating or deflating remarks or gestures. In the ring, tactical self-confidence is expressed in the boxer's general physical condition and movements. His ability to outslug, to outspar, or to absorb punishment is part of his morale. The ability not to go down, to outmaneuver the other contestant, to change his style in whole or in part, to retrieve his strength quickly, or to place the opponent off-balance inevitably affect the latter's confidence. A fighter can *feel* whether he will win a bout during the early rounds, but he is always wary of the dreaded single punch or the unexpected rally.

Boxers become typed by their style and manner in the ring. A "puncher" or "mauler" differs from a "boxer" and certainly from a "cream puff," who is unable to hit hard. A "miller," or continual swinger, differs from one who saves his energy by fewer movements. A "butcher" is recognized by his tendency to hit hard and ruthlessly when another boxer is helpless, inflicting needless damage. A "tanker" is one who goes down easily, sometimes in a fixed fight or "set-up." The "mechanical" fighter differs from the "smart" fighter, for among the "smart" fighters are really the esteemed fighters, those who are capable of improvising and reformulating their style, of devising original punches and leg movements, of cunningly outmaneuvering their opponents, and of possessing the compensatory hostility, deadly impulsiveness, and quick reflexes to finish off their opponents in the vital split second.

Boxers have to contend with fouls and quasi-fouls in the ring. At present, these tactics seemingly are becoming more frequent. They may have to contend with "heeling," the maneuver by which the fighter, during clinches, shoves the laced part of his glove over the opponent's wound, particularly an "eye" wound, to open or exacerbate it, with "thumbing" in the eye, with "butting" by the head, with having their insteps stepped on hard during clinches, with punches in back of the head or in the kidneys, or with being tripped. These tactics, which technically are fouls, may be executed so quickly and so cleverly that the referee does not detect them. When detected, the fighter may be warned or, at worst, may lose the round. The boxers are thus placed in a situation fraught with tension, physical punishment, and eventual fatigue. They may be harassed by the spectators. Their protection consists of their physical condition and their acquired

confidence. Moreover, the outcome of the fight is decisive for their status and self-esteem.[10]

The boxer's persistent display of aggression is an aspect of status. Thus his aggression becomes impersonal, although competition is intense. Thus two boxers may be friends outside the ring, but each will try to knock the other out in a bout, and after the bout they may be as friendly as competition permits. Furthermore, the injury done to an opponent, such as maiming or killing, is quickly rationalized away by an effective trainer or manager in order to prevent an access of intense guilt, which can ruin a fighter. The general reaction is that the opponent is out to do the same thing to him and that this is the purpose of boxing: namely, to beat the opponent into submission. The exception is the "grudge fight," in whch personal hostility is clearly manifest.

In a succession of bouts, if the fighter is at all successful, he goes through a fluctuating routine, in which tension mounts during training, is concentrated during the fight, and is discharged in the usual celebration, which most victorious fighters regard as their inevitable reward. Hence many boxers pursue a fast tempo of living and spend lavishly on clothes, women, gambling, and drink, practices seemingly tolerated by the manager and encouraged by the persons who are attracted to boxers. Many boxers experience intense conflict between the ordeals of training and the pursuits of pleasure.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND SOCIAL MOBILITY

Boxers comprise a highly stratified occupation. Rank is determined by their rating in a weight division, by their position in a match, and by their status with stablemates who have the same manager. Annually, for each weight division, fighters are ranked. The champion and about twenty leading contenders are listed on top.[11] The other fighters are listed into "A," "B," and "C" categories. Many local preliminary fighters are not listed. Only the first twenty contenders and the "A" category seem to have any importance. Of 1,831 fighters listed for 1950, 8.8 per cent comprised the champion and leading contenders; 16.9 per cent were in the "A" category; 74.3 per cent were in the "B" and "C" categories.

To determine the vertical mobility of fighters, the careers of 127 fighters were traced from 1938 onward.[12] Of these, 107, or 84.2 per cent, remained in the local preliminary or semiwindup category. Eleven boxers, or 8.7 per cent, became local headliners, which may be in the "A" category. They had been professional boxers for an average of almost eight years. Eight boxers, or 7.1 per cent, achieved national recognition, that is, among the first ten leading contenders. They also had been professionals for an average of almost eight years. One fighter became champion after twelve years in the ring.

The boxers who remain in the sport believe that they can ascend to the top because of the character of the boxing culture, in which the exceptional boxer is emphasized and with whom the aspiring boxer identifies. When the boxer ceases to aspire, he quits or becomes a part-time boxer. Yet the aspiring hopes of many boxers are not unfounded, because climibng in the sport does not depend upon ability only and also can be a result of a "lucky break."

RELATIONSHIPS OF THE BOXER

Boxers live in a wide social milieu of trainers, managers, and promoters. The boxer and trainer usually form the closest

[10] Some defeated boxers, as a result of physical fatigue and self-recrimination, lapse into a condition resembling combat exhaustion or anxiety. They react by uncontrollable crying spells, tantrums, and random belligerency. The restoration of their confidence is crucial for subsequent fights. Some trainers and managers are quite skilled in accomplishing it.

[11] Data taken from *Ring*, February, 1951.

[12] These computations were made by following the fighters in every issue of *Ring* from 1938 on. This magazine lists all the fights for every month.

relationships in the boxing milieu. At one time, many managers were trainers, too; and a few owners of local gymnasiums still combine these roles, but their number has declined. Furthermore, the relationships between boxer and trainer are becoming increasingly impersonal. Consequently, the careful training and social intimacy which characterized the conditioning of many boxers by trainers in the past has also declined.[13]

Generally, the specialized trainer or trainer-manager represents the authority-figure to the boxer, transmits boxing skills to him, and becomes his anchor point of emotional security. The trainer's relationship with the boxer becomes crucial to his development. The effective trainer polishes his skills, compels him to train regularly, and distracts him from worrying about the fight, and he can control him by withdrawing praise or can restore his morale when he has lost. For example, a trainer reviewed a lost fight to his charge so skilfully that the boxer began to believe that his opponent had won by a few lucky punches. Had he averted these "lucky" punches, the fighter felt that he would have won. His confidence restored, he renewed his training with added vigor and determination.

The trainer may be of distinct help to the boxer during the bout. Frequently his "second," he may advise him of his opponent's weaknesses and of his own faults. In addition, he can be a continuing source of confidence to the fighter. A fighter recalled that before a bout his trainer became ill. He felt alone and somewhat diffident when the fight began. He regained his confidence in the third round, when he felt that his opponent could not hurt him. Since the trainer can become so emotionally close to the fighter, he can help or hinder him, depending upon his insight and knowledge of boxing. Though very important to the fighter, the trainer is not a powerful figure in the boxing hierarchy, and some trainers are as exploited as are fighters by the managers.

One boxer has characterized managers as follows: "Some managers are interested in the money first and in the man second; other managers are interested in the man first." Our observations lead us to infer that the vast majority of managers at the present time are in the first category. They regard boxing as a business and the fighter as a commodity and are concerned mainly with making money. To do so, they are compelled to please the promoters and to sell their fighters' abilities to the promoters. Unless the manager is also a trainer, he is not concerned with the techniques of boxing, except to publicize his charge and to arrange matches which will bring the most revenue.

While the boxer devotes his aggressions to training and fighting, the manager slants his aggressions to machinations for better matches and for more money. Having few illusions about the fight business, acquainted with and often accepting its seamier side, he conforms to the standard managerial pattern of having the advantage over "his" boxers in every way. First, managers are organized into a guild, and, though some managers will try to steal boxers from one another, they usually bar fighters who run out on managers.[14] (One boxer, on the other hand, tried to organize fighters into a union. His efforts were squelched quickly, and he was informally blackballed from fighting in New York City.) Second, many managers try to keep their fighters financially and, if possible, emotionally tied to them. Some managers will encourage fighters to borrow money from them and usually

[13] "One of the troubles with boxing is what I call assembly line training. There are too few competent trainers and most of them have too many fighters to train. For the most part the boxers look upon training as a necessary evil. . . . [In the past], hours were spent on perfecting a movement—a feint, the proper tossing of a punch, the art of slipping a blow successfully. [This] marked the difference between a skilled craftsman and a lumbering wild-swinging tyro" (Al Buck, "Incompetency the Cause," *Ring*, September, 1950, p. 22).

[14] The managers' guild also serves in part as a kind of collective protection against promoters.

will not discourage them from squandering their earnings. One manager stated characteristically: "It's good to have a fighter 'in you' for a couple of bucks." By having fighters financially indebted to them, they have an easy expedient for controlling individuals who are unusually headstrong. Some fighters are in the continual process of regarding every fight as an essential means for clearing their debts.

Legally managers cannot receive more than one-third of the fighters' purses, but many do not conform to this rule. Frequently, they take one-half the purse, or they may put their fighters on a flat salary and get the rest. Some managers tell their preliminary fighters that the purse was less than it was actually and thus keep the rest for themselves.

Furthermore, many managers abuse their fighters so as to make money quickly. They may overmatch them with superior fighters, "rush" them into too many fights, force them to fight when they are out of condition, and hint that the fight is "fixed" and instruct them indirectly to lose. A few managers will match their fighters in another state when they are barred in one state because of injuries; they will obtain matches before the required sixty days have elapsed after their fighters have been knocked out. Fighters may be severely hurt, even ruined, by these tactics.

Some managers, however, are concerned mainly with building up their fighters and doing everything possible to develop their maximum ability; but these managers are in the minority. In short, managers have no informal standards to protect their boxers and are guided chiefly by their own personal considerations in these activities.

Since many ruthless individuals and petty racketeers who know little about boxing are increasingly drawn into this sport with the prime purpose of making money quickly, boxers tend to have little, if any, protection from managers except that provided by boxing commissions, whose rules can be evaded without difficulty. Moreover, it is extremely difficult for a boxer to climb or get important matches unless he has an effective manager.

THE BOXER AND THE PROMOTER

The boxer's relationship with the promoter is usually indirect. Yet the promoter is the most influential person in the boxing hierarchy. He is primarily a showman and businessman, emotionally removed from the fighter, and regards him chiefly as a commodity. His aim is to get the most from his investment. Thus the "show" comes first, regardless of the boxer's welfare. To insure his direct control over many boxers, the promoter, who legally cannot be a manager, may appoint one or a series of "managers" as "fronts" and thus get shares of many boxers' earnings, as well as controlling them. Furthermore, he can reduce the amount of the fighter's share because the nominal manager will not bargain for a larger share. In effect, most boxers are relatively helpless in dealing with promoters, especially at the present time, because of the monopolistic character of boxing.

When a potentially good fighter wants to meet leading contenders, the manager may have to "cut in" the promotor or "cut in" some other manager who has connections with the promoter. Thus the mobility of the fighter depends in large part upon the manager's relationship to the promoter. When the manager does not have this acceptable relationship and is unwilling to "cut in" a third party, he will not get the desired matches.[15]

Since the promoter is concerned primarily with attracting a large audience, he tries to select and develop fighters who will

[15] E.g., an outstanding light-heavyweight contender is unable to get a title match, although one whom he has defeated will get the match. He was slighted because his manager has not signed with the International Boxing Club. His manager has stated: "The I.B.C. dictates who fights who and when and where. They're big business. But I'll fight; I'm trying to keep the independents [boxers and managers] in business" (*Time*, July 9, 1951, pp. 58–59).

draw customers.[16] Thus the fighter must have "crowd-pleasing" qualifications in addition to ability. In this connection, the race and ethnic group play a part. A good white fighter is preferred to a good Negro fighter; and in large cities, such as New York and Chicago, a Jewish fighter is considered highly desirable because the majority of fight fans are Jewish and Italian. Despite the efforts of promoters to attract white fighters, especially Jewish fighters, few Jewish fighters have emerged because the role-models and practices in the local Jewish communities have changed. Even Negro fighters, despite their dominance of the sport in quality and quantity of fighters, are increasingly turning to other sports because the role-models are slowly shifting.[17]

The fighter whom a promoter does select for grooming can easily be made mobile once he has shown crowd-pleasing tendencies. He can be, as it were, "nursed" to the top by being matched with opponents who are easy to beat or by meeting "set-ups" who are instructed to lose. Thus he builds up an impressive record and is ready for big-time fights. Hence, it is difficult to tell how competent a fighter is on his early record alone, for his record may be designed for publicity purposes. When a fighter has won all or nearly all of his early matches and then loses repeatedly to leading contenders, he has been "nursed" to the top by the promoter, unless the fighter has incurred an injury in one of his later fights. In these ways the promoter can influence decisively the occupational career of the boxer.

[16] The tastes of contemporary fight fans is directed mainly toward punchers rather than boxers. In the past, clever boxers were highly appreciated.

[17] "In 1937 when [Joe] Louis won the crown from Jimmy Braddock, every Negro boy in all corners of the country worshipped him. Their thoughts centered on boxing and boxing gloves. . . . The boys who once worshipped Louis as boxer have gone daffy about a baseball hero, Jackie Robinson. . . . The eyes of the boys who once looked upon Joe Louis with pride and envy and wanted to emulate him, now are focussed on Jackie Robinson and other top-notch ballplayers" (Nat Loubet, "Jackie Robinson's Rise Blow to Boxing," *Ring*, September, 1950, p. 5).

EFFECT UPON THE BOXER

The punitive character of boxing, as well as the social relationships in the boxing milieu, affects the boxer-participants during and after their careers in the ring.

First, the physical effects of boxing, which are intrinsic to the sport, operate to the boxer's detriment. Although boxers may cultivate strong bodies, the direct and indirect injuries from this sport are very high. In addition to the deaths in the ring, one estimate is that 60 per cent of the boxers become mildly punch-drunk and 5 per cent become severely punch-drunk.[18] The severely punch-drunk fighter can be detected by an ambling gait, thickened or retarded speech, mental stereotypy, and a general decline in efficiency. In addition, blindness and visual deficiency are so pervasive that eye injuries are considered virtually as occupational casualties, while misshaped noses and cauliflower ears are afflictions of most boxers who are in sport for five or more years. Despite these injuries, attempts to provide safeguards, such as headguards, have been opposed by the fans and by many boxers because such devices presumably did not "protect" and did not fit into their conceptions of virility and presumed contempt for punishment.[19]

Second, the boxing culture tends to work to the eventual detriment of the boxer. Many boxers tend to continue a particular fight when they are hopelessly beaten and when they can become severely injured. Many boxers persist in fighting when they have passed their prime and even when they have been injured. For example, one boxer, blind in one eye and barred from fighting in one state, was grateful to his manager for getting him matches in other

[18] Arthur H. Steinhaus, "Boxing—Legalized Murder," *Look Magazine*, January 3, 1950, p. 36.

[19] Some precautions have been innovated recently for the boxer's protection, such as the thickness of the padding on the floor of the ring or the absence of protrusions or sharp corners in the ring.

states. Another old-time boxer has admitted characteristically: "It's hard to quit. Fighting gets into your blood, and you can't get it out." Many fighters try to make one comeback, at least, and some fight until they are definitely punch-drunk.

Boxers find further that, despite their success in the sport, their careers terminate at a relatively early age.[20] Since their physical condition is so decisive to their role, when they feel a decline in their physical prowess, they tend also to acquire the premature feeling of "being old." This attitude is reinforced by others in the sport who refer to them as "old men," meaning old in the occupation. Since boxing has been the vocational medium of status attainment and since they have no other skills to retain that status, many boxers experience a sharp decline in status in their postboxing careers. As an illustration, of ninety-five leading former boxers (i.e., champions and leading contenders), each of whom earned more than $100,000 during his ring career, eighteen were found to have remained in the sport as trainers or trainer-managers; two became wrestlers; twenty-six worked in, "fronted for," or owned taverns;[21] two were liquor salesmen; eighteen had unskilled jobs, most commonly in the steelmills; six worked in the movies; five were entertainers; two owned or worked in gas stations; three were cab-drivers; three had newsstands; two were janitors; three were bookies; three were associated with the race tracks (two in collecting bets and one as a starter); and two were in business, one of them as a custom tailor. In short, the successful boxers have a relatively quick economic ascent at a relatively young age in terms of earning power. But the punitive character of the sport, the boxers' dependence upon their managers, and their carefree spending during their boxing careers contribute to a quicker economic descent for many boxers. Their economic descent is accompanied by a drop in status and frequently by temporary or prolonged emotional difficulties in readjusting to their new occupational roles.[22]

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[20] Although the boxing myths emphasize the exceptions who fought past the age of forty—e.g., Bob Fitzsimmons fought until he was about fifty-two—the average fighter is considered "old" after he is thirty years of age. At present, some "old" fighters are still successfully active—e.g., Joe Louis and "Jersey Joe" Walcott, who are thirty-seven years old. In addition to being exceptions, their successful participation in the ring is also a result of the fact that few new heavyweights are entering boxing.

[21] Since successful boxers retain a reputation in their respective neighborhoods after they have quit the sport, some businessmen use their names as "fronts" for taverns or lounges. Hence it was difficult to find out whether the boxers themselves owned the taverns. In five cases they did not, although the taverns were in their names.

[22] One former champion said: "I like to hear of a boxer doing well after he leaves the ring. People think all boxers are punchy. We have a bad press. After I left the ring, I had a devil of a time telling people I wasn't punchy." The Veterans Boxing Association, an organization of former boxers, have protested occasionally against radio programs which present what they consider a false stereotype of the former boxer.

THE CAREER OF THE CHICAGO PUBLIC SCHOOLTEACHER[1]

HOWARD S. BECKER

ABSTRACT

The careers of Chicago teachers exhibit "horizontal" movement among positions at one level of the school-work hierarchy in terms of the configuration of the occupation's basic problems presented by each rather than vertical movement between several such levels. One major career pattern consists in moving from the lower-class school in which careers usually begin; another consists in adjusting, over a period of years, to the problems of such schools. Having settled in a school, the teacher may be upset by changes in neighborhood structure or in the administrative personnel with whom she deals.

The concept of *career* has proved of great use in understanding and analyzing the dynamics of work organizations and the movement and fate of individuals within them. The term refers, to paraphrase Hall, to the patterned series of adjustments made by the individual to the "network of institutions, formal organizations, and informal relationships"[2] in which the work of the occupation is performed. This series of adjustments is typically considered in terms of movement up or down between positions differentiated by their rank in some formal or informal hierarchy of prestige, influence, and income. The literature in the field has devoted itself primarily to an analysis of the types, stages, and contingencies of careers, so conceived, in various occupations.[3] We may refer to such mobility through a hierarchy of ranked positions, if a spatial metaphor be allowed, as the *vertical* aspect of the career.

By focusing our attention on this aspect of career movement, we may tend to overlook what might, in contrast, be called the *horizontal* aspect of the career: movement among the positions available at one level of such a hierarchy. It need not be assumed that occupational positions which share some characteristics because of their similar rank in a formal structure are identical in all respects. They may, in fact, differ widely in the configuration of the occupation's basic problems which they present. That is, all positions at one level of a work hierarchy, while theoretically identical, may not be equally easy or rewarding places in which to work. Given this fact, people tend to move in patterned ways among the possible positions, seeking that situation which affords the most desirable setting in which to meet and grapple with the basic problems of their work. In some occupations more than others, and for some individuals more than others, this kind of career movement assumes greater importance than the vertical variety, sometimes to such an extent that the entire career line consists of movement entirely at one level of a work hierarchy.

The teachers of the Chicago public schools are a group whose careers typically tend toward this latter extreme. Although it is possible for any educationally qualified teacher to take the examination for the position of principal and attempt ascent through the school system's administrative hierarchy, few make the effort. Most see their careers purely in teaching, in terms of movement among the various schools in the

[1] Paper read at the Institute of the Society for Social Research held in Chicago, June 8–9, 1951. The material presented here is part of a larger study reported in "Role and Career Problems of the Chicago Public School Teacher" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago), 1951.

[2] Oswald Hall, "The Stages of a Medical Career," *American Journal of Sociology*, LIII (March, 1948), 327.

[3] See Everett C. Hughes, "Institutional Office and the Person," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIII (November, 1937), 404–13; Oswald Hall, *op. cit.*, and "Types of Medical Careers," *American Journal of Sociology*, LV (November, 1949), 243–53; and Melville Dalton, "Informal Factors in Career Achievement," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVI (March, 1951), 407–15.

Chicago system.[4] Even those attempting this kind of vertical mobility anticipate a stay of some years in the teacher category and, during that time, see that segment of their career in much the same way. This paper will analyze the nature of this area of career movement among teachers and will describe the types of careers found in this group. These, of course, are not the only patterns which we may expect to find in this horizontal plane of career movement. It remains for further research in other occupations to discern other career varieties and the conditions under which each type occurs.

The analysis is based on interviews with sixty teachers in the Chicago system. The interviewing was unstructured to a large extent and varied somewhat with each interviewee, according to the difficulty encountered in overcoming teachers' distrust and fear of speaking to outsiders. Despite this resistance, based on anxiety regarding the consequences of being interviewed, material of sufficient validity for the analysis undertaken here was secured through insisting that all general statements of attitude be backed up with concrete descriptions of actual experience. This procedure, it is felt, forced the interviewees to disclose more than they otherwise might have by requiring them to give enough factual material to make their general statements plausible and coherent.

I

The positions open to a particular teacher in the system at a given time appear, in general, quite similar, all having about the same prestige, income, and power attached to them. This is not to deny the existence of variations in income created by the operation of seniority rules or of differences in informal power and prestige based on length of service and length of stay in a given school.

[4] The Chicago system has a high enough salary schedule and sufficient security safeguards to be safe as a system in which a person can make his entire career, thus differing from smaller school systems in which the teacher does not expect to spend her whole working life.

The fact remains that, for an individual with a given amount of seniority who is about to begin in a school new to her, all teaching positions in the Chicago system are the same with regard to prestige, influence, and income.

Though the available teaching positions in the city schools are similar in formal characteristics, they differ widely in terms of the configuration of the occupation's basic work problems which they present. The teacher's career consists of movement among these various schools in search of the most satisfactory position in which to work, that being the position in which these problems are least aggravated and most susceptible of solution. Work problems arise in the teacher's relations with the important categories of people in the structure of the school: children, parents, principal, and other teachers. Her most difficult problems arise in her interaction with her pupils. Teachers feel that the form and degree of the latter problems vary considerably with the social-class background of the students.

Without going into any detailed analysis of these problems,[5] I will simply summarize the teacher's view of them and of their relation to the various social-class groups which might furnish her with students. The interviewees typically distinguished three class groups: (1) a bottom stratum, probably equivalent to the lower-lower and parts of the upper-lower class,[6] and including, for the teacher, all Negroes; (2) an upper stratum, probably equivalent to the upper-middle class; and (3) a middle stratum, probably equivalent to the lower-middle and parts of the upper-lower class. Three major kinds of problems were described as arising in dealings with pupils: (1) the problem of *teaching*, producing some change in the child's skills and knowledge which

[5] Later papers will provide detailed analysis and documentation of the statements made in this and the following paragraph.

[6] The class categories used in this estimate are those used by W. Lloyd Warner and Paul Lunt in *The Social Life of a Modern Community* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941).

can be attributed to one's own efforts; (2) the problem of *discipline*, maintaining order and control over the children's activity; and (3) the problem of what may be termed *moral acceptability*, bringing one's self to bear some traits of the children which one considers immoral and revolting. The teacher feels that the lowest group, "slum" children, is difficult to teach, uncontrollable and violent in the sphere of discipline, and morally unacceptable on all scores, from physical cleanliness to the spheres of sex and "ambition to get ahead." Children of the upper group, from the "better neighborhoods," were felt to be quick learners and easy to teach but somewhat "spoiled" and difficult to control and lacking in the important moral traits of politeness and respect for elders. The middle group was considered to be hard-working but slow to learn, extremely easy to control, and most acceptable on the moral level.

Other important problems arise in interaction with parents, principal, and colleagues and revolve primarily around the issue of authority. Parents of the highest status groups and certain kinds of principals are extremely threatening to the authority the teacher feels basic to the maintenance of her role; in certain situations colleagues, too, may act in such a way as to diminish her authority.

Thus, positions at the teaching level may be very satisfactory or highly undesirable, depending on the presence or absence of the "right" kind of pupils, parents, principal, and colleagues. Where any of these positions are filled by the "wrong" kind of person, the teacher feels that she is in an unfavorable situation in which to deal with the important problems of her work. Teachers in schools of this kind are dissatisfied and wish to move to schools where "working conditions" will be more satisfactory.

Career movement for the Chicago teacher is, in essence, movement from one school to another, some schools being more and others less satisfactory places in which to work. Such movement is accomplished under the Board of Education's rules governing transfer, which allow a teacher, after serving in a position for more than a year, to request transfer to one of as many as ten other positions. Movement to one of these positions is possible when an opening occurs for which there is no applicant whose request is of longer standing, and transfer takes place upon approval by the principal of the new school.

The career patterns which are to be found in this social matrix are not expected to be typical of all career movements of this horizontal type. It is likely that their presence will be limited to occupational organizations which, like the Chicago school system, are impersonal and bureaucratic and in which mobility is accomplished primarily through the manipulation of formal procedures.

II

The greatest problems of work are found in lower-class schools and, consequently, most movement in the system is a result of dissatisfaction with the social-class composition of these school populations. Movement in the system, then, tends to be out from the "slums" to the "better" neighborhoods, primarily in terms of the characteristics of the pupils. Since there are few or no requests for transfer to "slum" schools, the need for teachers is filled by the assignment to such schools of teachers beginning careers in the Chicago system. Thus, the new teacher typically begins her career in the least desirable kind of school.[7] From this beginning two major types of careers were found to develop.

The first variety of career is characterized by an immediate attempt to move to a "better" school in a "better" neighborhood. The majority of interviewees reporting first assignment to a "slum" school had already made or were in the process of mak-

[7] Further documentation of this point may be found in Miriam Wagenschein, "Reality Shock" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago), 1951, and in John Winget's Ph.D. thesis, "Ecological and Socio-Cultural Factors in Teacher Inter-school Mobility."

ing such a transfer. The attitude is well put in this quotation:

When you first get assigned you almost naturally get assigned to one of those poorer schools, because those naturally are among the first to have openings because people are always transferring out of them to other schools. Then you go and request to be transferred to other schools nearer your home or in some nicer neighborhood. Naturally the vacancies don't come as quickly in those schools because people want to stay there once they get there. I think that every teacher strives to get into a nicer neighborhood.

Making a successful move of this kind is contingent on several factors. First, one must have fairly precise knowledge as to which schools are "good" and which are not, so that one may make requests wisely. Without such knowledge, which is acquired through access to the "grapevine," what appears to be a desirable move may prove to be nothing more than a jump from the frying pan into the fire, as the following teacher's experience indicates:

When I put my name down for the ten schools I put my name down for one school out around ——— ["nice" neighborhood]. I didn't know anything about it, what the principal was like or anything, but it had a short list. Well, I heard later from several people that I had really made a mistake. They had a principal there that was really a terror. She just made it miserable for everyone. . . .

But I was telling you about what happened to me. Or almost did. After I had heard about this principal, I heard that she was down one day to observe me. Well, I was really frightened. If she had taken me I would have been out of luck, I would have had to stay there a year. But she never showed up in my room. . . . But, whatever it was, I was certainly happy that I didn't have to go there. It just shows that you have to be careful about what school you pick.

Second, one must not be of an ethnic type or have a personal reputation which will cause the principal to use his power of informal rejection. Though a transferee may be rejected through formal bureaucratic procedure, the principal finds it easier and less embarrassing to get the same result through this method, described by a Negro teacher:

All he's got to do is say, "I don't think you'll be very happy at our school." You take the hint. Because if the principal decides you're going to be unhappy, you will be, don't worry. No question about that. He can fix it so that you have every discipline problem in the grade you're teaching right in your room. That's enough to do it right there. So it really doesn't pay to go if you're not wanted. You can fight it if you want, but I'm too old for that kind of thing now.

This has the effect of destroying the attractive qualities of the school to which transfer was desired and of turning choice in a new direction.

Finally, one must be patient enough to wait for the transfer to the "right" school to be consummated, not succumbing to the temptation to transfer to a less desirable but more accessible school:

When I got assigned to ——— [Negro school], for instance, I went right downtown and signed on ten lists in this vicinity. I've lived out here for twenty-five years and I expect to stay here, so I signed for those schools and decided I'd wait ten years if necessary, till I found a vacancy in the vicinity.

The majority of teachers have careers of this type, in which an initial stay in an undesirable "slum" school is followed by manipulation of the transfer system in such a way as to achieve assignment to a more desirable kind of school.

Thirteen of the interviewees, however, had careers of a different type, characterized by a permanent adjustment to the "slum" school situation. These careers were the product of a process of adjustment to the particular work situation, which, while operating in all schools, is seen most clearly where it has such a radical effect on the further development of the career, tying the teacher to a school which would otherwise be considered undesirable. The process begins when the teacher, for any of a number of possible reasons, remains in the undesirable school for a number of years. During this stay changes take place in the teacher and in the character of her relations with

other members of the school's social structure which make this unsatisfactory school an easier place in which to work and which change the teacher's view of the benefits to be gained by transferring elsewhere. Under the appropriate circumstances, a person's entire career may be spent in one such school.

During this initial stay changes take place in the teacher's skills and attitudes which ease the discomfort of teaching at the "slum" school. First, she learns new teaching and disciplinary techniques which enable her to deal adequately with "slum" children, although they are not suited for use with other social-class groups:

> Technically, you're not supposed to lay a hand on a kid. Well, they don't, technically. But there are a lot of ways of handling a kid so that it doesn't show—and then it's the teacher's word against the kid's, so the kid hasn't got a chance. Like dear Mrs. G——. She gets mad at a kid, she takes him out in the hall. She gets him stood up against the wall. Then she's got a way of chucking the kid under the chin, only hard, so that it knocks his head back against the wall. It doesn't leave a mark on him. But when he comes back in that room he can hardly see straight, he's so knocked out.

Further, the teacher learns to revise her expectations with regard to the amount of material she can teach and learns to be satisfied with a smaller accomplishment; a principal of a "slum" school described such an adjustment on the part of her teachers:

> Our teachers are pretty well satisfied if the children can read and do simple number work when they leave here. . . . They're just trying to get these basic things over. So that if the children go to high school they'll be able to make some kind of showing and keep their heads above water.

She thus acquires a routine of work which is customary, congenial, and predictable to the point that any change would require a drastic change in deep-seated habits.

Finally, she finds for herself explanations for actions of the children which she has previously found revolting and immoral, and these explanations allow her to "understand" the behavior of the children as human, rather than as the activity of lunatics or animals:

> I finally received my permanent assignment at E——. That's that big colored school. Frankly, I wasn't ready for anything like that. I thought I'd go crazy those first few months I was there. I wasn't used to that kind of restlessness and noise. The room was never really quiet at all. There was always a low undertone, a humming, of conversation, whispering, and shoving. . . . I didn't think I would ever be able to stand it. But as I came to understand them, then it seemed different. When I could understand the conditions they were brought up in, the kind of family life and home background that they had, it seemed more natural that they should act that way. And I really kind of got used to it after awhile.

At the same time that these changes are taking place in the teacher's perspectives, she is also gradually being integrated into the network of social relations that make up the school in such a way as to ease the problems associated with the "slum" school. In the first place, the teacher, during a long stay in a school, comes to be accepted by the other teachers as a trustworthy equal and acquires positions of influence and prestige in the informal colleague structure. These changes make it easier for her to maintain her position of authority vis-à-vis children and principal. Any move from the school would mean a loss of such position and its advantages and the need to win colleague acceptance elsewhere.

Second, the problem of discipline is eased when the teacher's reputation for firmness begins to do the work of maintaining order for her: "I have no trouble with the children. Once you establish a reputation and they know what to expect, they respect you and you have no trouble. Of course, that's different for a new teacher, but when you're established that's no problem at all."

Finally, problems of maintaining one's authority in relation to parents lessen as one comes to be a "fixture" in the community and builds up stable and enduring relationships with its families: "But, as I

say, when you've been in that neighborhood as long as I have everyone knows you, and you've been into half their homes, and there's never any trouble at all."

The "slum" school is thus, if not ideal, at least bearable and predictable for the teacher who has adjusted to it. She has taken the worst the situation has to offer and has learned to get along with it. She is tied to the school by the routine she has developed to suit its requirements and by the relationships she has built up with others in the school organization. These very adjustments cause her, at the same time, to fear a move to any new school, which would necessitate a rebuilding of these relationships and a complete reorganization of her work techniques and routine. The move to a school in a "better" neighborhood is particularly feared, desirable as it seems in the abstract, because the teacher used to the relative freedom of the "slum" school is not sure whether the advantages to be gained in such a move would not be outweighed by the constraint imposed by "interfering" parents and "spoiled" children and by the difficulties to be encountered in integrating into a new school structure. This complete adjustment to a particular work situation thus acts as a brake on further mobility through the system.

III

Either of these career patterns results, finally, in the teacher's achieving a position in which she is more or less settled in a work environment which she regards as predictable and satisfactory. Once this occurs, her position and career are subject to dangers occasioned by ecological and administrative events which cause radical changes in the incumbents of important positions in the school structure.

Ecological invasion of a neighborhood produces changes in the social-class group from which pupils and parents of a given school are recruited. This, in turn, changes the nature and intensity of the teacher's work problems and upsets the teacher who has been accustomed to working with a higher status group than the one to which she thus falls heir. The total effect is the destruction of what was once a satisfying place in which to work, a position from which no move was intended:

> I've been at this school for about twenty years. It was a lovely school when I first went there. . . . Of course, the neighborhood has changed quite a bit since I've been there. It's not what it used to be.
>
> The neighborhood used to be ninety, ninety-five per cent Jewish. Now I don't think there are over forty per cent Jews. The rest are Greek, Italian, a few Irish, it's pretty mixed now. And the children aren't as nice as they used to be.

Ecological and demographic processes may likewise create a change in the age structure of a population which causes a decrease in the number of teachers needed in a particular school and a consequent loss of the position in that school for the person last added to the staff. The effect of neighborhood invasion may be to turn the career in the direction of adjustment to the new group, while the change in local age structure may turn the career back to the earlier phase, in which transfer to a "nicer" school was sought.

A satisfactory position may also be changed for the worse by a change in principal through transfer or retirement. The departure of a principal may produce changes of such dimension in the school atmosphere as to force teachers to transfer elsewhere. Where the principal has been a major force upholding the teachers' authority in the face of attacks by children and parents, a change can produce a disastrous increase in the problems of discipline and parental interference:

> I'm tempted to blame most of it on our new principal. . . . [The old principal] kept excellent order. Now the children don't seem to have the same feeling about this man. They're not afraid of him, they don't respect him. And the discipline in the school has suffered tremendously. The whole school is less orderly now.

This problem is considered most serious when the change takes place in a "slum" school in which the discipline problem has

been kept under control primarily through the efforts of a strict principal. Reactions to such an event, and consequent career development, vary in schools in different social-class areas. Such a change in a "slum" school usually produces an immediate and tremendous increase in teacher turnover. A teacher who had been through such an experience estimated that faculty turnover through transfer rose from almost nothing to 60 per cent or more during the year following the change. Where the change takes place in a "nicer," upper-middle-class school, teachers are reluctant to move and give up their hard-won positions, preferring to take a chance on the qualities of the new incumbent. Only if he is particularly unsatisfying are they likely to transfer.

Another fear is that a change in principals will destroy the existing allocation of privilege and influence among the teachers, the new principal failing to act in terms of the informal understandings of the teachers with regard to these matters. The following quotations describe two new principals who acted in this fashion:

> He knows what he wants and he does it. Several of the older teachers have tried to explain a few things to him, but he won't have any part of it. Not that they did it in a domineering way or anything, but he just doesn't like that.

> He's a goodhearted man, he really means well, but he simply doesn't know anything about running a school. He gets things all mixed up, listens to people he shouldn't pay any attention to. . . . Some people assert themselves and tell him what to do, and he listens to them when he shouldn't.

These statements are the reaction of more strongly intrenched, "older" teachers who depend greatly for their power on their influence with the principal. Their dissatisfaction with a new principal seldom affects their careers to the point of causing them to move to another school. On the other hand, the coming of a new principal may be to the great advantage of and ardently desired by younger, less influential teachers. The effect of such an event on the career of a younger teacher is illustrated in this quotation:

> I was ready to transfer because of the old principal. I just couldn't stand it. But when this new man came in and turned out to be so good, I went downtown and took my name off the transfer list. I want to stay there now. . . . Some of those teachers have been there as long as thirty years, you see, and they feel like they really own the place. They want everything done their way. They always had things their way and they were pretty mad when this new principal didn't take to all their ideas.

Any of these events may affect the career, then, in any of several ways, depending on the state of the career development at the time the event occurs. The effect of any event must be seen in the context of the type of adjustment made by the individual to the institutional organization in which she works.

IV

This paper has demonstrated the existence, among Chicago schoolteachers, of what has been called a "horizontal" plane of career strivings and movements and has traced the kind of career patterns which occur, at this level, in a public bureaucracy where movement is achieved through manipulation of formal procedures. It suggests that studies of other occupations, in which greater emphasis on vertical movement may obscure the presence and effects of such horizontal mobility, might well direct their attention to such phenomena.

Further research might also explore in detail the relations between the horizontal mobility discussed here and the vertical mobility more prominent in many occupations. Studies in a number of occupations might give us answers to questions like this: To what extent, and under what circumstances, will a person forego actions which might provide him with a better working situation at one level of an occupational hierarchy in the hope of receiving greater rewards through vertical mobility? Hall notes that those doctors who become members of the influential "inner frater-

nity" undergo a "rigorous system of selection, and a system of prolonged apprenticeship. The participants in the system must be prepared to expect long delays before being rewarded for their loyalty to such a system."[8] We see that the rewards of eventual acceptance into this important group are attractive enough to keep the fledgling doctor who is apprenticed to it from attempting other ways of bettering his position. Turning the problem around, we may ask to what extent a person will give up possible vertical mobility which might interfere with the successful adjustment he has made in terms of horizontal career movement. A suggestion as to the kinds of relationships and processes to be found here comes from the following statement made by a high-school teacher with regard to mobility within the school system:

> That's one reason why a lot of people aren't interested in taking principal's exams. Supposing they pass and their first assignment is to some school like M—— or T——. And it's likely to be at some low-class colored school like that, because people are always dying to get out of schools like that. . . . Those schools are nearly always vacant, so that you have a very good chance of being assigned there when you start in. A lot of people I know will say, "Why should I leave a nice neighborhood like Morgan Park or South Shore or Hyde Park to go down to a school like that?" . . . These guys figure, "I should get mixed up with something like that? I like it better where I am."

Finally, we have explored the phenomenon of adjustment to a particular work situation in terms of changes in the individual's perspectives and social relationships and have noted the way in which such adjustment acted to tie the individual to the particular situation and to make it difficult for him to consider movement to another. We may speculate as to the importance and effects of such a process in the vertical mobility prominent in many occupations. One further research problem might be suggested: What are the social mechanisms which function, in occupations where such adjustment is not allowed to remain undisturbed, to bridge the transition between work situations, to break the ties binding the individual to one situation, and to effect a new adjustment elsewhere?

CHICAGO AREA PROJECT

[8] Hall, "The Stages of a Medical Career," p. 334.

THE RETAIL FURRIER: CONCEPTS OF SECURITY AND SUCCESS[1]

LOUIS KRIESBERG

ABSTRACT

The separation of the artisan functions into specialized manufacturing, distributing, and retailing occupations has occurred in most trades. In studying a contemporary example of this process, different occupational values were found to be associated with different occupational situations. Retail furriers operating custom fur shops think of the secure furrier in self-oriented terms; those operating business fur shops think of the secure furrier in customer-oriented terms. Because of the nature of success in the United States and the social organization of the retail fur trade, less difference was noted in their characterization of the successful furrier.

The retail furrier was formerly an artisan who made and repaired fur garments and sold them to the consumer. As in many other trades, this combination of functions is now being broken up. Improvements in the procurement and processing of pelts and increased efficiency in the manufacturing of fur coats have brought ready-made coats within reach of new segments of the population. Most consumers already have the habit of buying ready-made clothes, and consequently the inexpensive ready-made fur coats find a ready mass market. Some retail furriers have begun to sell ready-made coats to this new market and have become merchant furriers, others remain custom furriers.

This condition makes it possible to observe directly whether different concepts of occupational security and success are associated with significantly different occupational situations. By "occupational situation" I mean those prevailing and recurring contingencies, activities, and relationships which characterize a given trade, business, or profession.

The study of the relationship between concepts of security and success and different occupational situations is further facilitated by the circumstance that most of the retail furriers do not participate in any significant formal or informal institutional network which might inculcate traditional occupational values.[2]

Among the Chicago retail furriers different concepts of a secure furrier are associated with different types of occupational situations. These situations are important in the formation of concepts of occupational security. As against ideas of security, concepts of occupational success are less differentiated. The association between occupational situations and concepts of a successful furrier was not so striking because of the nature of success in America and the retail fur trade's lack of a highly integrated social organization.

COLLECTION OF DATA

The basic data were collected through fifty interviews with retail furriers whose businesses were chosen at random from the Chicago classified telephone directory.[3] Additional interviews were completed with persons in associated fields and with other retail furriers contacted informally.

It was noted at an early stage of the research that the dichotomy between custom

[1] This report is drawn from my Master's thesis, "Security and Success among Retail Furriers" (University of Chicago, 1950), under the direction of Everett C. Hughes and Harvey Smith.

[2] Studies of other occupational groups indicate the importance of such institutional factors; see, e.g., Roethlisberger and Dickson, *Management and the Worker* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1946); and Oswald Hall, "The Informal Organization of Medical Practice" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, 1944).

[3] A retail furrier is defined as an individual who is owner or part owner of a retail fur business, a business in which two-thirds or more of the gross revenue comes from the sale, repair, or servicing of furs, sale of which is made directly to the consumer. Approximately 540 fur establishments in Chicago met this definition in 1949.

and merchant enterprises was an oversimplification. To some extent the size of the business enterprise cuts across that distinction; therefore, size of business was also used in characterizing types of business situations. All the interviews in the sample were divided into three categories: (1) the custom furriers, (2) the merchant furriers, and (3) the business furriers, consisting of large-custom and large-merchant furriers. The business furriers are considered one group because, whether the fur business sells ready-made or custom-made coats, in large concerns most of the entrepreneurs do little shop work and assume more managerial duties. The divisions were made on the basis of the dollar volume of business in 1948 and the ratio between the sales of ready-made coats and the sales of custom-made coats.[4]

TABLE 1

TYPES OF CHARACTERIZATIONS OF THE SECURE FURRIER BY TYPES OF RETAIL FURRIERS

TYPE OF FURRIER	TYPE OF CHARACTERIZATION				
	Self-oriented	Business-oriented*	Customer-oriented	No Security†	Totals
Custom furrier....	7	1	2	2	12
Business furrier...	1	3	13	5	22
Totals.....	8	4	15	7	34‡

* A business-oriented characterization of a secure furrier describes the secure furrier strictly in terms of his business either in regard to the attributes of the business or in regard to his policies in the business. Possessions and attributes of the furrier and customer attitudes are not given importance. For example, some furriers said the furrier who has a fur business that has a good physical plant, a good staff, and complete services is secure or that the furrier who buys conservatively and does not overstock is secure.

† Some furriers insisted that no furrier was secure, saying, "The only secure furrier is a dead one."

‡ The sixteen merchant furriers in the sample are not included in this table.

THE FINDINGS

To simplify the exposition of the findings, I will compare only the custom and the business furriers. The merchant furriers are omitted because they represent too complex a case for presentation here. Most of them had previously been custom furriers, and they hold the same concepts of success and security as do the custom furriers. Those merchant furriers who were never custom furriers do have different concepts, but their small number makes generalization questionable.

A clear difference was found between the custom furriers' and the business furriers' ideas of the secure furrier (see Table 1). The custom furriers emphasize two qualities: knowledge of the skills of the fur trade and the possession of money.[5] If business becomes slack, they reason, the furrier who is a *mechanic* (one who can cut and sew furs) will always be able to survive on the money he receives for his labor in repairing gar-

[4] Those fur establishments which sell more ready-made coats than custom-made coats and whose sales of new coats make up 20 per cent or more of their annual sales are considered merchant fur shops; the others are considered custom fur shops. Thus fur shops that do only repair work are considered custom fur shops. Merchant fur shops with annual receipts of $75,000 or more in 1948 are considered large-merchant shops; custom fur shops with annual receipts of $50,000 or more in 1948 are considered large-custom fur shops.

[5] The entire interview form was used to determine these characterizations, but particular attention was given to answers to such questions as "What kind of furrier would you call secure?" "For you, what things give you security in your business?" "What are the threats to your security?" In analyzing the furriers' concepts of a successful furrier, similar questions were used, and also the question, "For example, whom do you consider successful? Why?"

ments. Or the furrier with savings can survive on them until his business revives.

These two themes have important and mutually related elements in common. First, neither attribute is directly dependent upon anyone's attitude; the attributes may be possessed independently of the consent or views of others. At the same time, knowledge of the skills of the trade and the possession of money are personal rather than business attributes. Even the money is felt to belong to the furrier himself—some custom furriers explicitly state that the money should be in the bank under the furrier's own name rather than under the business name. The furrier's security is independent of his business or even of the security of the business. The custom furriers feel that, if the business fails, the furrier who can survive by working somewhere else or by living on his savings is secure. From the context in which these attributes are discussed, it is clear that this is the sense in which they are used. In short, the custom furriers consider the secure furrier to be the one who is independent and self-sufficient because of his personal possessions—it is a self-oriented concept.

The business furriers hold a decidedly different concept. Most of them emphasize the retail furrier's relations to his customers; they say, for example, that the business that has been established a long time, which provides good workmanship, which advertises well, or which has an honest policy will have a good reputation, and the furrier who owns such a business is the secure furrier.

The business furriers' customer-oriented concept of security differs in significant respects from that of the custom furriers. First, the business furriers place the basis of security in the minds of others, in the attitudes of their customers. Not the skill of the furrier's hands but the good will of the hand that holds the checkbook is the basis of security. Second, it is often the business which is considered to possess the good reputation. Or the furrier's reputation is bound up with his business, so that, if he leaves it, his personal reputation is no longer a source of security; thus, even those business furriers who think of a good reputation as a personal possession think of it as important in safeguarding the business. The custom furriers mention attributes of the furrier that make the furrier secure; the business furriers mention attributes of the furrier that make his business secure.

When we turn from the retail furriers' concepts of a secure furrier to their concepts of a successful furrier, the differences between the types of furriers being compared are not so great. There is more ambiguity and overlapping of themes; although it is difficult to distinguish types, different tendencies are noted.

Nearly all the furriers interviewed believe that there is a public definition of a successful person or businessman and feel constrained to acknowledge it. They hold that most people in America have a clear definition of success and that this definition awards success to only a few: those who have accumulated the greatest amount of money and built up the largest businesses. However, the custom furriers and the business furriers tend to evaluate this definition differently.

Most of the custom furriers accept wealth and the size of the business as the unquestioned criteria of a successful furrier, and then may add, "I gave up trying to be a success." Many therefore consider the standards unjust and attempt, inconsistently, to hold up "what most people say" as a foil to their support of good craftsmanship or of moral values as more important than success. Some of these furriers maintained, in parts of the interview, that occupational success, as the public defined it, could be achieved only by dishonesty and that they just could not be dishonest. As one furrier said, "If you want to fool someone, you can make lots of money, but you should be honest with customers." A few custom furriers consistently reject the public definition claim that honesty and good workmanship are the only real measures of success.

Essentially, however, the custom furriers disavow great personal concern with success. They say they are not successful by the

usual standards and they will not become so; surviving, "making a living," is success enough as far as they are concerned. This is true of the younger furriers interviewed in the group as well as the older ones.

Most of the business furriers, like the custom furriers, accept what they consider to be the public definition of success as the criterion of a successful furrier. They do so, however, with less misgiving. They may deride the furrier who would use another definition. "The furrier who says he's been honest all the time and that's why he's not made any money—well, he's just feeling sorry for himself."

Some of the business furriers, however, do not accept such a definition and consistently assert that a good reputation among customers and colleagues is the real criterion of occupational success. The furrier who has the respect of the people from whom he buys and to whom he sells is the only furrier who is successful, they say.

ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

Two questions are raised by these findings. First, why is the association between concepts of security and occupational situations so marked, compared with the association between concepts of success and occupational situations? Second, are there any differences in the occupational situations of the custom and the business furriers that could be related to their different concepts of a secure and of a successful furrier?

To answer the first question we must consider certain general aspects of the concepts of success and security in American society. Around the idea of success clings the notion of personal achievement and that the manner in which a person rises is of great importance. Yet the marks of success—symbols such as residence, occupation, and particularly money—can, in some cases, be got without personal achievement or without following an ethical path. Definitions of success may emphasize either the idea of achievement or the marks of success; but frequently they are attempts at mediating between the two.[6]

On the other hand, security (excluding psychological security) means, simply, freedom from monetary concerns and anxiety. Security is considered to be a state in which the individual and his immediate family are assured of an "adequate" standard of living. The absence of conflict in the characterization of security tends to eliminate discussions concerning its definition.

This difference between success and security in large part accounts for the difference in the characterizations of a secure and of a successful furrier. The descriptions of the successful furrier are concerned with what success "really is," that is, attempts are made to define success. On the other hand, the descriptions of the secure furrier are concerned with the attributes that would give the furrier security.

Other differences between success and security help to explain why the furriers' concepts of occupational security are more closely associated with his business situation than are his concepts of occupational success. In general, in our society success is dependent upon the recognition of others. If a definition of occupational success is to differ from the definition of success in general, held by the public, it must have colleague support; it must be upheld by others in the occupation. Security, however, is personal and cannot be so easily evaluated by the public. An individual or a group can decide when security has been attained without seeking confirmation from others. It is therefore easier for members of an occupational class to develop standards of security than standards of success. This is particularly the case in an occupational class such as the retail furriers, most of whom do not participate in any colleague groups which would lend support to their standards of success.

A final difference between success and security is relevant here. The monetary and other symbols of success are easily recognized and generally acknowledged, and the importance of success is emphasized; it is

[6] Cf. Gustav Ichheiser, "Ideology of Success and the Dilemma of Education," *Ethics*, LII (January, 1943), 137–41.

therefore necessary to deal with common standards. On the other hand, the attributes that provide security are somewhat unique to each occupation; consequently, members of each occupational class are in a better position than is the general public to denote the characteristics of security for their occupation. As they share common occupational contingencies, we would expect considerable convergence in their ideas of how to solve recurring problems and attain security.

We must turn to other findings in the study to answer the second question: Are there any differences in the occupational situations of the custom and the business furriers that may be related to the differences in their concepts of occupational security and success?

Three conditions in the custom furriers' occupational situation are of particular pertinence to their concept of a secure furrier. First, custom furriers have little informal contact with other furriers, and they operate their businesses independently of any significant institutional framework. Their dependence, for example, upon wholesalers is less than is the case with the other retail furriers because their income comes mostly from repair work and they require a small stock of pelts to make the custom-made coats they do sell. Consequently, the custom furriers are likely to feel dependent upon their own abilities and possessions more than upon the way others regard them. This attitude is reinforced by the occupational experience of the custom furriers, for they developed their businesses largely by their own efforts.

A second significant condition of the custom furriers' situation is the small size of their businesses. The custom furriers have no regular employees, and the shops are often located in the same place as the living quarters; thus business overhead is small and difficult to distinguish from personal overhead. The business, therefore, is not likely to appear as an ongoing, impersonal object that must be maintained. The custom furriers' businesses are personal appendages; it is the way they make a living more than the object from which they draw a living.

The third condition is perhaps most significant. The custom furriers earn their living from the work they do on furs. They expend relatively little effort to keep their customers or to find new ones; their clientele is built up gradually by word-of-mouth recommendations, and most of their customers stay with them. Their customers are particularly concerned with the quality and workmanship of fur garments; unable to judge these very well, the customers are dependent upon the judgment of the furriers and must have confidence in them. The customers and furriers are bound together and form a stable business relationship. The customers' patronage is almost taken for granted by the custom furriers. Their interest is in the work they produce; they feel that their ability to do the fur work is their main concern.

The custom furriers' concern with production problems and their artisan orientation is also related to their dislike of what they consider to be the public's definition of success. To artisans, success in terms of money and size of business has little meaning. The older custom furriers' failure to achieve any large degree of success as measured in those terms is perhaps the basic ground for their evaluating the definition negatively. Perhaps for the younger custom furriers, too, the struggle to survive leaves little time or hope for plans of publicly defined success; a house, an automobile, and a well-clothed and well-fed family are all they expect and therefore want. The public definition, whose authenticity they acknowledge, is beyond their reach.

The business furriers' occupational situation is very different. First, the business furriers are not primarily concerned with the production of fur garments; they are more concerned with merchandising problems. Whether the business furriers are large-merchant furriers who must sell coats that they have already purchased or large-custom furriers with employees who manufacture garments, in so far as they are concerned with production problems it is from a managerial viewpoint.

Second, the business furriers are more dependent upon a large volume of sales and

repairs; this intensifies their dependence upon a large number of customers or a very large transient trade. The need to hold a large number of customers or constantly to attract new ones increases their concern with the attitudes of their customers. Furthermore, the business furriers' customers are of a type different from those of the custom furriers'. The sale of ready-made coats and the concomitant emphasis upon fashion and price has made comparison of fur coats possible. The customers of the new mass fur market are accustomed to "shopping around" for articles, and the sale of ready-made coats now makes this possible in furs also. Customers who visit many fur shops weaken their ties with any single furrier, and at the same time they make the furriers more conscious of their judgments. It is this type of customer who frequents the business fur shops.

Third, the business furriers have a large number of year-round employees, and the high rental of their downtown offices and stores also contribute to high year-round operating expenses. These business expenses force concern with the maintenance of the business. Such a business can more easily become an object which can possess attributes and from which they feel they draw a living.

Lastly, among some of the business furriers there is more social contact with other furriers and many of them are active in the Associated Fur Industries of Chicago, a trade association for the several fur industries. The importance of sales of new garments and the volume of such sales place the business furriers in frequent contact with wholesalers and salesmen; the extensive use of credit also makes the business furriers feel that their security is dependent upon their reputation.

Some of these factors may be seen to be related to the business furriers' concepts of a successful furrier. Their participation in some form of social organization with other members of the fur trade makes colleague judgment of success possible and at the same time gives it importance. Their interest in merchandising places emphasis upon profits and volume of business, and most of the furriers do accept a monetary definition of success. More significantly, many of the business furriers are fairly successful in terms of a monetary definition of success and would therefore be less likely to reject it than would the custom furriers. They can afford to accept what they consider to be the public's criteria of success.

CONCLUSIONS

Concepts of occupational success and security have been analyzed as if the occupational situations of the custom and business furriers were the determining factor in their development. However, we have not discussed alternative hypotheses. Alternatives for which data were collected were tested and found to be less satisfactory than the one discussed so far.[7] Factors like age and type of occupational training were not found to be associated with different concepts of a secure furrier. Differences in cultural background, important in other areas,[8] were not found to be crucial in the problem studied here. Religious differences were found to be unrelated to concepts of security and success. It was found that American-born furriers are more likely to characterize the secure furrier in customer-oriented terms, while foreign-born furriers use self-oriented terms. This is probably due to the fact that the business fur shops tend to be owned by American-born furriers. The small number of cases makes refined statistical analysis unreliable, but the association between occupational situations and characterizations of a secure furrier appears to hold when place of birth is held constant.

Although the occupational situation ap-

[7] Selection of different business forms by different personality types was not directly studied, and the evidence is inadequate to make any judgment on the importance of this factor. Personality differences, perhaps related to occupational orientations, are indicated in occupational selection by the studies of Anne Roe, "Personality and Vocation," *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*, Ser. II, IX, No. 7, 257–67; and William E. Henry, "The Business Executive: The Psychodynamics of a Social Role," *American Journal of Sociology*, LIII (1949), 286–91.

[8] See, e.g., Joel Seidman, *The Needle Trades* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1942), *passim.*

pears to explain the association shown in Table 1, that is not the entire explanation. The customer-orientation of the business furriers was emphasized; yet in the early 1800's the merchants are said to have been unconcerned with the customers' good will; customer-businessmen relations were hard-fought contests.[9] Those merchants would not be considered customer-oriented as the term is used here. It would seem that the concepts of the secure furrier held by the furriers are not structured by their occupational situation alone. Perhaps society provides alternatives, and the occupational situation favors one or another of them. Many other values and concepts held by the furriers and by the people with whom they come into contact affect the occupational situation itself, as well as the furriers' occupational values. Those general concepts and values are derived from many sources and may follow independent development.

Nevertheless, this case study strongly suggests that under certain conditions the occupational situation is important in the formation of concepts of occupational security. The process outlined below has been implicit in the discussion so far. The furrier, faced with recurring problems, feels that his problems are not unique but are endemic in the occupation; his own solutions are seen as the expediently and morally proper ones to achieve security.[10] His methods of achieving security are dependent upon the kind of problems he must meet and the alternatives open to him, in his business situation. Therefore, furriers in different business situations differ in their characterizations of a secure furrier. But more than this was noted. Furriers in the same business situation varied their characterizations of a secure furrier; we saw that from these variations common elements could be abstracted and a basic orientation recognized. This appears to have been possible because the two business situations analyzed are oriented toward different sets of problems, so that the conditions of the occupational situations form distinctive integrated situations. The orientation of the occupational situation is reflected in the orientation of the retail furriers, underlying their characterizations of the secure furrier. Thus the custom furrier, in a situation of individual effort on production problems, has a self-oriented conception of security; the business furrier, in a situation in which he must attract and hold "shopping customers" for an ongoing enterprise, has a customer-oriented conception of security.[11]

The same general process is operative in the formation of the furriers' concepts of success, but, because of the nature of success in America and of the retail furriers' social organization, it is much less marked.[12] The attainment of success depends upon the recognition of an audience and is difficult to withdraw from public judgment. The orientation of success is therefore not so easily limited by the occupational situation.

Further research is necessary to better delimit the importance of the occupational situation under varying conditions. Such research would best take the form of a genetic study of an occupational class, tracing the

[9] Edgar L. Heermance, *The Ethics of Business* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1926), pp. 51–63.

[10] Some furriers, more familiar with the variety of retail furriers, sometimes suggest that other retail furriers may have to possess other characteristics to be secure. But these furriers make it clear that these furriers are not so secure, "really," as they are.

[11] This analysis has much in common with those advanced by Emory S. Bogardus, "The Occupational Attitude," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, VIII (January–February, 1924), 171–77; by John Dewey, "Interpretation of Savage Mind," *Psychological Review*, IX (May, 1902), 217–30; and by Thorstein Veblen, *The Instinct of Workmanship* (New York: Viking Press, 1914) and *The Theory of Business Enterprise* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904). However, they emphasized the automatic transference of habitual work patterns to ways of thinking. The analysis made here comes closer to Karl Mannheim's and his emphasis on the development of ways of thinking adequate to meet persistent situations, in *Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction*, trans. Edward Shils (London: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1944).

[12] It may be that the business situations of the custom and business furriers do not differ in ways that are significant in forming different orientations of success, since they are both *business* situations wherein profit considerations play an important role.

development of occupational concepts in the members of the class. Further research is also needed to determine whether the orientations found associated here with custom (or artisan) and business (or large-merchandising) occupations are typical. Research investigating the extent to which occupational values are generalized to other values would add significance to all studies of occupational values. For example, the question may be asked, are the business furriers more dependent upon the approbation of others for a general sense of security than are the custom furriers?[13]

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[13] A positive answer to the question would provide an additional explanatory factor for the findings that there is a growing deference to the views of others in our society (see, e.g., David Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950).

JANITORS VERSUS TENANTS: A STATUS-INCOME DILEMMA

RAY GOLD

ABSTRACT

The apartment-house janitor and a large group of his tenants are each in one of two possible situations of status-income dilemma. The middle-class tenants, whose incomes are below the janitor's, feel embittered toward him because his income permits him to obtain the costly status symbols they desire. The janitor resents being treated by them as their social inferior. He cites his substantial income, his professional behavior and attitudes, and his honorable self-conceptions as the bases of his unrecognized claim to middle-class status. However, the persistency of his lowly reputation and the necessity to perform dirty work for the tenants block his upward mobility.

There is some kind of status relationship between the worker and the person served in almost any occupation where the two meet and interact. For example, when the salesperson and the customer meet, each brings to bear on the other valuations by which the other's status category can be tentatively ascertained. This tentative status designation enables each to make a rough judgment as to how to act toward the other person and as to how he thinks the other person will act toward him. If their association is resumed, their initial judgments strongly influence the character of their subsequent interactions. If they are separated by wide barriers of social distance, they may carry on an almost formal salesperson-customer relationship for years. Or their respective status judgments may be such that the status barriers are gradually penetrated. In any case, the status relationship between them is always present, unless it is resolved into an absolute equalitarian relationship. Likewise, in the case of the physician and his patients, the plumber and his customers, the minister and his parishioners, and in others, there is a status relationship of which both parties are more or less aware and which influences the pattern of their interactions. Such being the case, the nature and form of these status relationships can and should be studied wherever they occur.

The present example, which concerns the apartment-building janitor and his tenants, is a case study in such status relationships. The form these relationships have taken is that of a marked dilemma of status and income.

STATUS AND INCOME

The status-income dilemma may be expected to occur in two situations. One is that in which an individual earns too little to pay for the goods and services generally associated with his other social characteristics. The other is that in which he earns enough to pay for goods and services generally associated not with *his* other social characteristics but with those of members of higher social classes. When an individual in the first dilemma meets and interacts almost daily on a rather personal level with one in the second as, respectively, in the case of the tenant[1] and the apartment-building janitor, they develop an association whose form and content are of sociological interest.

The data in this article are based entirely upon interviews with janitors.[2] What results is a penetrating view of the janitor's conceptions of tenants and of his interpretations of their conceptions of him. Thus, we obtain an intimate understanding of the janitor's

[1] The term "tenant" herein refers to the housewife, as the janitor seldom comes in contact with the man of the house.

[2] Thirty-seven janitors were interviewed by the author during the fall of 1949 and winter of 1949–50. The interviews were open-ended, averaging about two and one-half hours in length. A verbatim record of the interview proceedings was kept. A complete report and discussion of interfindings is in "The Chicago Flat Janitor" (unpublished M.A. thesis, department of sociology, University of Chicago, 1950).

view of how he and tenants spar to resolve their respective dilemmas. Although many of the tenants may not be so sensitive as the janitor to this contest, it is safe to assume that, through his untiring efforts to play the game with his rules, the tenants are aware that he is agitating to change their traditional patterns of interaction.

In the early part of this century, before janitors in Chicago were unionized, they catered to virtually every whim of their employers and tenants in order to establish job security. Since they have become unionized, their duties have been greatly delimited, their wages increased, and their privileges extended to include a rent-free basement apartment in one of the larger buildings which they service. At present, they are required to fire the furnace to provide heat and hot water for the tenants, to remove the tenants' garbage regularly, to make minor emergency repairs, and to keep the building and grounds clean.

Having a history, the janitor also has a reputation. The tenant-public seems to look upon him as an ignorant, lazy, and dirty occupational misfit. There has developed a general belief that, if a man cannot do anything else successfully, he can always become a janitor. This stereotype has been perpetuated by the public because of a number of beliefs, principally the following: (1) many janitors are foreign-born and therefore strange and suspicious; (2) the janitor is always seen wearing dirty clothes, so the tenants seem to feel that he habitually disregards cleanliness; (3) the janitor lives in the basement, which symbolizes his low status; and (4) the janitor removes the tenants' garbage, a duty which subserves him to them. It is because the public has singled out these features in their view of the janitor that his ascribed status has been lowly. In the public's view it seems that the janitor merely is a very low-class person doing menial work for the tenants.

It is true that the performance of janitorial duties requires neither lengthy training nor a high order of mechanical or technical skills. However, the nature of the janitor's situation has led him to play roles and incorporate self-conceptions which frequently overshadow those which others expect of a combination caretaker and handy man. Because he does not work under direct supervision and can plan his work to suit himself, he feels that he is his own boss: he, alone, is in charge of the building and responsible for the safety of the tenants. After becoming proficient at making repairs for tenants, he magnifies his handy-man role into that of a master mechanic. Combining these two roles, he then sees himself as an entrepreneur who runs a cash business of attending to the tenants' service needs.

These roles, together with others which stem from the work situation, contradict the public's stereotyped view of the janitor. Being sensitive to these social conceptions, the janitor strives to gain the tenants' acceptance as a person who has risen above the disreputable fellow these conceptions describe. Toward this end he not only plays the role of a respectable, dignified human being but of one who has a very substantial income (about $385 per month in Chicago). In this setting it is evident that the janitor's social relationships with the tenants are of crucial importance to him. These relationships are pervaded by his persistent disowning of his unhappy occupational heritage and the justification of his claim to middle-class status.

So important are social relationships with the tenants that the janitor defines success in terms of them. As many janitors have pointed out:

> The most important thing about a janitor's work is that you have to know how to deal with people. Then, when you show the tenants that you have a clean character and are respectable, you can train them to be good tenants, that's what's really important in being a success.

Because the janitor attempts to realize his self when interacting with his tenants, his efforts to train them are actually channeled toward the establishment of relationships which support, rather than oppose, his self-conceptions. The "good" tenants support

his self-conceptions; the "bad" tenants oppose them.

It will be well now to examine the nature of these social relationships to determine how they give rise to the personal and social dilemmas which comprise the central theme of this discussion.

The janitor believes that, in general, tenants hold him in low esteem. Even the most friendly tenants maintain some social distance between the janitor and themselves. Tenants, generally, overlook his qualifications as an individual and see him only as a member of a low-status group. In their view he is merely an occupational type.[3] The most militant proponents of this view are the "bad" tenants.

There are two characteristics of a special group of "bad" tenants which are apposite to this presentation. These characteristics, jealousy and resentment, are descriptive of only those tenants who are embittered by the janitor's economic prowess. They are people whose incomes are usually below, but sometimes slightly above, the janitor's income. The janitor often refers to these tenants as "fourflushers." They live on the brink of bankruptcy, and he knows it.[4] Status symbols are very important to them. Unlike the janitor, they apparently strain their budgets to improve the appearance of their persons and their apartments. When they see the janitor's new car or television aerial, their idea of high-status symbols, it is almost more than they can bear. It violates their sense of social justice. In consequence of his high income, the janitor can acquire things which these tenants may interpret as a threat to the established social order.

The janitor's new car, parked conspicuously in front of the building, serves constantly to remind tenants of his pecuniary power. It draws the most criticism from the jealous tenants. Commenting on the tensions thereby engendered, Janitor No. 35 remarked:

> There is a certain amount of jealousy when janitors try to better themselves. A whole lot are jealous because the janitor makes more than they do. But they don't consider the time a janitor puts in. When I got my Dodge two years ago somebody said, "Huh, look at that fellow. He must be making the money or he wouldn't be buying a new car." I know one party, they think a janitor should be in working clothes all the time. Just because a janitor likes to go out in an auto and they don't have any, there is that feeling between janitor and the tenant, that's for sure.

Some of these fourflushers do own an automobile. But if the janitor's car is bigger and newer than theirs, they are extremely mortified. Janitor No. 33 experienced the wrath of such people:

> About a third of the tenants are very pleasant about it when they see my car, but the rest say, "Holy cripe, the janitor got a new car!" The same majority is the ones you are in trouble with all the time. They say, "How is the 'nigger' with the big car?" meaning I am a "nigger" because I got a Buick and my car is bigger than theirs.

The janitor finds that the jealous tenants are impossible to accommodate. They do not want to be accommodated by him. "No matter what you do," protested Janitor No. 14, "they squawk." Their animosity seems to know no bounds. They deliberately attempt to create trouble for the janitor by complaining about him to his employer.

Besides complaining about him, these tenants reveal their resentment of the janitor's mobility efforts by making nasty remarks to him. This was shown very clearly in a

[3] R. E. Park, "Behind Our Masks," *Survey Graphic*, LVI (May, 1926), 136: "Why is it that to the average American all Chinese like all Negroes look alike? It is because the individual man is concealed behind the racial type. The individual is there to be sure, but we do not meet him."

[4] In the boiler-room the janitor sorts out the noncombustible garbage from the combustible garbage, the former to be removed by a scavenger and the latter to be burned by him in the furnace. In the course of these sorting and burning operations he wittingly or unwittingly comes across letters and other things which serve to identify the different bundles or other forms of garbage accumulation. Thus, each of the tenants is readily identified by her garbage. What the garbage reveals about the tenant over a period of time enables the janitor to make intimate judgments about her.

conversation with Janitor No. 12 and his wife:

JANITOR: When we got our 10 per cent raise a short time ago, the tenants didn't like it. You see how nice this [first-floor] apartment looks. Well, there ain't another apartment in the building that's decorated as nice as this. I had all those cabinets in the kitchen tore out and got new ones put in. That brick glass and ventilator in the transom opening—I had it done. Tenants didn't like to see me do all that. They resent it.

INTERVIEWER: How do they show their resentment?

WIFE: Mostly by making snotty remarks. One woman told us that we shouldn't live in such a nice apartment on the first floor, that we should live in a hole [basement apartment] like other janitors. Then they are sarcastic in a lot of other ways. They just don't like to see us have a nice apartment and a new car. I guess they'd rather see us live like rats.

The basement apartment is symbolic of the janitor's subservient status. If he can arrange with his employer to obtain a first-floor apartment, there is nothing that the jealous tenants can do to stop him. They can only try to make life miserable for him.

Jealous tenants disdainfully address him as "Janitor," rather than using his given name. It is bad enough, from his standpoint, that all other tenants address him by his given name, thereby indicating his historically servile status. But these resentful tenants go further. They call him by his occupational name. Symbolically, their use of this "dirty" name means that they want their relationships with him to be as impersonal as possible. They want the janitor to be aware of the great social distance which he would dare to bridge. Janitor No. 14 commented on this form of address:

JANITOR: The bad ones squawk as long as they live. No matter what you do they squawk. They're the ones that don't call you by your name. They're a lower class of people, but they try to make you feel even lower than them.

INTERVIEWER: Why do they call you "Janitor"?

JANITOR: It's either out of stupidity or to make you think you are a slave to them—an underdog. Janitors get the same crap all over the city, I know.

These fourflushers who address him as "Janitor" are unalterably opposed to his efforts to better himself. The longer they live in the building, the worse their relationships with him become. This point was brought out by Janitor No. 4:

Boy, I'll tell you about one thing that happened to me last Christmas morning. This woman rings my bell when I'm out and gives an envelope to my wife to give to me. I passed by the back windows here a little while later and looked in like I always do to wave at the kid, and my wife called me in because she thought there must be a present in the envelope. So I went in and opened it up and there was a note inside that said, "I'll be home today so please keep the heat up." I was so mad I coulda booted her ass right over the fence if she was there. That's how the tenants get when they been living here too long. Most of them think they own the building, and you should do just what they want.

As Janitor No. 4 insisted, the fourflushers' unthinking demands for personal service, their utter disregard for the janitor's integrity and authority, and their possessiveness toward the building increase with their length of residence. The building becomes more and more like "home" to them, the longer they live there. "They can't afford to have a home and servants of their own," observed Janitor No 18, "so they try to treat the janitor as their servant." They like to think of him as a mobile part of the building, always at their beck and call. Still, the deep-seated animosities between these tenants and the janitor preclude any mutually satisfactory adjustment of their respective roles. Through the years they continue to be jealous and resentful of him. Meanwhile, he continues to resent their unco-operativeness and disrespect. The building becomes as much "home" to him as it does to them. But there is something about "home" that can never be remedied. From the standpoint of these fourflushers, that something is the janitor. From the janitor's point of view, that something is the fourflushers.

Turning now from janitors whose tenants have incomes that are marginal to theirs to

janitors whose tenants are plainly well-to-do, it is evident that there is a remarkable contrast in janitor-tenant relationships. The following conversation with Janitor No. 26 will serve as an introduction to this contrast:

INTERVIEWER: Some fellows have told me that many of their tenants resent their getting a new car or a television set. Have you ever come up against that?

JANITOR: That class of people don't live here, of course. The class of people you're talking about are making two hundred a month, don't have a car, and are lucky they're living. Yeah, I've met up with them. . . . People here aren't jealous if you got a new car. People here feel you have to have a car, like bread and butter.

Tenants whose incomes are clearly higher than the janitor's have no cause to be jealous of him. They do not compete with him for symbols of pecuniary power. There is more prestige attached to having an engineer in the building than to having a janitor, so they call him "the engineer." These people obviously do not have the status-income problems of the fourflushers who contemptuously address him as "Janitor." Clearly, then, tenants who are well-to-do have no need to make demands. As Janitor No. 17, many of whose tenants have incomes marginal to his, so penetratingly observed:

The people that don't have anything put up the biggest front and squawk a lot. The people who got it don't need any attention. I'd rather work for rich tenants. The ones we got here are middle ones. Those tenants that sing don't have a right to. . . . Some few tenants just got here from the Negro district. They were stuck there until they could find a place to move to. Man, they're real glad to be here! They don't give me no trouble at all.

Demonstrating remarkable insight, Janitor No. 17 pointed out that the "rich" tenants do not feel that they need attention from the janitor; that the "refugee" (like the poor) tenants feel that they are in no position to make demands; and that the fourflushers or "middle" (probably lower-middle) tenants are the most troublesome.

When a janitor works for many years in a building occupied by well-to-do tenants, it is not unusual that a genuinely warm relationship develops between him and these tenants. They probably come to see him as an old family employee, while he believes that he has been accepted for himself. As Janitor No. 26 asserted, "They feel they're no better than me—I'm no better than them, and they always invite me in for coffee or something like that." There is no problem in sharing identification of "home." The building is undisputedly "home" to both the the janitor and the "rich" tenants, because they most probably view their relationship with him as a status accommodation, which he interprets as an equalitarian relationship.

In the next section the status-income dilemma is illustrated in terms of the janitor's professional behavior and outlook, which are in marked contrast with the tenants' lack of respect for him.

PROFESSIONAL BEHAVIOR AND PROFESSIONAL ATTITUDES

It is likely that in every low-status occupation, where the worker associates with the customer, the workers meet with certain customer-oriented situations in which they typically behave in accordance with standards that people have traditionally called "professional." These low-status workers certainly do not label themselves "professionals," nor do others so label them. Yet, there is ample evidence that some of their behavior is ethically comparable to the behavior exhibited by members of the so-called "professions." R. E. Park, some twenty-six years ago, made similar observations of the tendency of even the lowest status occupations to become quasi-professions in some respects:

In the city every vocation, even that of a beggar, tends to assume the character of a profession and the discipline which success in any vocation imposes, together with the associations that it enforces, emphasizes this tendency—the tendency, namely, not merely to specialize, but to rationalize one's occupation and to develop a specific and conscious technique for carrying it on.[5]

[5] "Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the Urban Environment," *The City*, ed. R. E. Park (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925), p. 14.

While it is true that the janitor's self-conceptions are instrumental in forming the superstructure of his professional behavior, the foundation of such conduct is formed primarily out of situational requisites. This being the case, his status-income dilemma is intensified, because he is frequently called upon to act in a professional manner toward the disrespectful tenants. Thus, whether mainly out of choice (expression of self-conceptions) or out of necessity (fulfilment of situational requisites), the relationship between janitor and tenant sometimes assumes the character of that between professional and client.

The nature of the janitor's work leads him to find out a great deal about the personal lives of his tenants. He meets with many situations which force him to decide how much and to whom he should tell what he knows about them. Generally, he exercises scrupulous care in the handling of this intimate knowledge, as he considers himself to be intrusted with it in confidence.

The janitor gets some of his information from sources other than the tenants themselves. When he acts as an informant (e.g., for insurance checkers), he finds out a great deal about their personal affairs. One tenant tells him about another. The garbage reveals much about them. From these sources he acquires information of a very confidential nature.

The janitor also gets information directly from the tenants. They confide in him not only about illnesses but also about personal problems. As Janitor No. 20 remarked, "Some of them stop you and think they have to tell you if they got a toothache."

How the janitor dispenses his intimate knowledge about tenants was related by Janitor No. 32:

> If tenants want to know what's going on, they come to me about it. You hear and see a lot of things in your time. There are even times when you are requested to keep quiet. And there are times when you have to answer—for FBI and insurance inspectors. You can't tell them everything, either, you know. See and not see; hear and not hear—that's the best policy.

Like the bartender and the barber, whose ascribed occupational status beclouds the fact that they frequently share their customers' personal secrets, the janitor is placed in problematical situations requiring some kind of ethical rules. When it is understood that occupational problems which accrue from the same kinds of situations are basically the same without respect to status, then the similar receipt of confidences by the janitor, the lawyer, or the bartender becomes clear. These workers are, in this instance, in the kind of situation which requires them to protect the customer's personal secrets. Whether the disposition of these secrets involves as little as remaining silent or as much as stretching the truth, the workers protect their relationship with the customer by protecting his confidences. Likewise, in other given kinds of work situations which require the solution of ethical problems, the worker-customer relationship becomes overly complicated unless the worker makes and observes appropriate rules. Such ethical rules are not simply a matter of honorable self-conceptions or formalized professional codes. They are fundamentally a matter of situational requirements, irrespective of personal and occupational status.

Another area in which professional behavior is found concerns the janitor's relationships with overamorous tenants. Janitor No. 12 described what he considers to be the proper procedure for easing gracefully out of such a delicate predicament:

> Another thing about janitors—lots of women try to get you up in apartment just "to talk" or for some phony excuse. When you walk in they are on couch, ask you to sit down, and that means only one thing. When that happens to me and I begin to sweat, I know I better leave. Thing is not to refuse them so they get embarrassed, so I act dumb. I excuse myself and say I forgot about water running some place which I must shut off right away. It's hard to do, but it's best.

One can easily imagine hearing the bishop advise the young minister or the elderly doctor instruct the young doctor in a similar vein. The minister and the doctor must be prepared to meet such situations in a like

fashion. The janitor instructs tenants to call him for repairs only during daylight hours, except for what he considers to be genuine emergencies. In the same way, the physician teaches his patients to call him only during office hours, except for a bona fide emergency. Some janitors recognize the similarity to doctors' problems. As Janitor No. 19 observed:

> Did you ever stop to think that we have a lot in common with doctors? I used to meet them in the halls at all hours of the night. We'd kid each other about making emergency calls at all hours of the night and never getting through with work.

Not only the janitor and the physician but others who deal routinely with customers' emergencies have problems of the same kind.

Yet another cluster of work situations wherein the janitor exhibits professional behavior concerns those occasions when he is called upon to do mechanical work for the tenants. The most clear-cut evidence of professional behavior in this area was submitted by Janitor No. 11.

> Some of the repair work the tenant is responsible for and I'm supposed to charge for it. Well, if I replace some glass that costs me three and a half dollars, I may charge the tenant a half dollar or two dollars more for my labor, depending on how much she can afford. If it's a little thing and the tenant isn't well off, I won't charge her anything for it if she's supposed to pay.

The janitor's practice of charging for repairs on the basis of the customer's ability to pay is a high standard of service—quite in the tradition of the medical profession—and he knows it.

THE DILEMMA

The janitor's professional behavior, together with his substantial income, contradicts what he believes are his tenants' conceptions of him. His struggle to gain their respect is a struggle for status. His high standards of conduct constitute a way of favorably influencing their estimation of his worth. Still, he finds that tenants regard him as hardly more than *a janitor*. He strongly resents their failure properly to recognize him, particularly in the case of the fourflushers. As Janitor No. 18 bitterly remarked:

> They're the kind that are very important. They think you're a fireman—should drop everything and run to them. They adopt a superior attitude: "I'm the tenant and you're the janitor." Like the East and the West in that saying. Confidentially, a lot of us janitors could buy out most tenants. They put on airs and try to be bossy.

The janitor has a higher income than many of the tenants; yet, the latter "adopt a superior attitude." So he does considerable soul-searching to seek a satisfactory explanation of his relatively low status. The conversation which we had with Janitor No. 28 is in point:

> INTERVIEWER: What things are janitors touchy about?
>
> JANITOR: A lot of tenants figure he's just a goddamn janitor, a servant. Here [with "rich" tenants] it's not so bad. You say something to them and they [the "bad" tenants] say, "Hell, you're nothing but a janitor." Or when you're talking to even a working man and you tell him you're a janitor, he smiles—you know, people think there's nothing lower than a janitor. You get that feeling that they're looking down on you, because you're working for them. I know I feel that way sometimes. During the depression I was making better than most, so what the hell. It's good earned money.
>
> INTERVIEWER: Well, why do you say you get that feeling that they are looking down on you? Why do you feel so sensitive?
>
> JANITOR: In different places you hear people talk janitor this and janitor that, and they say they'd never be a goddamn janitor. So you think people here must say and think the same, but not to you. It makes you feel funny sometimes.

It is noteworthy that Janitor No. 28 does not reject his idea of the tenants' definition of a janitor. For that matter, virtually no other janitor does so either. To explain this, it is necessary to understand how the janitor relates himself to other janitors in terms of the occupational title.

The individual janitor strongly identifies himself with the name "janitor," despite his belief that tenants look down on janitors. Their view does not annoy him very much because he, too, looks down on *other* janitors.

He feels that he is different from and better than other janitors. So, when tenants (nonjanitors) speak disparagingly of janitors, he does not resent it because of the group solidarity in the occupation, for, in reality, there is little such solidarity. Rather he resents it because his self-conceptions are so involved in the name "janitor" and because the tenants fail to recognize his individual worth. Thus, when a janitor (No. 8) proudly states, "Tenants never treated *me* like a janitor," there is no doubt that he agrees with their definition of janitor but that he, by virtue of being singularly superior to other janitors, has been treated in accordance with his conception of himself.

This attitude of "different and better" may be characteristic of the members of any occupation (or other group) whose public reputation is one of censorious stereotypes. This attitude implies that the individual member agrees that most of his colleagues do have the characteristics attributed to them by the public. The interesting question is: Why does the member agree with the public? The study of janitors suggests that the answer is likely to be in terms of (1) the nature of the member's association with his colleagues (he probably knows only a few of the "better" ones) and (2) the status relationship between the member and the portion of the public he associates with in his work.

Although the individual janitor capably defends himself from the public's conceptions of janitors, he still must perform tasks which preclude advance to a higher occupational, hence social, status. The janitorial reputation refers to the members' personal characteristics and work habits. Closely related to, but distinguishable from, these alleged personal traits, are readily verified features of janitoring which involve dirty work (e.g., shoveling coal and removing garbage). Work is dirty when society defines it as such, that is, when society defines it as being necessary but undesirable or even repugnant. Middle-class people seem consciously to avoid such tasks. They apparently realize that the kind of work one does is often more important than one's income when it comes to getting established as a member of the middle class. Yet, in a materialistic society certain costly things, like a new automobile and a television set, become symbolic of high status, even to them. This accounts for the dilemma of the four-flushers.

But what about members of occupations which require the performance of dirty tasks? It seems that, like members of the janitorial occupation, they have the financial but lack the occupational qualifications for acceptance by the middle class. Speaking on this dilemma, Janitor No. 35 argued:

> A lot think they're better than the janitor because he has to take down their trash. Still the janitor makes more money. I believe the janitor *should* be making a lot more money than white-collar workers. After all, a janitor has a whole lot of responsibility and long hours.

Janitor No. 35, in summarizing the status-income dilemma, is painfully aware that tenants look down on the janitor. Their trash, the garbage, is undoubtedly the biggest single element in the janitor's continued low status. The removal of garbage is dirty work, incompatible with middle-class status. It causes the janitor to subserve the tenants, all of his individual attributes notwithstanding. The garbage symbolizes the dilemmas of the janitor-tenant relationship.

CONCLUSION

This account of the status-income dilemma suggests that, since high-prestige and high-income occupations are frequently distinguishable from one another, the *kind* of work a person does is a crucially qualifying factor in so far as his status possibilities are concerned. Viewed another way, the trend toward professionalization of occupations becomes an effort either to bring status recognition into line with high income or to bring income into line with high-status recognition. The janitor-tenant relationship has been graphically presented to call attention to a dilemma which is so prevalent that it is apt to be overlooked.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

SOCIAL MOBILITY AND OCCUPATIONAL CAREER PATTERNS*

II. SOCIAL MOBILITY

SEYMOUR M. LIPSET AND REINHARD BENDIX

ABSTRACT

The Oakland, California, labor-market study reinforces the findings of other studies that social mobility largely goes on within manual and nonmanual occupations rather than between them. A majority of 935 respondents, however, have held occupations in both categories at some time in their careers, though most shifts were temporary. The study also indicates that mobility into the nonmanual group on the part of manual workers is largely movement into self-employment.

UPWARD AND DOWNWARD MOBILITY

The interchange between manual and nonmanual occupations from the point of view of social mobility can most easily be shown by contrasting the proportion of time which those who work with their hands have spent in the nonmanual occupations with the proportion of time which nonmanual workers have spent as manual laborers.

TABLE 14

PERCENTAGE OF TIME SPENT IN OCCUPATIONAL DIVISIONS OTHER THAN PRESENT, BY PRESENT OCCUPATIONAL GROUP AND DIVISION

PRESENT OCCUPATIONAL GROUP AND DIVISION	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE OF TIME SPENT	
		In Manual Occupations	In Nonmanual Occupations
Professional	23	5.7	.....
Semiprofessional	19	13.4	.....
Own business	105	26.0	.....
Upper-white-collar	72	10.4	.....
Lower-white-collar	67	29.5	.....
Sales	42	21.2	.....
All nonmanual	343*	20.2	.....
Skilled	169	.....	9.3
Semiskilled	98	.....	13.5
Unskilled	44	.....	12.8
All manual	314*	.....	11.1

* These figures include 15 business executives and 3 manual (odd jobs) workers not shown separately. (All of the tables in this article reporting proportions of lifetime career patterns are based on males, aged thirty-one years or older. The younger workers in our sample are not considered in such tables.)

Though little confidence can be placed in the over-all contrast between 11.1 and 20.2 per cent, it is of interest that the range of variation in the two groups differs markedly. Those who hold manual jobs at present have worked for from only 9 to 13 per cent of their careers in nonmanual occupations. But those now in nonmanual occupations have spent from 5 to 29 per cent of their life-careers as manual workers. In a society in which the majority of individuals do *not* pass from the one category to the other, the instances where the crossing is made may be called cases of upward or downward mobility. These terms shall be used in the conventional sense, designating as upward mobile any individual who moves from manual to nonmanual jobs during a significant period of his work career.[13]

Although the use of this terminology is justified on the whole, the data reveal an important aspect of social mobility, in American society, which is essentially obscured by the terms. There is perhaps less doubt about upward than about downward mobility. If a person from a worker's family obtains jobs in the nonmanual occupations, then he is likely to have risen in the hierarchy of prestige even though, economically, he may have advanced little, or not at all. Our

* Part I of this report, "Stability of Jobholding," appeared in this *Journal*, January, 1952, pp. 366–74.

[13] These terms shall also be used when there is a significant shift between occupations within the manual or the nonmanual category, such as from unskilled to skilled or from lower-white-collar to professional.

data indicate that relatively little of this upward mobility is of a permanent character. On the other hand, it does not follow that those who are now in nonmanual occupations have been downward mobile because they have spent a portion of their careers as manual laborers. The test of a rise or fall in the socioeconomic hierarchy is clearly the permanence of the change. As already indicated, there is relatively little permanent crossing between the manual and nonmanual occupations among the respondents.

Table 15 indicates, however, that a temporary change from one to the other category occurs with considerably frequency. Significantly, the temporary crossings occur more frequently downward than upward. Workers in American society may well feel that their chances of a rise in socioeconomic status are slight. Yet those in the middle and upper brackets of the occupational hierarchy may continue to insist that ready opportunities for social and economic advancement exist, because from 40 to 80 per cent of their numbers have at one time or another worked in the manual occupations. While this is not the place to explore the subjective aspects of social mobility, we want to emphasize the importance of considering the impact of casual job experiences on the subjective appraisals of opportunities and on the presence or absence of subjective class identifications.

TABLE 15

PERCENTAGE WHO EVER WORKED IN OCCUPATIONAL DIVISION OTHER THAN PRESENT, BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUP AND DIVISION*

PRESENT OCCUPATIONAL GROUP AND DIVISION	NUMBER	RESPONDENTS EVER SPENDING TIME	
		In Manual Occupations	In Nonmanual Occupations
Professional	23	39.1	.....
Semiprofessional	19	52.6	.....
Own business	105	68.5	.....
Upper-white-collar	72	45.8	.....
Lower-white-collar	67	82.1	.....
Sales	42	64.3	.....
All nonmmanual	343†	62.4	.....
Skilled	169	.....	46.7
Semiskilled	98	.....	49.0
Unskilled	44	.....	40.9
All manual	314†	.....	46.8

* These figures include 15 business executives and 3 manual (odd jobs) workers not shown separately.

† The jobs included in these data *do not* include jobs held before completing school or university.

In using the conventional interpretations of the occupational hierarchy, two reservations must be made. Recent studies have shown that the occupation of an individual correlates highly with his "social placement" by members of the same community.[14] On the other hand, people's ideas about who belongs to the middle class or the working class are sufficiently vague and ideological to allow even some corporation vice-presidents to rank themselves as members of the working class.[15] Such findings demonstrate the difficulty of using an occupational classification as a basis for assessing upward or downward mobility. Differences in earnings can be objectively ascertained, but the social evaluation of a particular job or occupation is inevitably subjective. When an individual's work career is judged by his occupational rise or fall, it is so judged because occupational classification combines to some extent the economic with the prestige aspect of social class. But, in using data such as those in this study, whose subjective judgment of social mobility should be employed? Not the individual's, since he was not asked to evaluate his own mobility, or his associates', since that was not available. Hence we fall back on the general understanding of the differences between high- and low-status jobs, which is presumed to be accepted in the country as a whole. Such an understanding, in so far as it exists, is vague indeed, and in assessing the social mobility of the respond-

[14] See W. Lloyd Warner *et al.*, *Social Class in America* (Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1949).

[15] See Richard Centers, *The Psychology of Social Classes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949).

ents only crude distinctions can be made. A second reservation must be made. We speak of a lack of social mobility if an individual has remained within the same occupational group throughout his career. But this conflicts with the general understanding, however vague, which was referred to above. A man who owns his own business and who transforms it from a small store to a chain of stores in twenty years will be regarded as highly mobile, both economically and socially. Yet he would not be so described if the stability of an occupational career is the only criterion of mobility. At the same time it is impossible to consider each career in detail as long as the interest is in an analysis of general career patterns. This aspect of the problem subsequently will be taken into account by linking occupational career with income data and with the degree of mobility between jobs, areas, and industries.

TABLE 16

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP OF PRESENT JOB BY OCCUPATIONAL DIVISION OF PREVIOUS JOB

Occupational Division of Previous Job	Present Job							
	Professional and Semiprofessional		Own Business		Upper-White-Collar		Lower-White-Collar	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Nonmanual	193	89.8	207	55.5	91	89.2	534	74.5
Farm	.....	.....	12	3.2	1	1.0	10	1.4
Manual	22	10.2	154	41.3	10	9.8	173	24.1
Total	215	100.0	373	100.0	102	100.0	717	100.0
	Sales		Skilled		Semiskilled		Unskilled	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Nonmanual	243	70.2	135	13.6	167	16.7	73	17.3
Farm	7	2.0	21	2.1	47	4.7	32	7.6
Manual	96	27.7	839	84.3	786	78.6	316	75.1
Total	346	99.9	995	100.0	1,000	100.0	421	100.0

SPECIFIC AVENUES OF MOBILITY

Though 935 job histories provide a mass of information, this number is quickly reduced to insignificance when more than two or three breakdowns are attempted. It is, nevertheless, possible to analyze the upward and downward mobility of respondents in greater detail. "Areas" of high and of low mobility may first be distinguished on the basis of the previous tabulations of 4,530 job changes. Here again (Table 16) the pattern is similar to that evidenced in the total job-history data above. The self-employed reveal the greatest mobility from manual to nonmanual positions. Shifts from farm jobs are largely to manual labor, especially the unskilled and semiskilled positions. The lower-white-collar and sales positions are the main positions in which manual workers have an opportunity to secure other than self-employment, and these positions do not usually reflect immediate upward mobility. The professional, semiprofessional, business executive, and upper-white-collar positions are filled largely by persons who previously were in nonmanual positions. As one would expect, skilled positions are the most difficult manual jobs for nonmanual workers to secure.

It is difficult to estimate from the data

how much genuine social mobility is reflected in these tables, since persons changing from manual work to lower-white-collar and sales jobs or to small business may not actually be changing their status and income level by a great deal. The fact remains, however, that a considerable amount of such shifting does occur.

A. "BUREAUCRATIC" VERSUS "FREE-ENTERPRISE" MOBILITY

Table 16 suggests that the greatest social mobility occurs in the form of shifts into "own business" and that shifts into the white-collar occupation and sales rank next. These are the occupations of most of those who manage to pass from manual to nonmanual work. There is, however, a significant difference in the mobility patterns if "own business" is compared with the white-collar occupations. That is to say, the majority of persons in white-collar jobs have always been employed in such jobs, though 20 per cent of those employed in lower-white-collar occupations have previously worked with their hands. On the other hand, more than a third of the persons who own their business are "recruited" from the manual occupations.

It cannot be concluded that a person's work career is mobile if he has stayed throughout in the same occupational classification. He may be a white-collar worker at the end as well as at the beginning of his career, though he began as a salesclerk and ended as an executive vice-president. However, the study does not deal with this type of mobility here but rather with the two types of social mobility which are represented by the people who own their business and by those in the white-collar occupations, which may be called an "old" and a "new" type of mobility. To run a business of one's own is still a much-cherished ideal. But with the growth of large-scale organizations in all parts of American society it has lost some of its meaning, though its ideological appeal has not necessarily been weakened thereby. Many still cherish it, though their own careers show little evidence that "private enterprise" has had much significance for them personally. Mobile persons in the white-collar occupations are mobile in the bureaucratic manner; the qualities which lead to the promotion of the salaried employee are radically different from those which would make him a successful, independent businessman. The data reveal some significant differences between the idolized "free-enterprise" career and the bureaucratic career of the white-collar worker.

Until now these occupations have been

TABLE 17

SELECTED OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS* OF PRESENT JOB BY MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUP AND DIVISION OF PREVIOUS JOB

MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUP AND DIVISION OF PREVIOUS JOB	PRESENT JOB					
	Own Business		Upper-White-Collar		Lower-White-Collar	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Professional and semiprofessional	9	2.1	4	3.3	31	3.6
Own business	92	21.6	8	6.6	16	1.9
White-collar and sales	106	24.8	79	65.8	487	57.0
All manual	154	36.2	10	8.4	173	20.2

* For simplicity, a number of miscellaneous occupational groups have been excluded. This table is simply an excerpt from Table 10. The percentage figures are calculated for the whole group, but, since some occupational groups have been excluded, they do not add to 100 per cent.

considered in terms of "all previous" jobs, meaning the occupational background of any person who owned his business or did white-collar work, if only for three months. However, the degree of mobility which characterizes these career patterns can be more accurately assessed. Other data in this study reveal that the first job is an excellent predictor of the subsequent career.[16] Degree of social mobility may be described in terms of the "occupational distance" between the first and the present job.[17]

The "occupational distance" between first and present job is clearly greatest for business owners and executives, almost as great for the lower-white-collar workers, and least significant for persons in the upper-white-collar brackets. A number of other variables are associated with these differences. Business owners and executives are an older group than are the white-collar workers, 7 per cent of the first but 22 per cent of the second group being thirty years or under, while 53.9 per cent of the business owners and 43.3 per cent of the white-collar workers are forty-six years of age or older. The older age of the business owners, together with the fact that many of them have been in the manual occupations at various times, suggests that opportunities for the manual workers to turn businessmen open up in the middle and later years. In all other respects there is little difference between the mobility patterns of business owners or white-collar workers and those of the sample as a whole: mobility among jobs, occupations, and areas is greatest in the younger age groups and decreases with age.

TABLE 18

SELECTED OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS OF PRESENT JOB BY MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUP AND DIVISION OF FIRST JOB

MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUP AND DIVISION OF FIRST JOB	PRESENT JOB					
	Own Business		Business Executive and Upper-White-Collar		Lower-White-Collar and Sales	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Professional, semiprofessional, business owners, and executives	10	9.0	10	10.3	2	1.3
All white-collar and sales	38	34.2	61	62.9	75	48.7
All manual (including farm)	63	56.8	26	26.8	77	50.0
Total	111	100.0	97	100.0	154	100.0

The mobility of these three occupational groups, considered as a whole, is, however, quite striking. That is to say, between 40 and 50 per cent of business owners and white-collar workers have had four or more different occupations as well as six or more different jobs. Although this mobility is partly reflected in the answers to a number of questions posed in the study, it may be suggested that a further investigation of the contrast between proprietorship and bureaucratic careers would be worth while. Respondents were asked whether they had known of other available positions since they began their present jobs. Answers to this question presumably reveal something of a person's potential mobility in the recent past, since mobility depends in good part on

[16] This finding is compatible with the notable mobility across occupational lines which we discussed earlier.

[17] This does not take into account the upward and downward shifts which may have occurred in the course of an individual career.

his contacts. Presumably persons who knew of other available jobs are more mobile than those who knew of no job alternative since starting in their present positions.

More than half of the semiskilled and unskilled workers and of the business owners state that they have not known of other jobs since starting on the present one. All respondents in the nonmanual and skilled occupations have known of other jobs more often than business owners. It is true of course that "available job" means different things to the different occupations and that business owners in particular are not at all concerned with other jobs but rather with how to make profitable their present, presumably small-scale investment. Thus, while business ownership is a goal of the socially mobile, especially for persons from the manual occupations, it is not in the same sense a step to other jobs. The significant difference between business ownership versus bureaucratic position as a goal for the socially mobile lies in the fact that in modern society the first is the final step in a person's work career, while the second is at least potentially a means to a better-paying job in the same or another large-scale organization.

TABLE 19

SELECTED OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS BY NUMBER OF OCCUPATIONS AND NUMBER OF JOBS

No. of Occupations and No. of Jobs	Present Job					
	Own Business		Business Executive and Upper-White-Collar		Lower-White-Collar and Sales	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
No. of occupations:						
1	15	12.6	15	14.0	30	18.5
2–3	53	44.5	42	39.3	59	36.4
4 or more	51	42.9	50	46.7	73	45.1
Total	119	100.0	107	100.0	162	100.0
No. of jobs:						
1–5	56	47.1	63	58.3	97	59.9
6–10	44	37.0	39	36.1	50	30.9
11–15	13	10.9	3	2.8	10	6.2
16 or more	6	5.0	3	2.8	5	3.0
Total	119	100.0	108	100.0	162	100.0

B. CHANGING IMPLICATIONS OF PROPRIETORSHIP

That there is a certain finality in proprietorship does not mean that persons in this group never move into other occupations. But, since a good proportion of them come from the manual occupations, it is probable that their only opportunity is to choose between manual labor or proprietorship. The self-employed businessman, in so far as the data of this study represent him adequately, is today a very different person, both socially and economically, from what he was two generations ago. Then he could hope and work for real economic success which would consist in the building-up of a large enterprise out of very small beginnings. That hope and work were meaningful, regardless of the individual's particular fate, because the social and economic distance between the small business at the beginning and the large enterprise at the end of a career was very great. Today, this dis-

tance has largely disappeared. Success in proprietorship today consists in most instances in the stabilization of an enterprise at a given social and economic level, because the opportunities for building large enterprises out of very small ones are dramatically diminished, though they have certainly not disappeared. It is in part a by-product of the predominance of large-scale organizations that those who head them have usually had a bureaucratic career. The "industrial bureaucrat" and not the small independent businessman is likely to advance most, both socially and economically. For these reasons the data on self-employed businessmen are of special interest.

TABLE 20

KNOWLEDGE OF OTHER JOBS BY PRESENT OCCUPATIONAL GROUP

PRESENT OCCUPATIONAL GROUP	KNOWLEDGE OF OTHER JOBS*			
	Yes		No	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Professional and semi-professional	31	63.3	18	36.7
Own business	40	42.1	55	57.9
Upper-white-collar and business executive	60	65.2	32	34.8
Lower-white-collar	47	54.0	40	46.0
Sales	33	60.0	22	40.0
Skilled	104	56.2	81	43.8
Semiskilled	48	44.9	59	55.1
Unskilled	19	41.3	27	58.7
All groups	382	53.4	334	46.6

* Based on replies to question: "Since you began this job, have you known about any other jobs which you might have been able to get?"

The 105 individuals who were self-employed at the time of the interview have been so employed for less than half of their average working careers (Table 7). Sixty-eight per cent of the group had at some time been employed in manual work (Table 15), while 59 per cent had had jobs as lower-white-collar workers or salesmen. If one considers semiskilled, unskilled, manual (odd jobs), and farm workers, as well as lower-white-collar workers and salesmen, as the lower-status occupations in American society, then 88.6 per cent of the self-employed business owners have spent some part of their work careers in these lower-status occupations. If their work careers are considered collectively (rather than what proportion of the group has been in the lower-status occupations at some time), then the group is shown to have spent, on the average, 36.3 per cent of its work careers in these low-status jobs, which is only slightly less than the average time spent in self-employment (41.5 per cent) (Table 7).[18]

Census data corroborate our finding that self-employment continues to be important as a career goal at the same time that it proves to be unattainable on a permanent basis for the overwhelming majority of Americans. Only 8 per cent of the population are presently self-employed, but many more persons have been in business for themselves at some time in their history. Every socioeconomic category (see Table 9) contains a large group who have once been self-employed. It is especially noteworthy that over one-fifth of those persons now employed in manual work were at some time employed in their own businesses. The proportion of the previously self-employed rises to 24.3 per cent for the skilled workers and to 38.1 per cent for salesmen.

Department of Commerce statistics on turnover among business firms from 1944 to 1948 confirm the implications of our data. Table 21 presents the figures of the department.

Even during the postwar boom of 1945-48 almost 30 per cent of the businesses in the United States were discontinued, while in the same period every year with the exception of 1948 witnessed the opening of new businesses equal to about twice the number of businesses which closed. In California, where the data of the present study were collected, the entrance and discontinuance

[18] Percentages (without table references) cited in this paragraph are from tabulations not included here.

rate was much higher, as is to be expected in an area of expanding population.

The absolute figures present an even clearer picture. Over four-fifths of all the businesses which opened or closed were small firms employing three or fewer workers. A total of 1,917,000 firms opened and 1,094,400 discontinued. Assuming that these openings and closings involved different people, which is obviously not always the case, and if a temporary one, for a large part of the population.[19]

The majority of every occupational category in the sample admits to having had the goal of "going into business" at some time. This aspiration has been even greater among the manual (Table 22) than among the white-collar group, though salesmen as a class seem to desire and obtain self-employment more than any other group.

TABLE 21*

ENTRANCE AND DISCONTINUANCE RATES: NUMBER OF NEW AND DISCONTINUED FIRMS PER 1,000 FIRMS IN OPERATION, BY AREA AND SIZE OF FIRM, MARCH 31, 1944–48

AREA AND SIZE	ENTRANCE RATES					DISCONTINUANCE RATES				
	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948
Specified area:										
Total United States	117	134	176	123	99	66	63	64	76	94
Far West	207	210	243	194	131	100	81	83	94	128
California	217	205	244	205	131	102	84	81	91	124
Size of firm:										
All firms	.....	134	176	123	99	.....	63	64	76	94
0–3 employees	.....	155	206	143	115	.....	72	76	88	111
4–7 employees	.....	86	124	88	75	.....	34	35	48	53
8–19 employees	.....	55	74	51	41	.....	35	32	41	46
20 or more employees	.....	33	38	26	22	.....	26	24	29	29

* Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, *State Estimates of Business Population* (Washington, 1949), p. 5, and U.S. Department of Commerce, *Survey of Current Business*, May, 1950, p. 17.

ignoring the question of number of partners in these firms, between 1944 and 1948 about three million Americans were involved in either starting or getting out of business, a figure equal to 6 per cent of the urban work force of the entire population. Unfortunately, similar data do not exist for previous years, and it is difficult to extrapolate the postwar data backward to the war years and to the prewar depression period. Judging by the war year of 1944, however, the rate of business turnover was even greater during the war than in the following period. Thus it is safe to conclude that the Oakland labor market is not atypical. That is, somewhere between 20 and 30 per cent of the urban work force has been self-employed at some time, and self-employment in small business still constitutes an attainable goal,

Responses to the question, "Have you ever tried to own your own business?" are similar. The proportions of persons who report that they actually tried to become self-employed is lower than those who have thought of it as a goal, but here again the manual workers report more such effort than the white-collar group, the salesmen again leading.

This analysis of mobility between manual and nonmanual occupations reveals hidden and changing aspects of the belief in social mobility which is still widespread among the

[19] By "attainable," we do not mean that the businessman can make an economic success but rather that it is possible for millions of Americans to shift from working for others to owning their own business. It is clear from the Department of Commerce statistics that many of those who make these shifts are not able to maintain themselves in business.

American people. It is our guess that the creed of the "individual enterpriser" has become by and large a working-class preoccupation. Though it may have animated both working class and middle class in the past, it is no longer a middle-class ideal today. Instead, people in the middle class aspire to become professionals and, as a second choice, upper-white-collar workers.[20] But

TABLE 22

BUSINESS ASPIRATIONS OF MALES AGE THIRTY-ONE AND OVER BY PRESENT OCCUPATIONAL GROUP

PRESENT OCCUPATIONAL GROUP	BUSINESS ASPIRATIONS*			
	Yes		No	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
White-collar	77	55.8	61	44.2
Sales	31	73.8	11	26.2
Skilled	106	63.1	62	36.9
Semiskilled	69	71.1	28	28.9
Unskilled	30	68.2	14	31.8
All manual	208	66.7	104	33.3

* Based on replies to question: "Have you ever thought about going into business for yourself?"

persons in the nonmanual occupations frequently work with their hands—though only for short periods of time. The belief in the social mobility of American society apparently continues its hold on people's imagination, partly because individual enterprise is frequently a goal of manual workers and partly because members of the middle class can point to their experience with manual jobs as evidence of such mobility.

CONCLUSIONS

This research report is a preliminary introduction to the Oakland labor-market studies, limited to a survey of the data, especially classified by lifetime careers for males, thirty-one years of age and older. Certain conclusions may be drawn upon in future research in occupational stratification.

1. The use of present job as an index of the social experiences and pressures correlated with occupational status ignores the fact that the individuals in any given sample have a variety of work experiences. If, the sample were analyzed at some point five or ten years before the interviewing, many individuals would fall into a different socio-economic category.

2. That the split between manual and nonmanual work is basic in American society is a conclusion reinforced by this sample, taken from one of the most mobile areas in the United States. On the other hand, the majority of males over thirty-one years of age have at some time been in occupations in either category. It is important to see that both conditions exist simultaneously.

3. Those who cross from one category to the other, nevertheless, are largely persons in the nonmanual occupations who work with their hands from time to time and persons in the manual occupations who for some period become self-employed small businessmen or lower-white-collar workers. Persons in the nonmanual occupations frequently work with their hands, whether their careers are considered in terms of the over-all time they spend in the manual occupations and in terms of the proportion of nonmanual persons who have ever done so. The reverse movement of manual workers into the nonmanual occupations occurs less frequently.

4. The opportunity and the desire to enter small business may still be a major goal of American wage-earners. Statistics on the comparatively small number of self-employed at any given time conceal the fact that many more than the number now self-employed have been self-employed in the past or will try to be self-employed in the future. That people do not mention self-employment as a desired future occupation does not mean that it is not a realistic goal to them. Self-employment is one of the few

[20] The majority of respondents say that parents, teachers, or others advised them, while in school, to become professionals, regardless of the occupational position of their families.

positions of higher status attainable to manual workers. That most of those who try it apparently fail does not change the fact that they do try.

5. Various sociologists hold that the socially mobile have significantly different attitudes from those of the immobile, especially in respect to racial prejudice. This study indicates that Americans are still a very mobile people, regardless of long-run trends, and that it is possible within rough limits to differentiate careers which reflect a great deal of mobility from those which do not.

6. There seems to be more homogeneity at the top of the social structure than at the bottom. However, the study tells little about the very top or bottom because of the limitations of the sample. The study does suggest that generalizations about trends in social mobility made on the basis of studies of small communities may greatly distort the national picture.

Certain limiting factors prompt us to regard this inquiry as a pilot study in social mobility.

a) The study was undertaken in connection with an investigation of labor-market behavior. From the standpoint it was convenient to omit census tracts containing some 17 per cent of the Oakland population, which had the effect of excluding from consideration the areas of the highest and of the lowest socioeconomic classes. This is clearly a limitation, in a study of social mobility. Likewise, since only working heads of families were interviewed, the older age groups are overrepresented.

TABLE 23

PERCENTAGE OF MALES AGE THIRTY-ONE AND OVER WHO ATTEMPTED TO OWN BUSINESS, BY PRESENT OCCUPATIONAL GROUP

Present Occupational Group	Attempts To Own Business*										Have Been in Business †	
	Tried		Did Not Try		Total Replies		No Reply		Total			
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
White-collar	40	35.1	74	64.9	114	82.0	25	18.0	139	100.0	20	14.4
Sales	27	67.5	13	32.5	40	95.2	2	4.8	42	100.0	16	38.1
Skilled	61	44.2	77	55.8	138	81.6	31	18.3	169	100.0	41	24.3
Semiskilled	30	37.0	51	63.0	81	83.5	16	16.5	97	100.0	23	23.7
Unskilled	16	42.1	22	57.9	38	86.3	6	13.6	44	100.0	6	13.6
All manual	108	41.5	152	58.5	260	83.0	53	16.9	313	100.0	71	22.7

* Based on replies to question: "Have you ever tried to own your own business?"

† Data on business ownership are from actual job histories and are shown here to provide ready comparison. Although 107 respondents have owned a business, 282 indicate that they have made attempts in this direction.

b) The sample was drawn from a probability random sample of segments of blocks. The sample requirements were not completed. In all, close to 18 per cent of the population drawn were not interviewed, for a variety of reasons. This was in part a result of the fact that the interviewing was done on a very small budget.

c) There were a number of biases in the data on job histories. The reliability of the interviewees is probably low. The older a worker and the more jobs he has had, the less likely is he to report his job changes accurately or to give information which permits reliable classification of the status of the job. Certain types of jobs, especially those which are considered of high status, are probably more likely to be reported than

the low. Highly educated persons are more likely to give accurate information than those of lesser education. The very meaning of the job may be different in peacetime from what it is in wartime and in a small community from what it is in a metropolis.

Certain variables specific to Oakland and California may make it impossible to generalize from these results to the rest of the country. The city of Oakland has grown greatly in the last twenty years, and most especially in the last ten years. Only 24.4 per cent of the sample are native to the San Francisco Bay Area, and only 30.6 per cent have always lived in California: 69.4 per cent have resided in more than one community, and a large proportion of this group has held jobs before coming to California. An analysis of the relation between the community of origin of the interviewees and their occupational status suggests a relationship between the expansion of a city and the social mobility of its residents. This analysis will be presented elsewhere, but the limitations should be mentioned as a caveat to those who may extrapolate these data to other more static areas. On the other hand, studies conducted in other metropolitan areas will probably reveal also a great deal of heterogeneity of the occupational backgrounds of the population, although there is little doubt that the degree will vary with the size, age, and economic stability of the given community.

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

LEARNING THROUGH DISCUSSION

December 3, 1951

To the Editor:

The review by Professor H. Thelen of my study, *Learning through Discussion* (*American Journal of Sociology*, September, 1951, pp. 201–2) is another example of the difficulty of communication between people who hold different assumptions. Professor Thelen states that "the rationale is essentially Adlerian-Rogerian." In fact, my initial assumptions are derived from the work of Otto Rank and "the functional approach" in social case work. So essentially erroneous an interpretation of the *basic* framework of ideas cannot lead to a valid interpretation of what the book attempts.

I am acquainted with the work and writings of the "group dynamics" students, among them Professor Thelen. I happen to disagree with their views about the role of the leader, the objectives of group discussion, and especially about the important elements in the process of group discussion. The difference in some of our basic assumptions, I think, has blocked Professor Thelen's understanding of my analyses.

Sincerely,

NATHANIEL CANTOR

Columbia University

NEWS AND NOTES

The Edward L. Bernays Foundation Radio-Television Award.—A $1,000 United States Government bond will be presented by the American Sociological Society to the individual or group contributing the best piece of research on the effects of radio and/or television on American society. Presentation of this award will be made at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society in September, 1952. Any research study, whether published or unpublished, will be eligible for consideration. Research not fully completed, for which a preliminary report is available, may be submitted, although research for which no findings are available at the time of its submission will not be considered for the award. Research need not bear upon both radio and television but may be concerned with either one or both of these mediums of communication. The report must present both original research findings and interpretation of these findings in the light of their broader social implications.

The award has been made possible by a gift to the American Sociological Society by the Edward L. Bernays Foundation, founded by Edward L. Bernays, public relations counsel.

All reports submitted in this competition should be sent—as far in advance of the closing date (June 15, 1952) as is feasible—to the chairman of the committee of judges, F. Stuart Chapin, Department of Sociology, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis 14, Minnesota. Inquiries for further information should be addressed to the Executive Officer of the American Sociological Society, New York University, Washington Square, New York 3, New York.

British Journal of Psychiatric Social Work.—The *Journal* has received the November issue, which is No. 5, of this publication. It contains an article on adjustment problems among children in institutions and several articles on the question of professional training. One contributor is from the Tavistock Clinic; others are associated with various universities and hospitals.

The periodical may be ordered from its sponsor, The Association of Psychiatric Social Workers, 1 Park Crescent, London, W. 1, England.

Committee for the Scientific Study of Religion.—The spring meeting will be held on Saturday, April 26, at Harvard. Qualified social scientists with empirical research who would like to apply for a place on the program should write immediately, giving a full description of their work, to the chairman, Talcott Parsons, Department of Social Relations, Harvard University, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts. Prospective members should write J. Paul Williams, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Massachusetts.

Eastern Sociological Society.—The 1952 annual meeting will be held on Saturday, April 5, and Sunday, April 6, at Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania. It is proposed that two or three concurrent Saturday morning sessions be devoted to papers on current sociological research if a sufficient number of meritorious papers are available.

Haverford College will provide housing accommodations for members in the dormitories at the rate of $1.25 per night per person. There are a limited number of rooms available for married couples, which will be assigned in the order received. Off-campus housing may be obtained at the Haverford Hotel at $8.00 and up for double rooms. Meals will be served in the College dining

hall. The chairman of local arrangements is Ira De A. Reid, department of sociology, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

Fisk University.—Preston Valien, chairman of the department of social sciences, is assisting in the preparation of achievement tests for the Basic Professional Nursing Program, a project of the National League of Nursing Education.

In co-operation with the department of foreign languages, the social science department is designing a program to strengthen the competence of social science students in foreign languages.

During the autumn the department had several visitors from foreign areas. These included A. Fuad El Shiltawi, supervisor of the Egyptian Province of Garbia; Jaya Deva Das, divisional welfare officer, Patna-Bihar, India; and Mohamed Ahmed Kamel, director of Resettlement Administration, Fellah Department, Egypt, who met with graduate seminars in sociology.

Florida State University.—Howard C. Busching returned to his duties at the university in June after a year's leave of absence for study at Columbia University and the Philadelphia Marriage Clinic.

Dean Johnson is on leave for the academic year 1951–52. He has a fellowship at the Menninger Foundation, Topeka, Kansas. He is studying in the marriage counseling program recently inaugurated under the direction of Robert Foster. John R. Crist, who received his doctorate in sociology at Missouri in August, is filling Professor Johnson's place during his leave of absence.

Dixie B. Jones joined the staff of the School of Social Welfare in September, 1951, as assistant professor. She came directly to the university from the Family Service Society in Atlanta, Georgia, and holds graduate degrees in sociology from Emory University and in social work from Tulane University.

William L. Leap and Gordon J. Aldridge are conducting studies in St. Cloud and Winter Park, Florida, communities in which there is a large proportion of older people.

John Benjamin Beyrer has been elected president of the Florida Federation of Social Workers for 1951–52.

Mildred Sikkema, executive secretary of the National Association of School Social Workers, conducted a three-week workshop for visiting teachers during the 1951 summer session.

Ivan D. Steiner joined the department of sociology in September, 1951, as assistant professor. He comes from the University of Michigan, where he was an assistant study director in the Institute of Social Research. He will have charge of courses in social psychology and social research.

The third annual European field course on "Marriage and Family Life," sponsored by the National Council on Family Relations, the State University of New York, and the Florida State University, is scheduled to begin on July 13 and to end on August 26, 1952. Inquiries may be sent to the director of the study tour, Professor M. F. Nimkoff, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida.

University of Hawaii.—Kimball Young, chairman of the department of sociology at Northwestern University, will be a visiting professor during the summer session of 1952.

George K. Yamamoto, instructor in sociology, is on leave of absence for the academic session, 1951–52, to continue his graduate studies at the University of Chicago. Mr. Harry Ball, formerly an instructor at the University of Minnesota, is replacing Mr. Yamamoto as instructor in the department.

Industrial Sociology in Hawaii, Volume XV of "Social Process in Hawaii," was recently published by the Sociology Club of the University of Hawaii. Dr. Herbert Blumer, visiting professor during the academic session of 1950–51, contributes "Paternalism in Industry." Other articles by

staff members are: "Hawaii's Industrial Revolution," by Bernhard L. Hörmann; "The Changing Position of Domestic Service in Hawaii," by Andrew W. Lind; "Changing Ideas of Success and of Roads to Success as Seen by Immigrant and Local Chinese and Japanese Businessmen in Honolulu," by Clarence E. Glick and five students, Leonora Nishikawa, Sau Lin Wong, Annette Shigezawa, Ethel Godfrey, and Lois Sandhusen; and "Unionization and the Plantation," by Kiyoshi Ikeda, graduate assistant in sociology. "The ILWU as a Force for Interracial Unity in Hawaii," was contributed by David E. Thompson, educational director in the Honolulu headquarters of the ILWU, and "Labor—An Undercurrent of Hawaiian Social History," by C. J. Henderson, vice-president of Castle and Cooke, Inc. Copies of this volume, at $1.00 each, may be obtained from the Sociology Club, University of Hawaii, Honolulu 14, Hawaii Territory.

University of Illinois.—Under a grant from the Ford Foundation, the university offers to promising students of the behavioral sciences the opportunity to secure specialized research training in various aspects of the study of human personality. The program provides graduate fellowships and postdoctoral fellowships for qualified individuals who wish to prepare for research careers in this general field. The principal disciplines participating in the program are cultural anthropology, education, psychology, and sociology.

Several fellowships are available to graduate students. The initial stipend for the academic year is $1,200. Each student will be expected to associate himself during the year of his fellowship with a member of the staff engaged in research in personality.

A limited number of postdoctoral fellowships are available to promising young scientists, with annual stipends ranging from $4,000 to $5,000. The special research of a postdoctoral fellow may be done in collaboration with other members of the staff, or he may work on an individual project. So far as possible, fellows will be given the opportunity to participate in interdisciplinary research programs.

An application blank and additional information will be sent on request. There is no deadline. Appointments may be made at any time during the year. Inquiries should be addressed to Professor J. McViker Hunt, Department of Psychology, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois. The fields of cultural anthropology, education, psychology, and sociology are represented on the committee directing the program.

David E. Lindstrom, professor of rural sociology in the University of Illinois College of Agriculture, has been granted a three-year leave of absence to fulfil his appointment to the staff of the International Christian University in Japan, situated at Mitaka, twelve miles west of Tokyo. The appointment begins in January, 1953. Dr. Lindstrom has headed rural sociology work at Illinois for twenty-two years. He plans a trip to Europe next summer to look for prospective faculty members for the new institution, to contact the FAO and other agencies of the United Nations in connection with a proposed rural community study project at the Japanese University, and to attract financial support for the university.

At International Christian University, Lindstrom will hold the rank of professor of rural sociology in the division of social studies and will be a member of the graduate faculty in public administration and education. He will also serve with a Japanese staff member on the proposed rural-community study.

Institute of Social Research, Marston Hill, Mullsjö, Sweden.—The annual International Sociological Seminar at Marston Hill will be held from August 4 to August 20. Five courses are being offered in 1952: "Scandinavian Family Sociology"; "The Chinese Family in Chinese Society"; "Protestantism, Nationalism, and Socialism"; "Mass

Communications"; and "Psychoanalysis for Sociologists." Instruction will be given in English, German, or the Scandinavian languages, according to the student's preference. Students will be encouraged to contribute papers, which, with due previous permission, may be presented in their home colleges with a view to credit.

Fees for United States and Canadian students: board and lodging, $2.50 per day; tuition: individual courses, $10.00, all five courses, $40.00. A limited number of work scholarships are available. Apply early to The Director, International Sociological Seminar, Marston Hill, Mullsjö, Sweden.

Kansas Wesleyan University.—In the fall semester the department of sociology began to offer a course in rural sociological theory, one of the few advanced courses of this nature that has ever been included in the departmental courses of instruction throughout the nation.

The establishment of a rural-life institute is being jointly planned by the department and the division of services.

University of Michigan.—For the fifth consecutive year the Survey Research Center will hold its summer institute in survey-research techniques. This special program is designed to illustrate the theory and application of survey research to such fields as psychology-sociology, public health, business and human relations, statistics, economics, etc. This year, for the first time, a special workshop will be offered in the practical application of survey-research methods to these individual fields. The dates for this session are June 23–July 18 and July 21–August 15.

For further information, please write to the Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Amos H. Hawley will assume the duties of chairman of the department beginning with the spring semester of 1952. He replaces Robert Cooley Angell, who has held the chairmanship for eleven years. Professor Angell asked to be relieved from his position in order to devote more time to teaching and research.

David F. Aberle, at present visiting associate professor at the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations, Johns Hopkins University, has been appointed associate professor of sociology and anthropology, to begin in September, 1952. He will teach courses in the field of personality and culture and in social organization.

Josephine J. Williams, at present assistant professor of sociology at the University of Chicago, has been appointed assistant professor of sociology, to begin in September, 1952. Dr. Williams will be in charge of the training in quantitative methods in the department.

University of Minnesota.—F. Stuart Chapin, professor of sociology, spent December on leave as consultant to UNESCO in Paris. The United Nations UNESCO is planning to estabish an international social science research center in Paris.

Dr. Chapin, who was one of the founders in 1923 of the American Social Science Research Council and has been chairman of the executive committee of the University of Minnesota's Social Science Research Center since 1948, will advise UNESCO on the organizing of the two international agencies to promote and co-ordinate the scientific study of problems of human relations on a world wide basis. Dr. Chapin was chairman of the department of sociology of the University of Minnesota from 1922 to 1951.

Mississippi State College.—Marion T. Loftin, assistant professor, has completed his doctoral thesis at Vanderbilt University entitled "The Japanese in Brazil: A Study in Immigration and Acculturation." He spent ten months in Brazil in 1948–49 doing the field work.

D. W. Rivers, assistant professor, has been given a half-time extension appointment. He will provide the major leadership for the program in extension rural sociology.

An important phase of this work is the Church and Community Conference.

The sociology and rural-life department is associated with other social science departments of the college in the Social Science Research Center. Harold F. Kaufman, head of the department, is associate chairman of the center. Its functions are to promote research of an interdisciplinary nature and to serve as a clearing house for social science activities.

William P. Carter, professor, is serving as program chairman of the Southwest Conference on Family Life and is a member of the executive committee of the Mississippi Family Life program.

Harald A. Pedersen has been promoted from assistant to associate professor. He is now preparing manuscripts on a study of mechanization and farm-labor adjustments. Field work for this study was conducted in a delta and a hill county of the state.

Recent publications prepared by members of the department include four reports on the health practices and use of medical services in each of four Mississippi counties, two short articles on population changes, and an extension bulletin on community development in the state.

Musée de l'Homme.—The library of the Musée de l'Homme in Paris has one of the finest collections of books and periodicals in the field of anthropology. It is anxious, however, to extend its present meager collection in sociology, but its funds are provided by the French government and thus are naturally limited. Donations of books in any field of sociology, especially the more recent works, would be greatly appreciated To save the donor the expense of shipping the books across the Atlantic, the International Exchange Service, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., has volunteered to do the shipping. When mailing, indicate that the books are for the Musée de l'Homme. Donors are urged not to hesitate to send any book, as careful selection will be made by the librarian Mlle Oddon, a social anthropologist, and extra copies will be reshipped to other libraries in France.

The Nicolas Berdyaev Society.—The Nicolas Berdyaev Society is being organized in Paris in order to extend the thought and teaching and to facilitate the effort of those who desire to continue the development of the moral ideology of this great thinker, who died in 1948. For this purpose, the society proposes to found a museum in his home in Clamart to organize lectures, to publish relevant literature, and eventually to offer scholarships for study. Interested persons are invited to join. Since one of the purposes is to obtain a complete collection of all published works of Berdyaev in whatever language, as well as of all articles or books written about him, interested persons are asked to report to the society any such publications of which they may know. This is particularly important in case of material published about Berdyaev.

For information, apply to Donald A. Lowrie, Secretary, The Nicolas Berdyaev Society, 29 Rue Saint-Didier, Paris 16.

Northwestern University.—Kimball Young, who was awarded a Guggenheim fellowship last spring, has a leave of absence for the winter and spring quarters. He is located at the Huntington Library and is working on his book on Mormon polygamy.

Paul K. Hatt is acting chairman of the department during Professor Young's absence.

Thomas D. Eliot has returned from a year in Norway on a Fulbright award and has resumed his teaching duties.

Robert F. Winch has received a grant-in-aid from the National Institute of Mental Health to finance his study of the theory of complementary needs in mate selection. Oliver J. B. Kerner, Virginia Ktsanes, and Sandra Oreck have been appointed research associates on this project. Mr. Kerner has also been appointed instructor in the department and is teaching one course in the winter quarter.

Thomas Ktsanes, who taught last year at Indiana University, has received a research fellowship from the United States Public Health Service.

University of Pennsylvania.—A behavioral research council, headed by the dean of the graduate school of arts and sciences, has been formed to administer the Ford Foundation grant to the university. E. P. Hutchinson, who was chairman of the committee that prepared the university's program for use of the grant, is a member of the council. Anthony F. C. Wallace, an instructor in the sociology department, has been appointed research secretary of the council. The council, which is establishing a center for research in the social sciences, has also sponsored an interdepartmental research seminar on technological change and social adjustment. This project, under the direction of Thomas Cochran of the history department, and Dorothy Thomas of the sociology department, is a study of changes in personality patterns and career lines in an urban community near Philadelphia.

E. P. Hutchinson has been reappointed chairman of the social science research council's committee on social science personnel, which awards the council's research-training fellowships.

Thorsten Sellin has returned to teaching and has again assumed the chairmanship of the department. He has been serving as secretary general of the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission, Berne, Switzerland, since January, 1950. He has been appointed by President Truman as a representative of the United States to participate in the program for the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders undertaken by the United Nations.

J. P. Shalloo is serving as co-chairman of the Crime Commission of Philadelphia.

San Francisco State College.—A Middle East seminar is to be conducted from July 1 to August 15. Under the leadership of Louis Wasserman, associate professor of philosophy and government, the seminar will travel by air to Greece, Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, and Israel to study social, political, and economic conditions at first hand. Interviews will be held with leading spokesmen in each country, and these will be supplemented by visits to schools, public projects, farms, refugee camps, historic shrines, and the like.

Six units of upper-division credit may be earned by members of the seminar. Costs of the entire tour are computed on a co-operative basis. Address inquiries and applications to Louis Wasserman, San Francisco State College, San Francisco, California.

The Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues.—The Civil Liberties Research Award, a $1,000 United States Government bond, will be presented by the society to the individual who submits the most promising plan for research in the field of civil liberties. The recipient of the award will be expected to carry through the proposed research as soon as possible after the granting of the award. This award has been made possible by a gift to the society by the Edward L. Bernays Foundation, through Edward L. Bernays, Counsel on Public Relations, a member of SPSSI. Presentation of the award will be made at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association in September, 1952. The intention of the award is to stimulate research rather than to reward research already completed, so that research projects which might not otherwise be possible may be undertaken.

Any research proposal submitted to the committee of judges not later than March 15, 1952, will be eligible for consideration. Individuals wishing to enter research outlines are urged to do so as far in advance of this closing date as is feasible.

The committee of judges is composed of Hadley Cantril, Wayne Dennis, Franklin Fearing, Ernest Hilgard, and Gardner Murphy. Five copies of each entry should be submitted to the chairman, Professor

Franklin Fearing, Department of Psychology, University of California at Los Angeles, California. Entries should not exceed ten double-spaced typed pages in length. Any correspondence, other than entries, should be addressed to Mrs. Helen S. Service, Assistant Secretary, SPSSI, Department of Psychology, Columbia University, New York 27, New York.

Yale University.—The Center of Alcohol Studies will hold its tenth annual session of the Summer School of Alcohol Studies from July 7 to August 1. The summer school's educational program is designed to meet the needs of those in activities or professions requiring knowledge and understanding of alcoholic beverages, their functions, and the problems associated with their use. The curriculum emphasizes the necessity of a broadly oriented background in the biology, psychology, sociology, and history of the phenomena of alcoholic beverages prior to the consideration of specific problems or programs. The tenth session will differ somewhat from previous ones in that the number of general lecture sessions will be reduced to allow more time for seminar and special-interest meetings. In addition to the staff at the Center of Alcohol Studies, lecturers and seminar leaders are drawn from Yale, from other universities, and from nonacademic agencies concerned and experienced with problems related to alcoholic beverages. The school is under the direction of Selden D. Bacon, associate professor of sociology and director of the Center of Alcohol Studies.

Requests for further information and all correspondence should be addressed to Summer School of Alcohol Studies, Laboratory of Applied Physiology, Yale University, 52 Hillhouse Avenue, New Haven, Connecticut.

BOOK REVIEWS

White Collar: The American Middle Classes. By C. WRIGHT MILLS. New York: Oxford University Press, 1951. Pp. xx+378. $5.00.

In *The New Men of Power* Professor Mills examined the role of various types of labor leader and of the unions in the context of current developments in American economy, ideology, and polity. In *White Collar* his scope is even larger: the decline of the old and the growth of the new middle classes and the consequences in ways of work and leisure and in social and political structure and struggle. Both books show the author's grasp of the jugular—of what, in *White Collar*, he frequently refers to as "the main drift." But while the earlier book placed, despite all cautions and misgivings, a certain reliance on the possibilities of a native American radicalism developing out of the unions—and likewise dramatized the effort of highly sophisticated *Fortune*-style conservatives in countering this—the mood of *White Collar* is as drab and lacking in hope as the picture of the assorted salespeople, file clerks, intellectuals, and other professionals whose portrait Mills draws.

As a backdrop for his study the author sketches the world of the small entrepreneur as it existed in the last century, where success and the sturdier virtues were linked in competition and self-reliance. To this near-vanished world he manifests a curious ambivalence of attitude, reminiscent of Marx's feeling for the feudal-pastoral world. On the one hand, with his historicist preoccupation with the main drift, he dismisses competitive capitalism and economic liberalism generally as ghosts who have no right to haunt today's ideology and politics and do so only as a cover for big business. But, on the other hand, he uses the values of independence, craftsman-like work, and media-free leisure to damn without mercy or possibility of redemption the ways of today's middle class. In some degree, perhaps, such ambivalence of attitude cannot be avoided; it represents, in part, the Populist or Wobbly heritage in Mills's outlook.

To grasp the magnitude of the shift from small middle-class property to new middle-class occupations, the author has analyzed census and other data in terms of his definition of the white-collar strata as propertyless people who wear street clothes at work—an amalgam of occupational groups whose status at the top merges with the owning class and at the bottom is almost indistinguishable from factory labor. Mills follows the growth of these occupational groups from the nineties to the present day as to proportion of national income, incidence of unemployment, percentage of unionization, and other indexes—all bearing on the life-chances (in Max Weber's sense) of the white-collar strata in the market. In view of the limited data available and the perplexities of historical reconstruction, Mills has done an admirable job in this whole area, and he has capably worked his tabular material into his story. The new middle class—and his definition of its occupational boundaries seems to me to make sense—numbered 6 per cent of the labor force in 1870 and 25 per cent in 1940, of whom 65 per cent are salespeople and office workers.

To understand the actual meaning of white-collar life today in its several cadres, Mills turns to a variety of subtle indicators: to novels such as *Kitty Foyle;* to success manuals, with their increasing emphasis on the gamble of personality as against the sure thing of virtue, culminating in the "internalization of success" (see p. 283) in the peace-of-mind books; to his own long interviews with white-collar workers, from which he draws a number of poignant quotations; to brochures of office managers and others concerned with white-collar morale; to observations of salespeople, civil servants, and others in the white-collar galaxy; etc. These research data are carefully built up into pictures of the "managerial demiurge" (he denies the thesis of Burnham and others that the managers, as distinct from owners, have real power); the doctors, lawyers, professors; and "Brains, Inc.," as he dubs the intellectuals who make a living by providing justifications for self-conscious and insecure power groups:

> Around each interest a system is made up, a system founded on Science. A research cartel must be engaged or, if none yet exists, created, in which careful researchers must turn out elaborate studies and accurately timed releases, buttressing the interest,

competing with other hatreds, turning pieties into theologies, passions into ideologies.

All these groups have roots in the old middle classes, but, as Mills describes matters, they have been subjected to functional rationalization in the new streamlined society of our day; even the doctors (here he draws on Oswald Hall) have become co-operative enterprisers in a nexus of intangible bureaucratic ties, while the higher learning has continued to succumb to the trends at which Veblen jabbed.

Still more bleak is the picture presented of the salesgirl; Mills presents a series of types such as the Wolf, who pounces on customers; the Charmer, who focuses customer attention on herself rather than her stock; the Ingénue, whose strategy is self-effacement; the Old Timer, who is either bitter or complaisant. These vignettes convey what goes on in a big-city department store with exceptional force. Less convincing is the discussion of the file clerks and office workers and the steady growth of mechanization and rationalization among them, for here the author draws rather on the literature about the clerks, both German and American, than on direct observation. He may possibly underestimate their powers of sabotage, accommodation, and even *joie de vivre* at work, as he certainly underplays the intellectual skills involved in many filing and other office jobs which can be challenging and demanding despite their low prestige and pay. Just as the intellectual is apt to see the factory assembly line as robotization and to neglect the ways in which the workers adjust the machines to their own rhythms and enjoy their skills in restricting production (a high-skilled operation even on so-called semiskilled jobs), so Mills may miss some of the ways in which even a group of office girls maintains some control over their working day. By opposing to white-collar routines and self-salesmanship the ideal of preindustrial craftsmanship (and he does consciously present this as an ideal and not as a nostalgic picture of what once was), Mills leads the reader to a verdict on modern industrial society not many steps away from Orwell's *1984*—both books breathe a similar hopelessness. There is a difference, however, between the savage satire of a novelist and that of a sociologist. The former does not ask us to accept his portrait as typical; we are privileged so to regard it but also to discount it as exaggerated and even fantastic—and this at the same time may be the very source of its revelatory power. But a sociologist such as Mills seeks to persuade us, by the interlarding of statistics, by reliance on sources, and by constant preoccupation with trends, that he is presenting the norm, not the exception.

In Marx, with whom Mills conducts a running sympathetic argument throughout the book—he takes Marx's problems as still real and works within his framework of alternatives and his ethos of work and alienation—a similarly savage view of contemporary society was of course coupled with great hope for the society the workers would build. In Max Weber, Mills's acknowledged guide to the study of stratification and power, this hope has disappeared and is replaced by a stoical attitude toward the "iron cage" of the industrial and bureaucratic state. But Max Weber had at least the satisfaction of discovering the lineaments of this impending future and of advising his young students how to face it heroically, even romantically; while Mills, like other authors who write with similar perspective (though few write with similar energy), does not write as if he is making discoveries, even when he in fact makes them, or as a guide to personal conduct for his audience whom he compels to share the monotony and misery he envisages as the white-collar fate.

Obviously, to say that his view is depressing (like his fine dust-jacket photo of a white-collar man dwarfed by a bleak urban edifice) is to say nothing about its correctness; even if it is not correct, it may be a symptom of partial truth, or even an entrant in the stream of self-confirming prophecies. This reviewer, however, feels the view is somewhat askew. For one thing, Mills pays almost no attention to the ethnic coloring of attitudes to white-collar work. He does not discuss, for instance, how much it means to the Irish Catholic that he is able to leave the factory and enter not only the lower office ranks but the upper reaches of utility, manufacturing, and government bureaucracy, putting the seal of Americanization on his Catholicism in this way. With different overtones, the Italians are engaged in a similar migration, with the result that a job of teaching school or selling has a meaning for the Italian girl that it may lack for the Anglo-Saxon in terms both of status and of the pains and pleasures of dealing with clients and colleagues at work. By robbing the white-collar people who appear in his book of any ethnic, religious, or other cultural dye, the white collar itself assumes a more wan and celluloidal look than is, on the whole, probably warranted.

For another thing, I believe that the mass

media are less exploitative and insipid, and certainly less antirevolutionary in effect, than they appear in Mills's account. Even in soap opera there is considerable variation; some have a good deal of sharpness and bite. Moreover, passivity in the face of the media, documented in the stereotype of the listless TV-viewer, cannot be taken for granted. While very possibly the media are insufficiently challenging and demanding, we would have to learn a lot more about what different media mean to different critical intelligences in their audiences before we can rest discontented with this image.

It is hard to find indexes, of course, to test such issues. But it might be possible to see who are the readers today of self-improvement fiction and true fable, who attends Dale Carnegie sessions, etc. Perhaps these are the marginal hangers-on, going from misfit job to misfit job—people whose reading matter does not tell us too much about the adjustments made to the personality market by the majority of white-collar folk who, whatever the poverty of their lives from the point of view of the outside observer, may not take the slogans with full seriousness. Similarly, it would be important to see how many white-collar workers, like even the extravagantly alienated Willie Loman, enjoy puttering about the house and garden and have them to putter in.

True, Mills would hardly think better of white-collar life for such small blessings. He is greatly concerned with the white-collar role in politics, and the last part of the book is devoted to the theorems and stratagems that have been proposed for alerting the lower ranks of the salaried strata and for overcoming the illusions or false consciousness that now animate their sporadic political interest. He anticipates much heavier unionization of these ranks, but he does not anticipate that this will materially affect the political struggle over the shape and perquisites of the economy: "Both old and new middle classes become shock troops for other more powerful and articulate pressure blocs in the political scene." Their unionism will be a unionism of "cut me in," and their politics that of a rear guard. Even when they experience what Mills calls the "status panic" and find their ascent closed off, nothing much can be expected of them save an inarticulate malaise. I think that Mills holds against the white-collar "proletariat" not only the actual banalities and miseries of its life but also its uselessness in political insurgency, its lack of a rip-roaring decisiveness, and that this in turn leads him to see even more banality and misery than are really there.

There are many themes in *White Collar* I have not touched on at all; for example, the brilliant picture of the "new entrepreneur," the Balzacian careerist who makes his way amid the competing power structures of government, labor, and big business, often selling in one hierarchy knowledge gained in another. Mills is grappling resourcefully with the big questions of our day, and even if this reviewer is inclined to give somewhat less portentous answers to some of them, he agrees that the questions are central, the research methods fundamentally sound.

DAVID RIESMAN
University of Chicago

Où va le travail humain? ("Whither Human Work?") By GEORGES FRIEDMANN. Paris: Librairie Gallimard, 1950. Pp. 389. Fr. 590.

This is an interesting, often provoking, sweeping survey of much that is known, and much more that can only perhaps be felt or known intuitively, about men at work by a leading contemporary French sociologist, professor at the Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers. For his European readers, M. Friedmann devotes about one-third of this book to an excellent report on what he learned during his visit to the United States in 1948 through his many contacts with academic people as well as people in agriculture and industry. American readers will also enjoy his roundup of current European studies of work.

For this reviewer, Friedmann is an artist, much more than a scientist, one who evaluates everything in terms of "humanism," which appears in this book as a grand social philosophy concerned with the destiny of mankind as a species continually threatened with brutalization but continually aspiring to fuller employment of the higher mental processes, especially the cultivated enjoyment of the humanities. This breadth of view is suggested by the phrase Friedmann repeats from his earlier book, *Problèmes humains du machinisme industriel* (1946): "Man is one, and the sciences of man must be one." Here again he would include not only applications of physiology, psychology, social anthropology, sociology, etc., but also forms of thought among engineers, industrialists, political philosophers, educators, and literary men.

The kind of dialectic Friedmann apparently most enjoys first appears in this book in Part I: "The Natural Environment and the Technological Environment." The latter tends to be deadening and even often lethal; the former revivifies and makes man whole again, under "the green tree of direct contact" in immediate primary relations between man and man, man and nature. Since the end of the Middle Ages, the industrial revolutions (steam; electricity; and the latest, atomic energy) have been crushing natural man, fruitlesly seeking to make him more and more an automaton. This conflict is dramatized in a life-history enthusiastically summarized and extensively quoted by Friedmann: *Travaux* by Georges Navel (1945). Navel, born into a working-class family of peasant origins, worked at many jobs in France and Algeria, alternating for thirty or more years between urban employment (usually industrial and loaded with death themes) and rural pursuits (fresh air, nature, and life themes) until his retirement to beekeeping after the success of his book. An American sociologist might see in Navel a kind of marginal man, temperamentally resistant to and hyperconscious of acculturation to the urban industrial world, and also, perhaps, as a French worker who found an unusual mobility route for himself as a literary man. For Friedmann, the resolution of this dramatic conflict is to be sought in improved designs for society, especially in its organizations for work, so that man may achieve both individuality and human dignity.

Navel's life-history is also used by Friedmann to illustrate his theory of "présence et sympathie" and to document his thesis that work makes the man, mentally as well as physically. Hence, the significance of work for human sensibility, perception, mentality, and also social values of all kinds; hence, modern industrial man tends to be denatured and dehumanized; hence, the mission of the human sciences, about which the author is hopeful even though he does not really show clearly how they are to be developed and applied in an integrated way. Despite his focus on the individual, Friedmann's analyses are loyally sociological, as in his "Outline for a Social Psychology of Assembly-Line Work" (pp. 225–46), an orderly discussion from three viewpoints: (1) "technological," (2) "psychological," and (3) "sociological," showing how each adds requisite meaning in this order and leads necessarily to a consideration of the education men need in order to meet and master this brave new world. He is hopeful that this education will center in "humanism, the one and only meeting ground" for the integration of the sciences of man and of work, and that technical progress will be accompanied by intellectual, moral, and social improvements such that work becomes meaningful social service and the individual finds fulfilment in it as well as in leisure put to active, creative use (as in the plastic arts).

A final note on "assembly-line work": Friedmann points out that the French term, "le travail à la chaîne," is inadequate and unfortunate in its connotations, and he refers to writers who have attempted technical classifications of the kinds of work structures generally referred to; but it is evident that he lacks, as well as we do, the sociological observations necessary to understand what goes on in the actually wide range and variety of work organizations suggested by the term. It is to be hoped that Friedmann's provocative insights will provide stimulus and guides for research in this direction.

BUFORD H. JUNKER
University of Chicago

Men in Business: Essays in the History of Entrepreneurship. Edited by WILLIAM MILLER. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952. Pp. x+350. $5.00.

Small, Sumner, Simmel, Pareto, Weber—all dealt in both economic and sociological analysis. Sumner, Pareto, and Weber clearly thought of the two kinds of analysis as complementary. Pareto, to paraphrase him but slightly, saw in sociology a system of analysis for those items of human behavior which would not fit price curves. But the union of the two kinds of analysis in these and other persons did not presage any great collaboration between the sociological and the economic fraternities. The theoretical economist has tended rather to deal with that most individualistic of all humans, the man in the market, and to distrust—for scientific purposes, at least—all collectivities and institutions. The sociologist has become a student of these very entities; he often studies individuals, but, when he does so, it is more likely the slum-dwelling employee of the trader and the entrepreneur than the entrepreneur himself. Lately, sociologists have got somewhat allied with anthropologists—administratively, more than in research, I fear—and so have become parties to

the integration of the simpler, nonindustrial peoples into the new, great industrial systems. I have not seen much of a partnership with economists arising out of this, even though economists are a little interested in the backward peoples.

Perhaps the new partnership of economists and sociologists may come through those renegades, the economic historians. In fact, it has already come in this volume. For in it, through the enterprising spirit of the men of the Research Center in Entrepreneurial History of Harvard University, a number of people more or less connected with the economics fraternity behave in a most sociological way—at least, in the way in which I think sociologists should behave. For they are interested in social change and in the behavior which brings about social changes. But to describe the behavior, and analyze it, some of them use the full arsenal of sociological analysis. They talk of social groups, extended kinship, local and regional situations, of the institutionalization of families, of stratification and social selection. Robert Lamb, for instance, in "The Entrepreneur and the Community," puts emphasis on small enterprising groups (I like the term "enterprising nucleus") and on the local, regional, and world adaptations made by some such. John E. Sawyer, in "The Entrepreneur and the Social Order," contrasts the social pressures and sanctions which restrain the French entrepreneur from making too great changes with the relatively greater freedom of the entrepreneur in America. It reminds one of Sombarts' concept of the "unscrupulous man"—not an evil man but simply one free of the restraints of kinship and of the code of honor of an established class or *Stand*. Being free, he could make changes.

The image of the entrepreneur that emerges from this series of biographical and general essays is that of a man akin to the missionary and the reformer, a man who will change things. Especially is he willing to change institutional forms. Park, in his analysis of collective behavior, noted how the religious sect, if successful, became the established, "institutionalized" denomination; and how the political sect became the compromising political party. He did not include in his cases of institutionalization the new, enterprising group in business which, given success and standing, becomes less itself an enterprise than a bureaucracy to be controlled by enterprising men.

It seems to me that this volume, and the other studies done under the same auspices, do much to clear up distinctions and clarify problems concerning enterprise. There has been a tendency to obscure, by the opposition of enterprise and socialism, the problems in this field. The problems are essentially these: Under what circumstances do there arise men who show the will to change things, to be enterprising, in the realm of economic production and distribution as in other areas? Under what conditions do such men succeed in some measure? And what happens, in the longer run, as a result of their success in making institutional changes? These are the problems attacked, more or less explicitly, in these essays. If I have given some of them little specific attention, it is to get this review done and into this issue on the sociology of work. The enterprising way of working is a thing to be understood, as in distinction from the ritualistic or bureaucratic, from the resistant and unwilling way, and perhaps from a number of other ways. And if we sociologists return to the study of institutions, of business, of work and play, we may be of use to these renegades, as they are to us.

EVERETT C. HUGHES
University of Chicago

Human Relations in Administration. By ROBERT DUBIN. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1951. Pp. ix+573.

This book is an excellent study based upon a careful and well-reasoned selection of materials. It consists of selected, edited readings with author's comments at the beginning and end of each chapter. Its purpose is to set forth a general approach for the analysis of organized groups, based chiefly upon studies of economic organizations. Forty-seven examples or "cases" of organization problems are included in the back of the book, so that the theories developed in the chapters can be applied by the student (or reader) to empirical materials.

The book embodies the concept of readings in its best form because the various selections are tied together by the author's framework. The one weakness of this procedure is that the student is presented with fragments of a number of studies and may get a somewhat "tidbit" approach to the literature on organization. Despite this, the book should be excellent for courses dealing with industry and with processes of organized groups.

The central theoretical concepts are the

ideas of specialization, bureaucracy, and power. The various chapters analyze those phenomena which appear to flow from these characteristics. Because of the central orientation to a theory of formal and informal organization, certain areas usually stressed in books covering industrial studies have been largely ignored—and justifiably so. Union-management relations are given a subsidiary role in the theoretical formulation.

The book is divided into twenty-one sections, with four or five readings in each section. By reading Dr. Dubin's comments at the beginning and end of each section, it becomes evident that the twenty-one sections are organized in terms of five major topics. The first major topic outlines the general concept of social organization, using articles by men such as Mayo, Roethlisberger, Durkheim, Shils, Whitehead, etc. The concepts of both formal and informal organization are developed. Included in this major division of the book is a section, "Motivation of Organization Activities," with articles by Parsons, Williams, and others. This special section points to the importance of personal motivation *within* organization. The second major area is devoted to the analysis of formal organization "proper," including readings on the concept of office, the executive, the specialist, the foreman, and bureaucracy. The third major area deals with subordination and superordination under the subtopics of power, authority, decision-making, leadership, and status. Here are found articles by Bierstedt, Shils, Simon, Dubin, Barhard, Selznick, Hughes, Collins, and others. The fourth major area is that of social control and includes articles by Bendix, Drucker, Vucinich, Merton, Goode, and Fowler on communication, technology, and organization fictions. The last major section consists of three articles by Davis, Page, and Turner describing organization processes in the United States Navy. In his comments on each article, Dubin emphasizes the interrelationships between articles, pointing out that they are part of a common framework.

The publication of this volume invites comment upon differences between the present analysis of work organization and that made thirty years ago. The present approach takes as a unit of analysis the individual organization. In an introductory chapter Dubin says: "We have to perceive an organization as a complete and more or less self-contained unit" (p. 17). The older approach is admirably illustrated by Leon Marshall's *Readings in Industrial Society*, published in 1918. Here the particular firm or company is considered as a reflection of the larger economic and social order which constitutes a basic institutional system for the society. Impersonality, power, the market system, economic concentration, the wage system, etc., are dealt with by authors such as Cooley, Sumner, Ross, Small, and Giddings—men not usually thought of as students of industry.

Each of these approaches is undoubtedly a valid but limited framework of analysis, but the modern approach mistakenly assumes that we can explain organizational processes by consideration of the unit firm alone. In analyzing the organization of specialized groups, we may speak of the following levels or areas of analysis: (1) the institutional order of which a particular firm (group) is a part; (2) the formal structure of the particular group itself; (3) the informal or dynamic relations within the organization; and (4) personality characteristics. Factors in each of these areas affect the behavior that is observed by the researcher and contribute to organization processes. The older approach exemplified in Marshall's book has for the last ten years been largely neglected in empirical studies. By implication, Dubin's summary of the best current work in this field reveals the need for re-emphasis on the unit organization as a reflection of a larger institutional order within which autonomous characteristics are developed.

ROBERT C. STONE

Tulane University

Industrialization and Labor: Social Aspects of Economic Development. By WILBERT E. MOORE. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1951. Pp. xx+410. $5.00.

The general problem set by this volume is to examine the motivations of factory workers as a part of the process of the industrialization of preindustrial societies. The aim is to ascertain the conditions under which workers in preindustrial areas respond to the opportunity for factory employment and the circumstances making for effective work.

First, there is a comprehensive survey of existing literature, principally on the administration of colonial areas. The summary proceeds by listing specific barriers and incentives to entering factory work and factors believed relevant

to worker morale. Second, there is a discussion of relevant economic, anthropological, and sociological theory undertaken in an attempt to generalize the variables. Finally, there is a report of an interview study of work attitudes and patterns of villagers and factory workers in the Atlixco area of Mexico, conceived as a test for some of the generalizations from the preceding sections.

This last section has merit apart from the rest of the book but is doubly interesting because the research was articulated with the comprehensive review of literature. In the research scheme prepared by the author after consultation with several Mexican social scientists and American students of Mexico, and in field work carried out by the Mexican Museo Nacional, we have an unusual example of co-operative research. All the men and a sample of women were interviewed from two villages, chosen for their difference as contributors to factory labor, in spite of area proximity. A 25–30 per cent sample of workers in two factories were also interviewed, using a combination of open-ended and specific-choice questions.

The theoretical orientation of the book is structural-functional analysis, "modified . . . to incorporate analysis of motivation as a dynamic element in the system." From this follows the basic hypothesis—which the author feels is confirmed—that "an innovation in the organization of production and the means of gaining a livelihood will initially encounter resistance approximately proportional to the integration of the established structure." Direct support is given this broad proposition by the finding from the Mexican study that negative influences, the lack of opportunities within the native economic structure, are most important as motives for factory work. Among other broad conclusions are the following. Coercion and poverty have been the major incentives to industrial participation by nonindustrial people. The possible role of positive incentives is not really known, since such incentives have not generally been effectively related to the workers' wants and have seldom been high enough to provide a real test of efficacy. Low wages, which are justified by low productivity, are also a major factor in keeping productivity low.

The task of integrating empirical observation and theory is a difficult one, and the author has handled it rather better than is usually the case. However, one finds the transition from the summary of barriers, etc., to the theory of acculturation rather abrupt. The reader will note further that the method for validating the functional hypothesis is illustrative. At no point is there a specification of findings, which, had they been encountered, could be said to refute the position. Many of the findings are not at any point specifically related to the functional hypothesis. Furthermore, though the basic hypothesis can be conceived operationally only as a large number of specific propositions, there is no attention to the possibility that it might be supported in some respects and not in others by the empirical material. Though it is mentioned in passing that the functional integration of the native culture may itself be affected by the presence of industry, the possible implications of this fact for the general theory are not explored. On the whole, then, the study cannot be viewed as a clear test of the basic hypothesis, and the reviewer's impression is that the findings of the study were not materially facilitated by the imposition of this general framework.

Some findings will be of particular interest to sociologists; for example, that the partial industrialization practiced in most colonial situations is not so much a stage toward full industrialization in the Western manner but is actually designed to effect only limited induction into these patterns while maintaining basically the preindustrial modes of life. In the Mexican study, when the two villages studied were compared on a folk-urban continuum, the community nearest to the folk pole contributed a considerably greater proportion of workers to the factories in the area. The folk-urban variable, then, appears far less important than other factors in determining motivation for industrial employment.

Some minor comments of a negative nature may be in order. There is a degree of illogic, which the author admits, in the categories used in the summary of literature, so that frequently the same things are said twice under different headings. The review of literature is not always critically selective, findings being generally taken at face value. The subordinate position of the Mexican study in the book prevents a broad development of its findings commensurate with the effort that went into the research. The study should be worthy of an independent monograph, not limited by the purpose of this book.

In sum, the volume has fewer weaknesses and more strong points than most. For its comprehensive review of literature and thirty-four-page bibliography, it will be a major reference work

and should be an aid toward research that is cumulative rather than disparate or repetitive. And it merits careful study as an effort to orient specific generalizations within a comprehensive theory of functionalism.

RALPH H. TURNER
University of California
Los Angeles

The Foreman: A Study of Supervision in British Industry. By the NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF INDUSTRIAL PSYCHOLOGY. London: Staples, 1951. Pp. 158. 12*s.* 6*d.*

The Foreman is a report of a two-year investigation of 107 British enterprises and 752 supervisors. The National Institute of Industrial Psychology research staff, under the direction of C. B. Frisby, systematically covered these 107 firms with an eye on the selection, training, and status of supervisors on four levels of responsibility. Its findings and recommendations dealing with the status of foremen should be of particular interest to industrial sociologists.

The NIIP's comments and recommendations on training supervisors in human relations are a complete and candid statement concerning the "external system's" relationship to trends in industrial relations. This is in contrast to much of American industrial social science. For example, the authors explain that the need for human relations training is a recent development stemming from the "current social trends . . . away from autocratic control, whether benevolent or not, and towards more democratic forms of leadership." As part of these trends and tempering them in a crucial degree are the present-day British conditions of full employment and social security.

Among other recent developments which have affected the foreman's function and status are the decrease in the gap between the pay of the supervisor and that of his subordinates, the increase in the number of service departments in the factory, the development of joint consultations (over and above union-management negotiations) which by-pass the foreman, and the changing prestige and influence of shop stewards.

There is an interesting section dealing with the use of role-playing and other communication techniques in courses on human relations. In this connection the influence of American industrial sociology and social psychology is worth noting. Ten of the twenty-three bibliographical items are American.

The material in *The Foreman* on the impact of union relationships substantiates Donald Wray's conception of the supervisor as a "marginal man" in industry rather than as a "middleman." Where he is excluded from union-management communication and decisions, his status and self-prestige are lowered and his difficulties multiplied.

Perhaps the chief significance of the study lies in the fact that it is one of the projects financed and sponsored by the Human Factors Panel of the British Government's Committee on Productivity. The panel was dissolved in 1950, but the research sponsored by it is just beginning to be available. The NIIP was only one of several agencies which launched studies sponsored by the Human Factors Panel. The Tavistock Institute, the British Institute of Management, and the British Medical Research Council's Committee for Research in Industrial Psychology, are among the other organizations involved. The practical importance of the studies bears upon the various crucial decisions and policies that the British government, Labour or Conservative, will have to make in the sphere of industrial relations and productivity.

For the social scientist concerned with more than the immediately applicable aspects, there is a great deal of theoretical significance in these investigations, since they offer rich opportunities for comparative studies in industrial sociology. From them may issue a set of generalizations and insights, and a basic theory, similar to the brilliant and remarkable achievement of Wilbert E. Moore in his recent *Industrialization and Labor*. Such a project, of course, would be restricted to the "matured" industrial societies, in contrast to Moore's, which was based upon analyses (largely from anthropological sources) of societies only now flirting with industrialization.

HAROLD L. SHEPPARD
Wayne University

Management in Motion. By NEIL W. CHAMBERLAIN. New Haven: Labor and Management Center, Yale University, 1950. Pp. x+124. $2.00.

Under Professor Bakke's direction at Yale University some significant research is being done in the study of formal organizations. *Man-*

agement in Motion is one of the interim reports of the larger study. Professor Chamberlain has undertaken to study how an organizational problem was perceived and handled by management. His focus of attention is upon the decision-making processes involved in analyzing and subsequently changing a policy dealing with the transfer of employees within the company.

This study recognizes decision-making in formal organizations as having two principal dimensions: (1) they are generally the decisions of groups, not individuals, and (2) they are functionally meaningless until put into effect. In analyzing the first problem, Chamberlain gives us an excellent research report on the actual decision-making processes. He shows how the staff organization can establish the fundamentals of a decision and how, through informal interaction and formal committee approval, the decision ultimately is legitimized at the appropriate levels of authority. This account reinforces one of Gordon's generalizations (*Business Leadership in the Large Corporation*) that the typical pattern of corporate decision-making is for decisions to be made at relatively low levels of functionally distinct organization units. Our usual model of organizational decision-making is suggested by the military pattern, where decisions are presumed to be centralized at the highest echelons of command. Certainly Chamberlain's study and findings, which this reviewer feels to be typical, will revise our conception of the decision-making process in organizations.

In separate chapters Chamberlain examines the execution of the transfer policy by the separate bureau established to carry it out, by supervision, and the ways in which the union and the employees react to the policy.

It is heartening to note that the study of formal organizations has reached a state of respectable concern on the part of sociologists and other social scientists. We are prepared to carry on the original and significant contributions of Max Weber well beyond his ideal model of the bureaucratic form of administration. The Yale studies under Bakke, of which Chamberlain's report is a significant part, represent rich contributions to our literature and our insight.

ROBERT DUBIN
University of Illinois

Industrial Sociology: An Introduction to the Sociology of Work Relations. By DELBERT C. MILLER and WILLIAM H. FORM. New York: Harper & Bros., 1951. Pp. xi+896. $6.00.

For students, especially in college courses, for whom it is a new experience to read about the social nature of work, and some of the complex phenomena of contemporary industry and society, this book is a useful introduction, almost encyclopedic in its coverage of American research on the subject of work and workers. A general book, it is therefore likely to irritate specialists in sociology, social anthropology, and psychology, and possibly also businessmen and labor leaders, if any should read it.

Part I, "Industrial Sociology: Its Rise and Scope," is an aggressive manifesto that this book covers "the field" and that Elton Mayo and others had a part in creating it but botched the job owing to "pro-management bias," "clinical bias," and "radical empiricism cut loose from theory," the latter phrase being used in condemning Mayo's proposals for training in social skills through direct experience with men and things.

Part II, "The Social Organization of the Work Plant," should be read in connection with the "Glossary of Concepts in Industrial Sociology" and the appendix, "Outline for Organizational Analysis," in order for the reader to make his own critical estimate of (1) the authors' use of sociological terms ("social class," "societal group") and inclusion of emotive terms ("House of Labor," "pull"); (2) the authors' conception of "social organization," especially their underlying rejection of the interrelatedness of the acts of associated men (because they equate "equilibrium" with "status quo" and condemn all three); and (3) the authors' nonscientific perspectives which emerge in (*a*) their views of the social scientist as industrial consultant or even administrator, (*b*) their views of society and work from the point of view of a working-class orientation (evaluations made by those "looking up"), and (*c*) their articulations of certain forms of literary "protest" as evidence from modern industry about the nature of work.

Part III, "Major Problems of Applied Industrial Sociology," discusses "worker placement" and "morale and teamwork" but shows little awareness of the larger problems of the design and development, or administration, of organizations. The psychodrama and sociodrama are discussed with insufficient warnings about their use in dealing with real natural groups in industry.

Part IV, "The Social Adjustment of the

Worker," is based upon original research and provides an interesting attempt to develop an over-all view of the worker's life-cycle or "life-work pattern" seen in terms of five periods: "Preparatory," "Initial," "Trial," "Stable," and "Retirement." This reviewer believes that "induction" or "initiation" into the work group (as well as other "periods") could be discussed with more psychological and sociological depth.

Part V, "Industry, Community and Society," is the weakest section of the book, mainly because of the authors' inadequate conception of social organization in the first place.

BUFORD H. JUNKER
University of Chicago

Occupational Choice: An Approach to a General Theory. By ELI GINZBERG, SOL W. GINSBURG, M.D., SIDNEY AXELRAD, and JOHN L. HERMA. New York: Columbia University Press, 1951. Pp. 271. $3.75.

This book represents an effort to explore a rather neglected phase of the normal life-history. The authors set themselves the task of discovering the sequence of occupational inclinations from late childhood to early maturity and of dividing it into typical stages.

The method is the familiar compromise first introduced by Piaget. Occupational choices would probably be distorted by repeated questioning or observation of the same subjects. Besides, it would be laborious to follow a single group of subjects for a decade or more. The compromise consists of the study of comparable groups at different ages and the assumption that the results may be linked together to form a developmental sequence. When used with prudence, this device has often been fruitful. In the present instance it is employed with a certain abandon.

The principal sample is composed of sixty-four boys, separated into groups of eight by intervals of about two years. All of them were students at Columbia or in a lower school under the university's wing. They were selected for high intelligence, high family income, unbroken homes, freedom from handicaps, and ethnically impeccable background. The stated purpose of this procedure was to obtain subjects who were handicapped as little as possible by their environments in determining their occupational futures. The authors recognize and summarily dismiss the objection that privileged status may also limit the individual's range of choice, but the principle is loudly proclaimed by their data.

There are also two subordinate samples. The first of these includes seventeen boys selected through a settlement house and of inferior socio-economic position. The other is composed of ten girls, Barnard Sophomores and Seniors, of whose characteristics little is revealed except that their families were "probably" even more prosperous than those of the Columbia students.

The interviews, to judge from the three for which transcripts are given, were unstandardized as to both phrasing and coverage. In general, they were concerned both with past choices and with future expectations, but the specific line of questioning seems to have been an accident of the interview situation. As might logically be expected, the results appear to be more adequate as a description of current occupational attitudes than as a history of occupational choice. The retrospective material on childhood choices (the youngest subjects were eleven) is unconvincing. By the same token, the criteria of realistic decision are not readily applied to the oldest subjects, all of whom are still in school. Thus, in the case of Robert, the only member of the principal sample whose interview is presented in full, the authors discuss at length a crystallization of choice for which this reviewer can find no evidence at all in the transcript.

Three periods of choice determination are identified on the basis of these interviews: the fantasy period, which corresponds roughly with the latency stage; the period of tentative choices, which is more or less synchronous with adolescence; and the period of realistic choices, which follows. These are further subdivided. The period of tentative choices includes in regular order the interest stage, the capacity stage, the value stage, and the transition stage. The period of realistic choices comprises the exploration stage, the crystallization stage, and the specification stage. Mention is also made of pseudo-crystallization and pseudo-specification, which resemble the latter two stages but do not lead to satisfactory adjustment. The general theory is explicitly stated. "The basic elements in our theory of occupational choice, then, are three: *it is a process; the process is largely irreversible; compromise is an essential aspect of every choice*" (p. 186).

It is difficult to examine a book like this without an acute sense of disappointment. Methodologically, it represents a return to the primitive. The failure to select a representative sample

precludes the possibility of statistically valid findings, while at the same time the interview materials are too superficial and unsystematic to be used for genuine case-history analysis. One is constantly aware of the anecdotal element and of generalizations poised in thin air. Thus, we read that "the process of occupational choice determination among the lower income group suggests that with a few notable exceptions it can be characterized by two terms: passive and stunted" (p. 155)—and then realize that the statement is based on seventeen brief interviews taken in a single settlement house.

No one of the four authors chose to review the American literature. This chore was delegated to a fifth collaborator, who reported that the previous work could not be integrated. This may explain the omission of almost all the relevant literature, outside the narrow area of vocational guidance, from the Bibliography.

The authors remain woefully ignorant of the facts of occupational life in our society. For example, the existence of trial employment, whose function has been thoroughly explored by Miller and Form, is denied by their formulation; and, in spite of thirty years of research on occupational mobility, they are not aware that most American adults shift occupations during their careers. Instead, they suppose that "for the majority it is probably true that the choice process ends with the first major job" (p. 71).

In sum, neither the facts obtained from the subjects nor those provided by the authors stand on very firm ground. Nevertheless, the title is not essentially misleading. Most of the book is taken up with pure theorizing, and much of it is excellent. The subjective aspects of occupational choice have been the occasion here of intense and insightful reflection. Had the sequence theory been presented as a hypothesis, which it is, rather than as a set of findings, which it is not, its value as a background for serious research would be evident and unquestionable.

THEODORE CAPLOW
University of Minnesota

Higher Civil Servants in American Society. By REINHARD BENDIX. ("University of Colorado Studies, Series in Sociology," No. 2.) Boulder, Colo.: University of Colorado Press, 1949. Pp. 129. $1.00.

This dissertation is admirable in its choice of topic and quite suggestive in its qualitative handling of macroscopic materials. It is therefore all the more unfortunate that it is seriously marred by needlessly careless work in connection with the sample on which its factual data is based.

The author defined a universe of 428 names selected from the official register to meet his criteria of "higher governmental administrators." He mailed these a questionnaire and received an unstated number of replies; to those not responding he mailed a second letter. From both letters, he received a total of 160 replies. He then consulted printed biographical information and located data on (presumably) 176 names. To these he mailed a short questionnaire and received 32 returns. He added these 32 to his 160, making 192 in total. In some tables, however, he added to these the printed materials on 144 additional names, increasing his selection to 248.

There is no attempt made to check internally the trend of his collection by comparing his two mailings or comparing them with the printed data. And there is no attempt to obtain a small but truly random sample of the nonrespondents in order to compare them with his collection. Such careless use of mail polls may not be justified on the ground that funds are low, because there is material available in this study permitting at least informed speculations about the sample. Under these conditions, we cannot take the empirical findings of the study seriously as a sample, however interesting their writeup happens to be.

But, despite this void, the study is well worth careful reading. Roughly half of it does not depend upon the empirical materials. Bendix's general line follows Gunnar Myrdal's contention that administrators in the United States have by no means been neutral and professionally independent enactors of legislative policy. This contention is well connected with the general problem of the implications of larger-scale bureaucracy for the distribution of power.

C. WRIGHT MILLS
Columbia University

The Distribution of Occupations as a City Yardstick. By PAUL BATES GILLEN. New York: King's Crown Press, 1951. Pp. xiii+144. $2.75.

This study attempts to measure the quality of a city. Starting with a criticism of Thorn-

dike's *G* score, Gillen contends that the occupational structure of a city is the best single and simple index of its quality. A modified census classification of occupations is used to develop the occupational index. The deviations of the percentage distributions of employed workers in the nine major categories from the means of all cities in the size class is weighted by the national average income for each occupational group. The algebraic sum of these weighted deviations is then converted into a positive score to produce the occupational index.

Having derived the score for American cities in four size classes, the author then proceeds to correlate these scores with indexes of city education and city health. In a succeeding section race, nativity, overcrowding of housing units, and monthly rentals are used to validate the occupational index. Finally, he recommends that a typology of cities be developed, based upon the index of occupations.

There is no question that Gillen is dealing with one of the chief factors determining social structure—the economic division of labor. Few would argue with the central thesis that what men do in their work must have some relationship to the way they live. Much of the American analysis of social class and its measurement gives explicit recognition to the importance of occupation. Few, furthermore, would disagree with the author's attempt to reduce the complexity of the most elaborate occupational structure in history to some simple index or measure that would stand for the structural complex.

There might be some radical disagreement about the value of measuring the "goodness" of a city by any index. Certainly, the occupational index of city goodness seems to confirm what the man in the street can observe—that upper-class people live better than lower-class people. Or, put another way, a city is good to the extent that it has upper-class members in it.

In spite of the author's lengthy chapter of conclusions and recommendations, there is little that this reviewer could find to indicate the use to which the index could be put as a measure of "goodness." The author suggests, for example, that if the occupational score of a city is low, then the city fathers, or the chamber of commerce, could entice the kinds of businesses that employ "high class" workers in order to introduce "goodness" (pp. 119–20). This kind of reasoning grossly ignores the ecological processes by which urban units are specialized and differentiated. Indeed, this lack of ecological insight carries over into the author's treatment of the basic units of his study. The political boundaries of cities seldom have been used effectively to delimit the population of the city. Suburbanization shifts the settlement pattern. Were the student to calculate the occupational index for the functional urban unit, and not the political one, marked changes would occur in occupational scores. There would be a shift toward a greater spread in scores among larger cities. Gillen reports the narrowest range in occupational scores for cities over 100,000 population. This narrow range is probably directly a result of the suburban movement of "good" occupational groups leaving behind a relatively more homogeneous residue of big-city dwellers than is true of smaller cities.

There are a number of uses to which a sound index of occupations can be put. Gillen has suggested one such simple and useful index. It is doubtful whether it is of much use in measuring city goodness.

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The Rise and Fall of Civilization: An Inquiry into the Relationship between Economic Development and Civilization. By SHEPARD B. CLOUGH. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1951. Pp. xiii+291. $4.50.

Professor Clough as a historian is accustomed to dealing with the recorded facts of the past, and it is his judgment that the shortcomings of available works on his subject are due to the selecting of the wrong approach: the insufficiency is, basically, one of method. He may be right, but this reviewer must suggest that there are two other circumstances which are likely to make all approaches to the problem, as stated, seem inadequate or obscure. They are perhaps closely related.

The first is the lack of any present world-view comparable to the classical idea of cycles or the nineteenth-century idea of progress, within which an answer can take on universal meaning. The second is that too many of us have, as scholars, become painfully aware that such large historic problems as this are simply not answerable in useful and reasonably precise terms. If we need what Francis Bacon once called "middle class" theories, we are in need, no less, of "middle class" problems, problems which stay somewhere between the lower area of casual fact and

the upper area of cosmic generalization. Clough is with Bacon in his regard for facts of the past, and he argues that the historian above all others is best fitted for working in this vineyard. But one cannot help concluding that his undeniable insights and talents as a historian would have found more fertile soil in a problem less grand in implication.

Let it be said at once that his work has the great merit of lucidity and directness. He refuses to deal with the spongy essences and *mystiques* which have lately become the stock-in-trade of the religious and nonreligious alike. It is also a pleasant experience to be put once again in touch with something as straightforward and substantial as the *economic* conditions of human advancement. One has been forced by some recent writing to wonder occasionally whether man lives by bread at all.

This book may be regarded as a narrative description of Western society from neolithic times to the present, and, at the same time, as an effort to verify certain hypotheses on the problem of decline and fall. In the first there is a real measure of achievement. In the second, however, certain difficulties arise.

By civilization the author refers to "achievements in such esthetic and intellectual pursuits as architecture, painting, literature, sculpture, music, philosophy, and science and to the success which a people has in establishing control over its human and physical environment." Of all conditions which have contributed to the higher levels of civilization, none, the author declares, seems more fundamental than that of economic surplus. There is, he states at the outset, a high correlation between economic progress and the progress of civilization as a whole. Factors in economic progress may be grouped under the following headings: (1) natural resources, (2) technology, (3) labor, (4) capital, (5) business leadership and economic institutions, and (6) demand for goods.

What follows is a consideration, in three hundred pages, of the history of civilizations which have existed in the Western world during the last five thousand years In quick succession the cultures of Sumer, Egypt, Babylon, the Aegean, Greece, Rome, and western Europe are dealt with from the point of view of the relation between economic changes, the ebb and flow of the arts and sciences, and the general social well-being of man. His major conclusions, although qualified repeatedly, are stated in terms of economic determination. The range of opportunities which exists in any civilization is determined by the amount of economic surplus in society at any given time; considerable evidence exists to show that personal freedom fluctuates with economic surplus; conversely, the waning of creative achievement in the arts and sciences would appear to be correlated with economic decline. In general, then, economic well-being is one of the major conditions for a high stage of civilization, and, in strong disagreement with Toynbee's celebrated thesis, Clough finds that control of physical environment is correlated positively with efflorescences of high culture.

Regarded as a descriptive history, Clough's volume is a very considerable achievement. There are some vivid and telling insights in the book, and it is, as a whole, a praiseworthy feat of synthesis. The chief difficulties, at least in this reviewer's mind, proceed from the author's effort to go beyond description and insight and to seek verification of certain "hypotheses." One may concede that propositions concerning the past are best made by historians familiar with the records. But the historian is no more absolved than other social scientists from the responsibility of verifying his hypotheses crucially. Conclusions are one thing when they are offered as general reflections on the facts of change. They must be treated as something else, however, when the stated intention is that of validating hypotheses by examination of relevant empirical data. We are justified in expecting precision in the hypothesis itself, and a systematic effort to arrange the materials in such a way that similarities and differences in variable classes of fact will be brought closely and decisively to the hypothesis. Statements about "economic surplus" and "economic well-being" are simply too general, too vague, for crucial verification. Moreover, had the author been concerned really with verification of the hypotheses he states in the first chapter, he would not, it seems to me, have arranged his materials in conventional narrative order. He would have pushed his hypotheses in terms of relevant *classes* of data rather than in terms of the time-area stages better suited to narrative description. His treatment of Greece is a case in point. Despite the worth of this chapter regarded as simple narrative history, it is simply impossible to discern, from his treatment, either positive or negative correlations between economic phenomena and achievements in the arts and sciences. The author's generic use of the concept of civilization, combining intellectual and material

traits of all kinds, makes impossible any real examination of the relation between special *kinds* of cultural achievement and accompanying economic conditions. Thus, quite apart from the strong possibility that such different aspects of civilization as physical science, religion, lyric poetry, and humanitarian welfare have behind them notable differences of environing circumstance—economic or other—there is the equally pertinent consideration that even among phases of *one* aspect of civilization variable circumstances may be decisive. For example, the fourth century B.C. philosophies of Stoicism and Epicureanism are not inherently less civilized, as idea systems, than those of the fifth century; yet, as philosophies, these are rooted not in any demonstrable reaction to economic surplus but in depression and misery.

Certainly we are justified in assuming with the author that *some* degree of economic surplus is necessary for any kind of achievement in culture. But, once this minimum condition is met, we are likely to find that different ranks of circumstances—moral, social, psychological—tend to become crucial and that these may exist, variably, in settings of relative economic misery or prosperity. Clough certainly recognizes that other factors operate, along with the economic, in the determination of cultural periods and themes, but he never subjects them to any systematic verification of the hypotheses which he professes, at the outset, to be engaged in verifying. In sum, this work, excellent as it is, would have benefited greatly had he omitted altogether the unconvincing framework of hypothesis and verification and been content with the narration which he does so admirably.

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Dynamics of Prejudice: A Psychological and Sociological Study of Veterans. By BRUNO BETTELHEIM and MORRIS JANOWITZ. New York: Harper & Bros., 1950. Pp. xix+227. $3.50.

This monograph is a study of factors conducive of anti-Semitism, from the point of view of psychoanalysis. Unfavorable attitudes toward an out-group are conceived as a form of discharge of hostility. According to the orienting hypotheses, out-group hostility is an irrational handling of the individual's failure to achieve some mastery, in the face of a strong felt obligation to succeed, by placing the blame for failure on an out-group.

The subjects, consisting of a hundred and fifty enlisted veterans residing in Chicago, underwent an open-ended interview of from four to seven hours' duration. The interview deals with general questions concerning army experience and the state of the postwar world, giving the respondents opportunity for spontaneous anti-Semitic expressions if they are so inclined, followed by questions specifically mentioning Jews and Negroes. On the basis of the stage in the interview at which anti-Semitic references were first made and the action implications of the references, the subjects were classified into four types. In order of declining intensity of anti-Semitism, these types are as follows: the intensely anti-Semitic, the outspoken anti-Semitic, the stereotyped, and the tolerant. The typology and the method of applying it represents one important contribution of this study.

The core conclusion of the study appears to be that two variables, the amount of generalized hostility in the individual and the inadequacy of personal controls over discharge of hostility, determine individual differences in degree of anti-Semitism. Hostility is a function of subjective deprivation, as indicated by the respondents' reaction to army experiences and anxiety about the present state of the world. Factors of social status and organizational affiliation are not important, but downward mobility or unusually rapid upward mobility contribute to anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism increases along "a continuum from internalized to external control; from ego control, to superego control, to willingly accepted external control, to external control under grudging submission, and finally to controls which were so inadequate that they could only assert themselves occasionally and ineffectually."

Association of anti-Semitism with feelings of deprivation is confirmatory of evidence from other sources. Absence of association with social status variables is an important finding, provided it is not an artifact of the limited range of statuses among the subjects. "Mobility" is used in a rather limited sense, so that no conclusion is justified regarding mobility in the sense of a major change in social setting. Most problematical and most crucial to a psychoanalytic explanation of anti-Semitism are the findings regarding control. Since this would seem to be the distinctive contribution of the book, it is appropriate that a review should focus some attention on these points.

Type and adequacy of controls were assessed

in two ways. Acceptance of external controls was inferred from expressions regarding army discipline, religion, political institutions, and affection from parents and tested statistically for association with anti-Semitism. Then total protocols were rated with respect to adequacy and type of controls and subjected to case analysis in small homogeneous groupings. Most of the conclusions come from the latter operation. Evaluation of the treatment must depend on how the purpose of the research is conceived. The authors have done an ingenious job of interpreting their data so as to reconcile them with their version of psychoanalytic theory, thereby establishing its plausibility and giving justification for further tests of its applicability. But several difficulties appear in their after-the-fact reasoning. Adequacy of control is defined *relative to hostility*, and it is nowhere clear that the investigators have established independent criteria for their separate assessment. Some of their indexes of controls appear to the reviewer as equally indicators of deprivation. The concept of controls seems rather all-embracing, and in some instances the presence of hostility seems to be inferred from the existence of controls rather than demonstrated independently. Some evidence, such as an apparent bipolar association between acceptance of army discipline and anti-Semitism, is disregarded in the interpretations. And exceptional cases are sometimes carefully examined when they are conceived as supporting the theory, but sometimes they are ignored.

Anti-Semitism and anti-Negro attitudes are shown to be associated, with the latter more prevalent, however. From the content of stereotypes, the authors find anti-Semitism to be a reflection of superego tendencies and anti-Negro attitudes a reflection of id tendencies. Since the differential relatedness of the two attitudes to personality variations is not explored, the meaningfulness of the distinction is not clear to the reader.

In a general interpretative chapter the authors suggest that their findings require improved child-training, extended provisions for economic and social security, and social disapproval of anti-Semitism as a vehicle for expressing hostility, if anti-Semitism is to be reduced. Since anti-Semitism is primarily symptomatic of personality inadequacies, programs focused on anti-Semitism itself can have only limited usefulness.

As a whole, the study suffers from the elusiveness of psychoanalytic theory. It is difficult to specify any hypothetical findings which would have to be interpreted as negative evidence regarding the theory of the book. For example, the large number of objects against which some subjects express unfavorable attitudes are taken as evidence of the intensity of the individual's hostility; but, when an individual shows hostility toward only one object, it is hypothesized that so much hostility is expressed through this one outlet that none remains for other objects. Though lip service is paid to cultural learning, no attention is paid to the obvious set of propositions stemming from such a point of view, which constitutes an alternative to the authors' frame of reference.

Apart from its theoretical framework, however, the book is a model for research procedure and presentation. The orienting hypotheses are laid down initially so that the reader may follow the investigators' thinking easily. And the empirical findings are presented conveniently, chiefly in simple tables, and clearly distinguished from interpretation, so that any reader may assess fully the adequacy of interpretation for himself. The volume merits careful reading by all interested in social psychology and in minority relations because of the findings, which will have to be taken into account in any alternative formulation, and because of the careful elaboration of the implications of one version of psychoanalytic theory.

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The Authoritarian Personality. By T. W. ADORNO, ELSE FRENKEL-BRUNSWIK, DANIEL J. LEVINSON, and E. NEVITT SANFORD. New York: Harper & Bros., 1950. Pp. xxxiii+990. $7.50.

Concern over the anomalous situation of the United States as a champion of democratic ideology and the home of interracial strife coupled with the current popularity of psychiatry has produced an abundance of literature on the "psychodynamics of prejudice." This investigation, one of the "Studies in Prejudice" series sponsored by the American Jewish Committee, is probably the most comprehensive and sophisticated of them.

The study rests on two fundamental premises: that race prejudice, broadly conceived, is but a component of a broader ideological orientation, including particular convictions about

other political and economic issues, and that the espousal or acceptance of particular ideologies is a function of one's character structure. The rationale of the investigation follows from these assumptions.

The central problem becomes that of identifying the essential characteristics of the kind of person most susceptible to Fascist ideology (which includes prejudice). Ideology is defined as "an organization of opinions, attitudes, and values—a way of thinking about man and society." Thus, it would include convictions about particular objects as well as the framework of premises upon which these beliefs rest. In the study itself, for all practical purposes, ideology is defined operationally—fascism being indicated by a high score on the ethnocentrism scale. The procedure, then, consists of setting up a scale in which a high score would indicate the acceptance of fascism and then to ascertain what traits are found most frequently associated with such high scores. The argument is that those persons with such traits (authoritarian personalities) are more likely to find fascism attractive if it becomes powerful and respectable.

Most of the volume is devoted to the presentation of data indicating that trait clusters are consistent to the extent that traits and their behavioral indexes may be detected and measured by the available techniques. A variety of research techniques (including clinical interviews, scale analysis, projective techniques, content analysis) used on a wide variety of groups points to the conclusion that enthnocentrism is more frequently associated with political and economic conservatism and certain personality traits. While not all correlation coefficients are impressively high and while some questions might be raised about the adequacy of the samples, the study is nonetheless valuable in pointing to the frequent coexistence of traits.

It is important to realize that the authors are dealing with ideal types, not with syndromes that are invariably found in prejudiced individuals. Hence, someone scoring quite high may not be prejudiced because of an unusual background of experience. There is actually much variation among the high scorers; what is shown is that statistically the trends are consistent. While only two types of character structure are discussed, the admitted lack of homogeneity in the nonauthoritarian type suggests the possibility that many more types might have been isolated had the scales been set up differently.

The authors contend that the study demonstrates that the authoritarian type of person is more susceptible to fascism than others, primarily because such persons are more susceptible to external control. If "susceptibility" is defined operationally as a high score on certain scale items, the proposition follows from the procedure itself. Actually, the scale analysis and other data show what trait appears with what frequency with some other trait and how individuals differ from one another with reference to these traits and their combinations. What is demonstrated, then, is a coexistence of traits. The instrumental relationships which may account for such coexistence may be inferred, but they are not demonstrated.

From the sociological standpoint, the glaring deficiency in an otherwise commendable study is the failure to appreciate the full significance of the social nature of man and his conduct. Thus, the importance of the "social factors" is frequently mentioned, but only in connection with their molding influence on personality. Hence, behavior is still regarded essentially as an expression of personality traits in limiting situations. But the prejudiced man is actually a constant participant in some collective transaction or other involving a plurality of individuals. What he does, overtly and covertly, depends to a large extent upon the actual or anticipated responses of the other participants. To the extent that behavior, prejudiced or otherwise, is built up in the interaction of a plurality of actors, it cannot be accounted for adequately in terms of the character structure of individual actors. All kinds of persons participate in reactionary political movements. Furthermore, under certain circumstances of extreme deprivation, almost anyone—regardless of personality—will participate in a collective enterprise that gives promise of salvation.

The value-laden terminology not only betrays the personal interests of the authors, which are commendable, but also introduces unnecessary complications into the study, which unfortunately defeats their purposes. Thus, the prejudiced man is referred to as the "authoritarian" personality—who is diseased and pathological. The opposite type is referred to as the "genuine liberal," who represents "that balance between superego, ego, and id which Freud deemed ideal." While it may be comforting to regard those whom we dislike as pathological and lend "scientific" sanction to our condemnations, such a procedure is not always conducive to an impartial analysis and genuine under-

standing of the phenomenon in question. Are the majority of people in the American South ill? The assumption that some phenomenon is pathological immediately brings up the question of the special conditions necessary for the departure from the normal or the desideratum. Further, attention centers on ascertaining the difference between the normal and abnormal, when actually many types and processes may be involved. Thus, the use of more neutral terminology alone—types X, Y, and Z—might have affected the organization of the study. Certainly it would have made it unnecessary to apologize or give special explanations whenever neurotic traits were found in the unprejudiced.

In the field of race relations there have been many programs of reform, based upon theories of varying merit, all marked by a singular lack of success. The authors' proposals follow from their initial biases. One is that, since the authoritarian personality is marked by susceptibility to external control, authorities be used in efforts to modify the prejudice pattern. This might be objected to on moral grounds. It is also proposed that prejudiced adults might undergo psychotherapy and that genuine love and affection of children would help prevent them from becoming prejudiced. Is there no love for children in the South? The assumption that the prejudiced are ill unnecessarily circumscribes the range of proposals that could be reviewed.

Actually, the concern with race relations obscures the real significance of this book, which is a major contribution to the literature in social psychology irrespective of its merits in the field of race relations or the study of political movements. The volume will be of great value to students of personality. Among its significant features are these three. First, penetrating insight is displayed in the analyses of clinical interviews and in the setting-up of the scales. An explicit statement of the propositions about human nature and conduct upon which the choice and wording of scale items were predicated would constitute a major advance in personality theory. A great deal was taken from Freud, but much originality is also apparent. Second, the lengthy and sometimes tedious discussion of the step-by-step development of various research tools and their application will be of great value to students both of research techniques and of personality. Third, this investigation constitutes one of the few serious attempts to get empirical evidence systematically in terms of psychoanalytic categories. It is to be hoped that hereafter the great contributions of Sigmund Freud will be further developed in investigations of this nature and that such studies will eventually completely displace the wild *ad hoc* speculations that now characterize much of psychoanalytic social science.

Of course, the study of personality types is not irrelevant to the study of race relations. It would appear that the essence of race relations is the manner in which people perceive and define one another, for the differential activity with reference to various categories of human beings arises from definitions of the category. Thus, personality, as selective sensitivity and orientations toward categories, is important. But attitudes and action are not simply the unfolding of character structure. The demands of other participants in a collective transaction, especially the shared expectations of what each person is to do, are also of crucial importance. An adequate analysis of race relations, accordingly, would require among other things a study of the societal framework—in particular, of symbolism and power relationships.

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The Sociology of Knowledge: Its Structure and Its Relation to the Philosophy of Knowledge. By JACQUES J. MAQUET. Translated by JOHN F. LOCKE. Boston: Beacon Press, 1951. Pp. xix+318. $5.00.

Maquet's book is, as its second subtitle indicates, a comparative study of Karl Mannheim's and Sorokin's ways of interpreting ideas. It would be, however, more accurate to describe it as an evaluation of Mannheim's sociology of knowledge from the point of view of what may be called an original and critical elaboration of Sorokin's "logico-meaningful" approach to culture. That the outcome is a critique, and a well-argued one, is to be expected. The analytical discussion is conducted on a high plane of intellectual integrity and with a sovereign skill in rethinking a given point of view and elaborating on it. The reader who does not want to miss at first reading essential portions of the argument would be well advised to begin with the second part of the book, the analysis of Sorokin's system, and then turn to the first part dealing with Karl Mannheim's thesis of the "existential determination of ideas."

It is difficult to do justice to Maquet's elaborate argument in a terse review. He summarizes Sorokin's contribution to the sociology of knowledge, saying that Sorokin "has proved the existence of a logical relationship between the fundamental and philosophic aspect of the ensemble of a culture's mental productions, and the position concerning the nature of reality adopted by that culture." (The reader is reminded of Sorokin's three cultural systems, the idealistic, the ideational, and the sensate.) Maquet pays tribute to Sorokin's idealistic interpretation of culture, to his treatment of the ontological premises of culture as independent variables, and to the wide range of historical research from which he reached his generalizations for a sociology of knowledge. By the same token Karl Mannheim's conclusions are found to lack a broad enough basis of empirical research to sustain them. Thus, Mannheim's thesis of the existential determination of ideas is found to apply only to modern class conflict situations or, more generally, to the intellectual mores of a sensate culture to which his factual research is confined (this is in reference to two papers on conservatism and on the problem of generations). This restricted design of Mannheim's interpretation of knowledge makes it inapplicable to the intellectual manifestations of idealistic or ideational cultures. His failure so to qualify his generalizations is attributed to his failure to discriminate between inductive generalizations about knowledge (those confined to circumscribed fields of sociological research) and philosophical propositions which pertain to the nature and essence of knowledge as such.

In the course of the critical analysis a number of pertinent questions are raised which may contribute to a profitable discussion of Mannheim's sociology of knowledge, such as when Maquet questions the synthetic capacity which Mannheim ascribes to the intelligentsia, when he wonders whether ideologies have only causes and not also effects, or when he questions the exclusion of the exact sciences from the sociology of knowledge.

And, yet, some of his crucial conclusions rest on an oversimplification of Mannheim's thesis. Nothing is gained by subsuming Mannheim's existential determination of knowledge under the Marxian label. Nor is it necessary to narrow Mannheim's method of procedure down to the business of correlating thought to the class position of its proponent. To maintain that ideas are conceived not in a vacuum but in the perspectives of given social situations is not the same as to hypostatize the class character of knowledge. Nor is it imperative to equate Mannheim's "social situations" with position in a power equilibrium or with position in an economic polarity of interests. The sociological analysis of ideas, that is, their study in the context of social action, is not confined to antagonistic situations. Conceptions of established currency do not become self-explanatory merely because they are shared by all strata of society. Only when that fact is overlooked can one arrive, with Maquet, at the conclusion that the existential interpretation of ideas is inapplicable to such matters as the Weltanschauung of the Brahmins, since it is accepted by all other Indian castes. That Hinduism is a powerful force in India and not a factional philosophy may be accepted, but that does not obviate such questions as why Hinduism has not taken root in China or the Near East. Why, for example, has Hinduism not been able to hold its ground in certain areas of India against the missionaries of Islam? Surely that is not solely a question for theologians to answer. Maquet seems to assume that there are certain cultural components, such as common convictions about the ultimate nature of reality, which are intrinsically independent of others. This reviewer is inclined to the view that any cultural datum may assume the positional character of an independent variable in one frame of reference and that of a dependent variable in another. The positional character of a variant depends on the purpose of the inquiry. To maintain that some cultural data are incapable of a positional inversion is tantamount to a rejection of certain research objectives which imply it.

The ultimate issue which Maquet's position raises is whether the conceptual framework of one culture can be profitably applied to another. Sociology is a case in point. No doubt, sociology is the child of a sensate culture. Indeed, no ideational current of thought known to this reviewer has attempted to envisage with methodical persistence all aspects of human relations, including Weltanschauung and values, as functional dependents. Does that mean that sociologists must, because of the sensate origins of their universe of discourse, confine their inquiries to aspects of a sensate culture, that, for example, only Thomists may meritoriously advance the understanding of Thomism?

While this book does not read easily, it must be considered a significant addition to the discussion of culture as an object of sociological inquiry. A careful reading of this study, of which only selected aspects are discussed in this re-

view, is recommended to sociologists, anthropologists, historians, and philosophers—regardless of the point of view they may take in the controversy which the author has sharpened.

The original French edition of the book was reviewed in an earlier issue of this *Journal*.

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American Society: A Sociological Interpretation. By ROBIN M. WILLIAMS, JR. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951. Pp. xiii+545+xi. $4.50.

In recent years there has been a growing number of books of high caliber that are respectful of the nature and operation of society, of sociology as a science, and of the abilities and needs of the students. These books have been solid jobs of systematic analysis, requiring and challenging undergraduates to be students of the complex, normally efficient mechanism that human society is. This book by Williams is a distinguished example.

American Society is characterized by thoroughness of scholarship and clarity and consistency of presentation. It is firmly based not only upon historical records and substantial analytical books but especially upon recent articles in the scientific journals, monographs, statistical compilations, specialized research reports, etc. These latter are the evidence of an alert, living, growing, investigative science.

A development of universal facts and principles serves as the foundation for the special focus of attention upon *American* society. The basic concepts in the substantive analysis are structure, culture, cultural norm, institution, and social organization. The "setting" for the human relations is first examined in terms of geography, resources, and population. The next 310 out of a total of 545 pages of text are devoted to the analysis of the major institutional structures with their cultural-normative systems. Kinship and the family, stratification, economic institutions, political institutions, education, and religion are analyzed; with the admission that recreation, art, law, and science have been omitted. The author follows rather consistently, with excellent results, a pattern of analysis of the systems of institutional structures: (1) generic elements; (2) the underlying system of ideas, beliefs, and norms; (3) the types of behavior related to the structure; (4) the relatively distinctive features of the institution in American society; and (5) frequent reference to relations of each institution to the others.

These chapters are followed by one on the variations, deviations, evasions, and inconsistencies of institutional norms among the different elements of a complex and heterogeneous society and by one on the nature and place of social values and the major value orientations in American society, which is as good as any the reviewer is aware of.

More than four-fifths of the work is devoted to the cultural structure of American society—its major institutional norms and its salient value themes. The last hundred pages examine the other side of the shield, viz., the patterns of social organization with their social interactions and social relations, "in which cultural norms and values are ceaselessly actualized, modified, evaded, or contravened." Here are to be found up-to-date analyses of "social group," communal and associational societies (with special emphasis on industrialized society as an example of the latter), informal and formal organizations, the interrelations of the major social institutions and different types of social groupings, and a concluding chapter on integration of human society (much dependent on Angell's earlier treatment).

Anyone attempting a systematic analytical treatment is confronted with problems of organization. There is always room for justifiable argument regarding the relative weight and space to be given to different items, the features and conceptualizations to be developed, the arrangement and sequence of points treated, and the content of the different treatments themselves. Williams' organization has "logic" and consistency as he develops it, and he achieves his primary objectives. However, in order to insert essential theoretical elements into the total analysis, he often develops them in connection with the discussion of the institution where they are most apt. Their examination here dilutes the examination of the institution and restricts the analysis of the concept. In general, the discussion of cultural-institutional "structure" overshadows all other aspects of society. The reviewer notes the absence of the treatment of "roles" (in contrast to Parsons, *The Social System*), except by implication in connection with norms; of differentiation, except incidentally in connection with stratification; of social regulation and maintenance, except in connection with economic and political institutions; and

the admitted scanty treatment of change and processes and only incidental reference to functions and factors.

Presently some audacious spirit among sociologists will attempt to analyze human society systematically as a "going mechanism" in terms of the interdependent structures, functions, processes, relations, and factors. This must be done for any phenomenal field if there is to be effective comprehension as well as the meeting of the ultimate objectives of prediction and control or "engineering"—and it has been done in some measure in those fields where such proficiencies have been demonstrated. Such a work will be hazardous, tentative, and groping, but it will place new landmarks on the sociological frontier.

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The Beginnings of Diplomacy: A Sociological Study of Intertribal and International Relations. By RAGNAR NUMELIN. New York: Philosophical Library, 1950. Pp. 372. $12.00.

In this scholarly volume the Finnish minister to Belgium presents a comprehensive history not only of diplomacy but of other institutions of international law. Practices of primitive peoples are emphasized, but similar practices among the historic civilizations and among modern nations are also alluded to.

The author does not claim to have made original anthropological investigations, but his fifty-page Bibliography documents a broad survey of ethnological, geographic, and sociological literature, as well as relevant books on history, philosophy, and international law, and the voluminous footnotes indicate their discriminating use.

The author combats the common opinion that diplomacy and international law began at the Renaissance, with only a vague background in the Middle Ages and classical antiquity and a few conceptions in the ancient civilizations of Egypt, Mesopotamia, China, India, Mexico, and Peru. Second, he combats the notion that primitive peoples know nothing of diplomacy but are isolated except for frequent wars with their neighbors in which they exhibit great cruelty. The latter opinion suggested by Hobbes's interpretation of the "state of nature" was opposed by Rousseau's idealistic picture of the peaceful and noble savage. Modern anthropological research has shown the error of both of these opinions and has indicated a great diversity of intergroup relationships among primitive peoples. The relationships vary not only among different primitive peoples but also among different contacts of the same people. Frequent and peaceful contacts are usual among groups within the same tribe but infrequent and hostile between groups of widely separated tribes. Contacts between groups of neighboring tribes occupy an intermediate position most like modern international relations.

Numelin shows that by a suitable selection of evidence support can be found for the views both of Hobbes and of Rousseau. In successive chapters dealing with war, aliens, heralds and envoys, peace and war ceremonials, neutralized places, neutralized periods of time, treaties, and trades, the practices of numerous peoples are set forth, first those supporting the Hobbesian view and then those suggesting the similarity of primitive to modern practices. On the whole his evidence indicates that primitive people value peace more than war and conduct ceremonials of diplomacy and of conference contributing not only to the ending of war but to keeping the peace. War is not usually entered into lightly but only after consultation and frequently with efforts to settle the issues peacefully.

While the reader will probably be convinced of the general soundness of Numelin's conclusions, he may wonder whether the cases mentioned constitute a fair sample of the whole. There is no attempt at statistical analysis, nor is there an effort to relate specific practices of war, diplomacy, and peacemaking to the general culture of the peoples involved. In his Introduction the author criticizes those who "disregard culture as a whole for the sake of its separate parts" (p. 16), but his method of grouping similar practices from widely separated and very different cultures offers no protection against this error. He often disagrees with the conclusions of M. R. Davie (*The Evolution of War* [New Haven, 1929]), which give some support to the Hobbesian view of primitive man, yet his method is similar. Davie selected materials to illustrate warlike practices, while Numelin has selected materials to illustrate diplomatic and peaceful practices.

Among the interesting points made by Numelin is the frequent use of women as diplomats, thus supporting the common assertion that peace is a feminine while war is a masculine activity. It is not uncommon for male diplomats

seeking peace to bring their wives and offer them to the enemy's chief. Acceptance means peace while rejection means a continuance of war. Even more frequently the defeated chief offers his daughter in marriage to the victor. On the other hand, war frequently originates from the stealing of wives by a neighboring tribe. Thus are the reciprocal relations of Mars and Venus exhibited.

Diplomacy is utilized among primitive peoples not only to make peace but also to prevent war and to preserve peace by assisting trade, protecting markets, and arranging ceremonials which may develop into leagues or confederations, like that of the Iroquois, preserving peace among the members for a considerable period.

The author rejects the theory that there have been breaches in continuity between preliterate, ancient, and modern history, at least in the field of diplomacy. The practices of diplomacy have in his opinion been continuous from the Stone Age to the United Nations. "The history of mankind and the presentation of sociology shows that so long as communities and states existed side by side—even when they have not always been on a friendly footing with each other—certain forms of peaceful diplomacy have developed" (p. 314). This suggests to Numelin an optimistic view of the future—periods "as heavy and dark as that which now oppresses mankind" have been followed by better times—but it may also suggest that there has been little advance in the conduct of intergroup relations in human history. By showing how advanced were the primitive peoples, he shows how backward are modern nations.

The book is full of meat and will prove stimulating and suggestive to international lawyers and diplomatic historians as well as to anthropologists and sociologists.

QUINCY WRIGHT
University of Chicago

Antisemitism in Modern France, Vol. I: *The Prologue to the Dreyfus Affair*. By ROBERT F. BYRNES. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1950. Pp. 348.

Like the sociology of knowledge, the history of ideas must struggle with the richness of its material. The scholar is faced with the nearly insuperable problem of establishing a perspective without insisting on a point of view. He may choose, in the manner of Van Wyck Brooks, to ascribe equal weight to all ideas and events, or—at the price of verifiability—he may adopt a coherent thesis by which the data are ordered and arranged.

Dr. Byrnes makes the latter choice in introducing the first volume of his three-volume work. His central postulate is the equivalence of rationalism and democracy. Anti-Semitism thus becomes an aspect of the general attack on rationalism which characterized the nineteenth century—the indirect creation of Hugo, Baudelaire, Balzac, Marx, Schopenhauer, and the Cubists, among others.

In the carefully documented account of the events which led up to the Dreyfus Affair, the narrative is centered on the infamous Drumont, author of anti-Semitic best sellers and editor of the paper which played a crucial role in the affair. The careers of Drumont's principal followers are traced in astonishing detail and provide some curious parallels with those of the Nuremburg defendants. The bases of the movement's support by the royalists, the lower middle class, the country priests, and the intellectual proletariat of Paris are analyzed at length. In the light of later events, some of the conditions of a social experiment are established by the smallness of the Jewish population in France and the total absence of Jews in many of the regions where anti-Semitism first flourished.

The picture is drawn with precision and balance, and it represents documentary research of a very high order. Whether it furnishes an ultimately useful interpretation is another question. A somewhat different verdict on the same events was brought in by Jacques Barzun a few years ago, when he traced European racism to its roots in nineteenth-century biology and anthropology. But, even when reinforced by convergent viewpoints, the history of ideas does not seem able to provide a complete explanation of social crisis.

THEODORE CAPLOW
University of Minnesota

CURRENT BOOKS

BARNES, HARRY ELMER, and TEETERS, NEGLEY K. *New Horizons in Criminology*. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1951. Pp. xvi+887. A new, revised edition containing latest statistics; new materials on white-collar crime, big-time crime syndicates, and the use of psychotherapy in prisons; and a chapter on substitutes for imprisonment.

BENET, SULA. With a Preface by MARGARET MEAD. *Song, Dance, and Customs of Peasant Poland*. New York: Roy Publishers, 1951. Pp. 247. $3.50.

BLANSHARD, PAUL. *Communism, Democracy, and Catholic Power*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1951. Pp. x+340. $3.50. A study of the parallels, moral contrasts, and impact of communism and Catholicism on democracy.

BOVET, LUCIEN, M.D. *Psychiatric Aspects of Juvenile Delinquency*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1951. Pp. 90. $1.00.

BURNET, JEAN. *Next-Year Country: A Study of Rural Social Organization in Alberta*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1951. Pp. xv+188, $4.00. Monographic study of the social organization of the rural community of the wheat-growing areas of western Canada; deals with the political and economic history of the regions to throw light on the Social Credit Movement, which has been so important in the wheat country in the past generation.

BUROS, OSCAR KRISEN (ed.). *Statistical Methodology Review, 1941–1950*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1951. Pp. 457. $7.00. Contains capsule summaries and evaluations of every significant book published in the field of statistical methodology in the 1940's.

BURRUS, JOHN N. *Life Opportunities: An Analysis of Differential Mortality in Mississippi*. University, Miss.: Bureau of Public Administration, University of Mississippi, 1951. Pp. vii+58.

CANHAM, ERWIN D. *Awakening: The World at Mid-Century*. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1951. Pp. x+207. $2.75. A consideration of the modern American family by the editor of the *Christian Science Monitor:* the family in relation to modern science, transportation, economics, politics, medicine, art, literature, education, and mass media.

CHASE, STUART. *Roads to Agreement: Successful Methods in the Science of Human Relations*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1951. Pp. xiii+250. $2.75. Instances of effective efforts to achieve satisfactory human relations in a wide variety of fields, with many simple and clear generalizations deduced from them.

COATES, ADRIAN. *Prelude to History: A Study of Human Origins and Palaeolithic Savagery*. London: Methuen & Co., 1951. Pp. xviii+289. *22s. 6d.* An account of prehistoric man, summarizing the knowledge in this field, with an essay on the origins of art and religion.

DAHLSTRÖM, EDMUND. *Trivsel I. Söderort: Sociologisk undersökning i. Hägerstensåsen och Hökmossen, 1949–1950*. Stockholm: Esselte Aktiebolag, 1951. Pp. 298. A community study for social planning with an English summary.

DENNETT, RAYMOND, and JOHNSON, JOSEPH E. *Negotiating with the Russians*. Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1951. Pp. xi+310. $3.50. Observations of ten Americans who negotiated with the Russians (1940–50) on military assistance, Lend-Lease, Nuremberg Trial agreements, atomic energy, refugees and displaced persons, and cultural exchange.

DONAHUE, WILMA, and TIBBITTS, CLARK (eds.). *Growing in the Older Years*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1951. Pp. 204. $2.50. A series of papers by different authorities covering such topics as the emotional needs of older people, psychiatric services, health services, and education of old people.

DUBIN, ROBERT. *Human Relations in Administration: The Sociology of Organization*. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1951. Pp. xvii+573. Part I, readings on industrial organizations as illustrations of theory, concluding with application to the organization of the United States Navy. Part II, cases of business organizations selected to demonstrate problems of human relations.

FLEWELLING, RALPH TYLER. *Conflict and Conciliation of Cultures*. Stockton, Calif.: College of the Pacific Press, 1951. Pp. x+106. $3.00. A philosophical discussion of the central features in Western and Eastern cultures with reference to how each views man, tragedy, fate, science, and the deity.

FREEDMAN, RONALD. *Recent Migration to Chicago*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951. Pp. xix+222. $6.00. A statistical and ecologica study dealing with migration differentials, the selection distribution of migrants, and relation of such to social disorganization in Chicago.

GRIFFITH, ERNEST S. *Congress: Its Contemporary Role*. New York: New York University Press, 1951. Pp. vii+193. $3.50. An analysis of Congress under the Constitution; of its place in the

governmental setting and the way in which it is responding to a changing age.

HALLENBECK, WILBUR C. *American Urban Communities*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1951. Pp. xi+617. $6.00. A new text discussing as major divisions "The Rise of American Cities"; "External Interrelationships of Cities"; "Form and Structure of Cities"; "Organized Life in Cities"; "Patterns of Urban Structure"; "Peoples in Cities"; and "Cities and the Future."

HANDLIN, OSCAR. *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations That Made the American People*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1951. Pp. 310. $4.00. Semipopular book by the foremost historian of migration to America.

HEBERLE, RUDOLF. *Social Movements: An Introduction to Political Sociology*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1951. Pp. xlii+478. $4.co. General definition and analysis of social movements, with cases from the United States.

HEBERLE, RUDOLF, and HALL, DUDLEY S. *New Americans: A Study of Displaced Persons in Louisiana and Mississippi*. Baton Rouge, La.: Displaced Persons Commission, 1951. Pp. 93.

HISPANIC FOUNDATION OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, THE (prep.). FRANCISCO AGUILERA (ed.). *Handbook of Latin American Studies: 1948*, No. 14. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1951. Pp. x+316. $7.50. This volume, like its predecessors, records with critical notes the year's important published works in the fields of social science and the humanities. Each item consists of a bibliographical entry giving the most complete information available and a brief descriptive or critical comment by the contributing editor.

HOLLOWAY, MARK. *Heavens on Earth: Utopian Communities in America, 1680–1880*. New York: Library Publishers, 1951. Pp. xvi+240. $4.75. A detailed history of the various American utopian communal settlements.

HOSLETT, SCHUYLER DEAN (ed.). *Human Factors in Management*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1951. Pp. xi+327. $4.00. A revised edition containing thirteen articles contributed by outstanding students on such topics as human relations and industrial leadership, supervision, adjustment, morale, and labor-management co-operation, with three case studies on productivity and human relations.

JANIS, IRVING L. *Air War and Emotional Stress: Psychological Studies of Bombing and Civilian Defense*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1951. Pp. ix+280. $5.00. An analysis of existing reports of the psychological aspects of air war. Part I presents what is known about the reactions of the Japanese in Hiroshima and Nagasaki to the atom bombing; Part II, findings of the Morale Division of the United States Strategic Bombing Survey on the effects of air war; Part III, psychological problems in civilian defense, particularly those likely to arise in atomic warfare.

JOSEPH, ALICE, M.D., and MURRAY, VERONICA F., M.D. *Chamorros and Carolinians of Saipan: Personality Studies*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951. Pp. xi+381. $5.00. Presents the results of a battery of psychological tests (intelligence tests, Bender, Gestalt test, and Rorschach tests) given to sample portions of the native people on the island of Saipan. Brief historical and cultural description of these people, also the findings of a psychiatric survey made of the native groups.

KLINEBERG, OTTO. *Race and Psychology;* ROSE, ARNOLD. *The Roots of Prejudice;* DUNN, L. C. *Race and Biology;* COMAS, JUAN. *Racial Myths;* LEIRIS, MICHEL. *Race and Culture*. Paris: UNESCO, 1951. Pp. 40; 44; 48; 51; 46. A series of five pamphlets as part of UNESCO's program regarding racial contacts and the problems of ethnic groups, presenting brief interpretative summaries of present knowledge on the topics.

MACLEISH, ARCHIBALD. *Freedom Is the Right To Choose: An Inquiry into the Battle for the American Future*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1951. Pp. ix+186. $2.50.

MIDCENTURY WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON CHILDREN AND YOUTH. *Children and Youth at the Midcentury*. Raleigh, N.C.: Health Publications Institute, Inc., 1951. Pp. 75.

MIDCENTURY WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON CHILDREN AND YOUTH. *A Healthy Personality for Every Child*. Raleigh, N.C.: Health Publications Institute, Inc., 1951. Pp. viii+197.

MILLER, EDWARD. *The Abbey and Bishopric of Ely: The Social History of an Ecclesiastical Estate from the Tenth Century to the Early Fourteenth Century*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1951. Pp. xii+313. $5.00.

MILLER, WILLIAM (ed.). *Men in Business: Essays in the History of Entrepreneurship*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952. Pp. ix+350. $5.00. Contains eleven narrative essays by different authors, chiefly university historians and economists, that develop the role of the individual entrepreneur.

MONEY-KYRLE, R. E. *Psychoanalysis and Politics: A Contribution to the Psychology of Politics and Morals*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1951. Pp. 182. $3.00. Reflections on the nature and formation of the authoritarian personality and the humanist personality and on their role in political life, presented as a contribution to a long-range social therapy in political morality.

MORF, OTTO. *Das Verhältnis von Wirtschaftstheorie und Wirtschaftsgeschichte bei Karl Marx* ("The Relation of Economic Theory and Economic History in Karl Marx"). Bern: A. Francke: A. G. Verlag, 1951. Pp. 133. Fr. 12.

MUNTZ, T. G. A. *Turkey: Economic and Commercial Conditions in Turkey*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1951. Pp. xix+193. $4.75.

NANAVATI, MANILAL B., and VAKIL, C. N. (eds.). *Group Prejudices in India*. Bombay: Voa & Co., Ltd., 1951. Pp. 223. $3.00. A number of eminent Indian scholars discuss the various kinds of group prejudice—cultural, religious, political, and ethnic—which endanger the unity of India.

NATHANSON, JEROME. *John Dewey: The Reconstruction of the Democratic Life*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951. Pp. ix+127. $2.00. A résumé of Dewey's thought, its central principles, and its implications, made in a sympathetic and critical way.

NYBLÉN, GÖRAN. *The Problem of Summation in Economic Science*. Lund, Sweden: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1951. Pp. xii+289.

PARSONS, TALCOTT. *The Social System*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951. Pp. xvii+575. $6.00. A treatise stating the author's system of social theory.

PFEIL, ELISABETH. *Grosstadtforschung*. Bremen: Walter Dorn Verlag, 1950. Pp. 272. DM. 8. A sociological treatment of urban research, tracing its history and discussing at length its main problems.

PLOSCOWE, MORRIS. *Sex and the Law*. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1951. Pp. 310. $3.95. An eminent jurist gives a comprehensive discussion of our laws on sex, sex crimes, marriage, divorce, and illegitimacy and how such laws affect our society.

QUEENER, E. LLEWELLYN. *Introduction to Social Psychology*. New York: William Sloane Associates, 1951. Pp. xiv+493. $4.25. A new textbook which considers the field in terms of various layers and forms of variables—the universally human, culture, social class, sex, crisis, personality, and attitude. Written eclectically but chiefly from the conventional psychological and anthropological points of view.

REAGAN, BARBARA B. *Rural Levels of Living in Lee and Jones Counties, Mississippi, 1945, and a Comparison of Two Methods of Data Collection* (Agriculture Information Bull. 41.) Washington, D.C.: Superintendent of Documents, 1951. Pp. vii+164. $0.40.

REES, J. R., M.D. *The Health of the Mind*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1951. Pp. 207. $2.75. A simple exposition of the principles of psychology addressed to the layman and centering on the problem of mental health.

RILEY, JOHN W., JR., and SCHRAMM, WILBUR. *The Reds Take a City: The Communist Occupation of Seoul—with Eyewitness Accounts*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1951. Pp. viii+210. $2.75. Contains accounts of personal observations and experiences given by eleven South Koreans during the Communist occupation of Seoul. The two authors, lay members of a U.S. Air Force team of experts, add to these accounts six chapters analyzing the nature of the Communist occupation plan.

RUBIN, MORTON, *Plantation County*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1951. Pp. xxiv+235. $3.50. The first of a projected series of volumes on southern communities sponsored by the Institute for Research in Social Science of the University of North Carolina: an intimate social analysis of a plantation area by a cultural anthropologist in the role of a participant-observer.

SAUL, LEON J., M.D. *The Bases of Human Behavior: A Biologic Approach to Psychiatry*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1951. Pp. xvi+150. $4.00.

SCATES, DOUGLAS E.; MURDOCH, BERNARD C.; and YEOMANS, ALICE V. (prep.). *The Production of Doctorates in the Sciences: 1936–1948: A Report of a Project Sponsored by the Manpower Branch, Human Resources Division, Office of Naval Research*. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, Research Staff on Scientific Personnel, 1951. Pp. xiv+228. A statistical analysis of doctorates in the physical and biological sciences, by annual numbers, by area, by sex, by geographic movement, and by subsequent employment.

SMITH, MARION B. *Survey of Social Science*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1951. Pp. xvii+743. $5.00. A third edition with more attention to international organization and the Soviet Union.

STANTON, ALFRED H., M.D., and PERRY, STEWART E. (eds.). *Personality and Political Crisis: New Perspectives from Social Science and Psychiatry for the Study of War and Politics*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951. Pp. 260. $3.75. A series of eight papers contributed by Harold Lasswell, Harry Stack Sullivan, Talcott Parsons, David Riesman, Renzo Sereno, David M. Levy, Ralph Linton, and Otto Klineberg, covering such matters as propaganda, mass insecurity, morale, psychological warfare, and national character.

STEINER, GILBERT Y. *Legislation by Collective Bargaining*. Champaign, Ill.: Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, 1951. Pp. 61. $1.00 (paper); $1.50 (cloth).

TABA, HILDA; BRADY, ELIZABETH HALL; ROBINSON, JOHN T.; and VICKERY, WILLIAM E. *Diagnosing Human Relations Needs*. ("Studies in Intergroup Relations.") Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1951. Pp. xi+155. $1.75. Describes several devices helpful in diagnosing gaps in the social learning of children and adolescents, by probing into cultural backgrounds, social relationships, and feelings about such relationships; based on six years of study.

TAYLOR, GEORGE ROGERS. *The Transportation Revolution, 1815–1860*, Vol. IV: *The Economic History of the United States*. New York: Rinehart & Co., 1951. Pp. xvii+490. $4.50.

THOMPSON, LAURA. *Personality and Government: Findings and Recommendations of the Indian*

Administration Research. Washington, D.C.: Institute of Ethnic Affairs, Inc., 1951. Pp. xviii+229. $2.00. A psychological-cultural analysis of the Navaho, Sioux, Papago, and Hopi peoples, with recommendations on administrative procedures.

UNITED NATIONS. *Yearbook on Human Rights for 1949*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1951. Pp. xvi+421. $5.00.

VERKKO, VELI. With a Preface by THORSTEN SELLIN. *Homicides and Suicides in Finland and Their Dependence on National Character*. Copenhagen: G.E.C. Gads Verlag, 1951. Pp. 189. $4.00.

WARBEKE, JOHN M. *The Power of Art*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1951. Pp. 493. $6.00. Essays (published posthumously) on aesthetics and on various arts.

WARD, JOY C. *Children Out of School: An Inquiry into the Leisure Interests and Activities of Children Out of School Hours Carried Out for the Central Advisory Council for Education (England) in November, December 1947*. London: Central Office of Information, 1948. Pp. 76. Information taken from a sample of parents; also from a sample of children who filled out a questionnaire at school. Report includes detail on use of parks and playgrounds, time spent helping at home, time and preferences for radio and movies; reading and games; the method and the questionnaire are in appendixes.

WINSLOW, MARY. *Woman at Work: The Autobiography of Mary Anderson as Told to Mary Winslow*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1951. Pp. x+265. $3.50. Records career of Mary Anderson from immigrant working girl, through activity in trade-unions, to her long experience in the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor.

WINTER, J. A., M.D. *A Doctor's Report on Dianetics*. New York: Julian Press, Inc., 1951. Pp. xxv+227. $3.50. Examines the pros and cons of a new psychotherapy, dianetics. Adds to an exposition of the original dianetic theory and technique accounts of new research, new methods, and new theoretical contributions.

WORMSER, MARGOT HAAS, and SELLTIZ, CLAIRE. *How To Conduct a Community Self-survey of Civil Rights*. New York: Association Press, 1951. Pp. xi+271. $3.75. A manual for the benefit of community members who desire to survey their community, covering the setting of problems, construction of schedules, sampling of population, and enlistment of community support.

ZILBOORG, GREGORY. *Sigmund Freud: His Exploration of the Mind of Man*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951. Pp. 132. $2.00. A sympathetic and critical depiction and analysis of the views and thinking of Freud.

ZINKE, GEORGE W. *Minnequa Plant of Colorado Fuel and Iron Corporation and Two Locals of United Steelworkers of America: A Case Study*. ("Causes of Industrial Peace under Collective Bargaining," Case Study No. 9.) Washington, D.C.: National Planning Association, 1951. Pp. xvi+95. $1.00.

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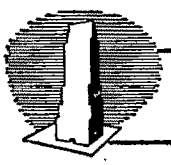

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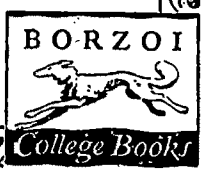

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IN THIS ISSUE

Alfred B. Stafford, associate professor of mechanical engineering at the University of Wyoming, contributes to this issue a paper entitled "Is the Rate of Invention Declining?" He relates a decline in the volume of patented inventions in part to the increasing dominance over technical inquiry of the large corporation, which has a heavy investment in the status quo, and he suggests the areas of life where future inventions may be concentrated.

In "On Group Cohesiveness," **Neal Gross,** lecturer in the department of social relations at Harvard, and **William E. Martin,** associate professor of education at the University of Illinois, state as defects in certain studies of small groups that cohesiveness is assumed to be a unitary quality, that not all the forces at play are taken into account, and that the limitations on the applicability of findings are not specified. In a comment which follows, **Stanley Schachter,** assistant professor of psychology at the University of Minnesota, defends the hypotheses behind the work under attack.

If data on social mobility, which involve an interval of time, were taken into consideration in interpreting material on social status, which involves an instant of time, sociology might achieve a realistic quantitative expression of social dynamics. How feasible this is, is discussed by **Donald J. Bogue,** a demographer at the Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems at Miami University, in his article in this issue.

Sidney Axelrad, assistant professor of sociology at Queens College, discovered from a comparison of institutionalized male delinquents in New York City that the Negro and white boys are very different populations. In this issue he reports that Negro boys are committed younger, for fewer and less serious offenses than white boys, and are less likely to have lived in institutions prior to commitment.

Youthful automobile thieves are usually from more favored social classes than boys found guilty of other forms of misconduct but, in common with them, respond more readily to the values of their peer group than to the values which their elders uphold. These findings are reported in a paper by **William W. Wattenberg,** associate professor of educational psychology at Wayne University, and **James Balistrieri,** who was a research associate at the time of the study and now is an intern at Crile Veterans Administration Hospital in Cleveland.

Harold T. Christensen reports in this issue a nation-wide poll of the opinions of high-school students on the opposite sex and its behavior "on dates." The author, chairman of the department of sociology at Purdue University, discovered substantial agreement among members of each sex as to the qualities of the other sex, with, at the same time, considerable complaint about them.

Since 1948, when California's laws against miscegenation were nullified, it has been possible to trace mixed marriages from the records of licenses. **John Burma,** chairman of the department of sociology at Grinnell College, from a study of intermarriage in Los Angeles County between Anglos, Filipinos, Negroes, Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and Mexicans, reports the frequency of the various possible combinations among the seven groups and the ages at marriage.

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IS THE RATE OF INVENTION DECLINING?

ALFRED B. STAFFORD

ABSTRACT

When patent statistics are used as the index of invention, the rate at which material culture is being invented in the United States and other industrial nations is seen to be declining for the first time since the inception of their patent systems. The maturing of the technological factor corresponds with significant changes in other interrelated economic and social conditions.

Technology is important among the interrelated factors of social change in a highly industrialized civilization.[1] Variations in the rate and kind of technology being developed would therefore be expected to influence in considerable degree the future course of our civilization. Technology is, of course, a consequence of inventive effort. Accordingly, it is the purpose of this paper to report several of the recent trends in patented inventions and to consider some of their implications.

Patent statistics are the principal index of inventive change used in this study.[2] The patent and the classification system of the United States Patent Office serve as the unit of measure and frame of reference, respectively. The former is defined by law; the latter by the Classification Division of the Patent Office. All invention is classified under the generic headings: "group," "class," and "subclass," which are analogous to the biologists' "genus," "species," and "subspecies." Each patent granted since 1836 has been assigned by the Classification Division to its proper class and subclass. In 1948 there were 5 major "groups," 303 "classes," and 43,500 "subclasses." This classification of invention also corresponds approximately to the terms descriptive of material culture, namely, culture "complex" and "trait." An invention is, of course, only potentially material culture.

The findings are based on a study of the distribution of one and one-tenth million patents with respect to 224 main classes of invention over the last three decades as well as the trends in the annual patent totals for the world's principal industrial nations since the end of the eighteenth century. The evolution of the classification system itself reflects important changes in the magnitude and complexity of our

[1] W. F. Ogburn, "Population, Private Ownership, Technology, and the Standard of Living," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVI (1951), 314–19.

[2] Data, charts, findings, discussions of findings, methodological details, and conceptual analysis of the patent and classification system as they are used for measurement and description of changes within the inventive process are given at length in the writer's unpublished doctoral thesis, "Trends of Invention in Material Culture" (Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, 1950).

material culture, and, since these changes are also relevant, they are noted below.

1. The development of the classification system for patented invention since 1838 indicates that the number of main classes of invention increased at approximately an exponential rate (as in compound interest) during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. From 22 classes in 1836 the classification system increased to 290 in 1919. Only 11 main classes were added between 1919 and 1947.

About 1870 the increasing complexity of invention within the main classes required their subdivision into subclasses. Between 1870 and 1924 these subclasses increased at an exponential rate to a total of 30,000. Since 1924 the total has increased at a slower rate to 43,500. Thus the great efflorescence of main classes occurred principally in the nineteenth century. The proliferation of subclasses within each of the main classes of invention required to accommodate innovation in more recent decades is an index of the increasing complexity of technology.

These trends within the classification system indicate that the numbers of categories required to classify material culture are increasing at decreasing rates, the growth of main classes or large cultural complexes having almost stopped. The broad outlines of technology may now be at hand, with only a vast amount of improving innovation to be supplied in the future.

2. An outstanding trend for patented invention is its recent downward trend, the first in the history of our patent system. The growth curve of patent applications since 1840 corresponds closely to three successive exponential trends.[3] Each trend line is at a lower rate than the one for the preceding period. The one for the period since 1916 is declining. Thus the trend of trends with respect to patent applications over a 110-year period has been toward progressively lower rates of growth.

[3] The ratio of patent applications to patents issued per year is almost constant over long periods.

The patent trends in other industrialized nations were also investigated to determine whether the decline represented in the United States is international in scope. This proved to be the case for all countries studied: England, France, Germany, Canada, and Japan. By fitting a parabola to the series for each nation during the period 1900–1948, the year was determined at which the underlying trend for the annual number of patents reached its maximum value in each nation. The period shortly after World War I is indicated by the trends as that of maximum activity. As of 1950 the trends give no indication of reversal. In general, it may be stated that the declining trend for patented techniques is international.

3. The secular trends for two-thirds of the 224 main classes of invention investigated were declining during the period 1916–47. This is a highly significant number of declining classes if a fifty-fifty division of increases and declines is considered most probable, as it would be on the basis of chance alone.

4. The hypothesis of an inventive cycle forecasts a decline in patented technology. The probability of this decline follows from knowledge of the shape, period, and rate of introduction of inventive cycles along the time scale.[4]

5. The trend in recent years for invention to stem from a scientific base as against its older base in the industrial arts has led to increasing technical sophistication with a consequent raising of the standard of invention. To illustrate: the percentage of classes which show increasing rates of change within each of the five major

[4] The logic and evidence employed in using the inventive cycle as a tool for forecasting technological change is given in Stafford, *op. cit.*, chap. v, "Characteristics of Patent Distributions." The hypothesis that the inventive effort applied to a given cultural trait is distributed in time according to a unimodal pattern is supported by a sample of 80 patent distributions. For other reasons forecasting a declining rate of patenting see S. C. Gilfillan, *Sociology of Invention* (Chicago: Follett Publishing Co., 1935), pp. 113–19.

groups of invention declines regularly as one proceeds from Group I to Group V. Groups I and II derive from the more recent developments in the sciences of chemistry and physics, respectively, and the classes in these groups tend to be applications of scientific principles. Groups III–V tend to stem from applied mechanics and the industrial arts or empirical knowledge. We thus note the trend of inventive effort toward the scientific or rational source (i.e., science and the arts).

6. The secular trend for the annual number of patents per capita reached a maximum value in 1914, since which time it has declined.

7. The emergence of corporation invention on a large scale seems to be a factor working for increased invention. Yet as the number of corporate laboratories, technical specialists, and expenditures devoted to industrial research have increased at phenomenal rates since 1920, the patent output has declined. The capital and labor required per patented invention are thus increasing in recent times.[5]

Why are patents declining in number? What course is patented invention likely to take in the future? Both questions are, of course, speculative, particularly the second one.

It is possible to state certain observable trends, as listed above, which have a bearing on the course of invention. But it is not possible to state all the factors which may influence the total of invention and least of all to measure those effects in quantitative terms. We must, therefore, confine the discussion simply to reasons which predicate either a rise or a continuing decline in the number of inventions.

In the perspective of many centuries the number of techniques appears to be increasing at roughly an exponential rate.[6] Inventive patterns of principle-form-function type may be combined and compounded so as to provide a mathematical basis for the theory of exponential growth.[7] In order to maintain exponential growth indefinitely, however, new principles and forms would have to come into being in the course of time. New combinations could not continue to be made at an exponential rate if the number of principles and forms became limited or fixed. There is apparently no reason to believe that these theoretical requirements will not continue to be met in the foreseeable future. Hence, barring a great change in the social climate as it affects invention or social chaos generated by continued warfare, the trend seen in the perspective of centuries will probably continue upward.

There is evidence of undulatory or cyclical movements with periods of several centuries as well as of cyclical movements of shorter duration. In short, the course of invention may represent a mixture of "very long cycles" (several centuries), "long cycles" (less than a century), and "short" ones corresponding to those of the business cycle.[8] We cannot be certain as to which of these cyclical possibilities corresponds to the recent decline in patented invention. It may represent the beginning of decline for a very long cycle which started around the turn of the nineteenth century, or it may be a cycle of

[5] Data and findings relative to the current trend by which the individual source of invention is being supplemented and in some areas of technology actually supplanted by the group or corporate source are given in Stafford, *op. cit.*, chap. vii, "The Changing Source of Inventive Effort."

[6] For a graphical portrayal of the growth of man's mechanical equipment throughout the ages see S. Lilley, *Men, Machines and History* (London: Cobbett Press, 1948), chap. xi. On the rate of cultural growth see W. F. Ogburn, *Social Change* (rev. ed.; New York: Viking Press, 1950), pp. 103–18.

[7] The conceptualization of an invention as a combination of three elements (i.e., principle-form-function) is developed in Stafford, *op. cit.*, pp. 468–80 ("A Conceptual Schema for Patented Invention").

[8] For evidence of such cycles see J. A. Schumpeter, *Business Cycles* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1939), Vol. I, chaps. vi–vii. For the relevance of such cycles to inventive fluctuations see Stafford, *op. cit.*, chap. vi, "The Influence of the Business Cycle and of War on Invention," and pp. 481–82.

shorter duration superimposed on this very long cycle.

Two world wars and the great depression account for a decline in the long cycle but not a very long one. On the other hand, these events may be the precursor of a decline in the very long cycle as illustrated by the three-century-long patent cycle of the Netherlands, where the turning point was marked by war and social disorganization. The theory of definite cycles is, of course, fraught with the difficulties of measurement and the relativity of numbers.

As industrial production becomes concentrated in the hands of fewer and larger corporations, patents originate increasingly in corporations and less in individuals. This significant change from individual to corporation as the source of invention may appear to be simply a change in nomenclature. However, it has been shown that the changing source of invention is accompanied by a change in the kind of invention. When invention preponderantly originated in individual effort, it was largely empirical and relatively simple. As it has become increasingly a corporation matter, it has also become scientific and complex. In the earlier period invention was produced by laymen and skilled mechanics. Of late it is for the most part the work of technical specialists—chemists, physicists, and engineers. Not only has invention become more scientific and complex but the technicians no longer work as individuals. On many projects they work as "teams." Thus inventive effort becomes a group activity. As such it has new sociological connotations.[9]

The functions for which the technicians select and combine appropriate principles and means are carefully selected for them by their superiors in the industrial hierarchy. In the modern corporation the technician becomes little more than a proletarian: the tools, funds, and ends for invention are controlled by the managers.

[9] For the relevance of the changing structure of inventive effort for the theory of invention see Stafford, *op. cit.*, chap. vii, Discussion 4.

Each element of the principle-means-function pattern of invention is subject to new limitation: the principles are becoming highly technical, known only to the specialists; the means, while more diverse as regards the number of materials available, are subject to increasingly exacting demands, economic as well as technical; and, as just noted, the choice of function falls to an increasingly smaller group of managers and directors whose objective is essentially pecuniary rather than technical. The aims of the technologist and the businessman are not necessarily compatible, and the latter is the dominant figure today. Moreover, as a consequence of the changing structures of inventive effort, inventive effort is becoming less diverse. For one thing, the unworkable, inefficient, and unprofitable combinations are not patented in such numbers as formerly. But a profitable invention may be the financially but not the socially best in a number of alternative combinations.

Does the ascendancy of organized corporation invention point to more revolutionary techniques and fewer patents than formerly? Probably not. Corporation ends are not revolutionary; monopolies have little incentive for that. Their ends are essentially small improvements in existing things. The psychology behind their mode of organization would be self-defeating if changes render present plants obsolete. Also, fundamentaly new ideas require leisure, freedom, and a willingness to gamble plus a high order of ability, qualities which the corporation does not generally foster.[10]

The vitality of the analogue between the processes of life and invention has often been noted in the literature on invention.

[10] For an excellent synthesis of recent psychosociological studies of modern corporation production techniques in Europe and North America as well as their implications for the future see Georges Friedmann, *Où va le travail humain?* (Paris: Gallimard, 1950), esp. pp. 225–46. The increasing lack of motivation among technicians themselves is also noted (p. 252). On the present status of corporate creative workers see John Mills, *The Engineer in Society* (New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1946), p. 100.

There are limits to the growth of individual organisms.[11] Failure of the self-limiting mechanism results in some form of monstrosity.

The number and degree of perfectibility of industrial processes may also be subject to limitations, although less absolute and in a different sense. As indicated above, the principle-means-function pattern of invention provides theoretically for increase at a geometrical rate under certain assumptions. One assumption is a continuing demand for new functions or new ways of serving the old functions. But the number of important functions which technology serves may be limited. These are principally production, transportation, and communication. Production and transportation refer to material needs, which are not unlimited. For a given population, resources, social organization, and standard of living, the food, clothing, housing, etc., required have their saturation points unless sheer waste becomes a social value. The techniques required for reasonably efficient production, transportation and communication are now available.

Kuznets has suggested that, as certain parts of an industrial process are mechanized, they force or induce improvement and mechanization of other, less efficient, related functions.[12] In the course of reducing the whole process to mechanical or automatic functions the unit cost of production falls off rapidly at first. But, eventually, additional changes or improvements do not produce a corresponding change in unit cost. Technically speaking, the process approaches a limit or saturation point.

But one may argue that a completely different process might be substituted which would significantly lower the unit cost. In the nineteenth century it was not uncommon to scrap existing plants for more efficient machinery. But the steel plant of Andrew Carnegie's time is different from that of today. It is not generally appreciated that even insiders are awed by the physical magnitude and capital outlay of such industries today. Thus, although the seeds of new inventions may be available which would make obsolete the present-day blast furnaces and rolling mills, they do not sprout into being. The existing capital aggregates are too huge to discard. On the other hand, the capital requirements for new plants in some industries are so great that the probable rate of return is not enough to attract private investors.[13]

The notion of decreasing returns as it applies to technology is apparent in other directions. Industrial managers have come to rely to some extent on nontechnical methods for increased production efficiency. The development of so-called efficiency or industrial engineering, the study of the physiology of work, psychotechniques, industrial sociology, and statistical quality control among other nontechnical innovations indicate the drift of things, that is, increasing attention to the human factor in the work process.

Is invention declining? In the light of recent inventive trends, a certain conceptual difficulty is posed. This comes from a tendency to think of technical change in two dimensions, that is, some single quantitative index of the rate of invention versus the time scale. Technological change is thus portrayed or conceived as being a movement on a two-dimensional plane, the assumption being that units of technical change are homogeneous and independent of time. We have shown, however, that invention is growing more complex in principles, means, functions, and source (individual or group); so that, whatever the units may stand for, they are not homogeneous in time. Thus, while a measure of volume (number of patents) may be falling as at present, an index of complexity as well as other possible indexes of invention which are not obvious

[11] D'Arcy W. Thompson, *On Growth and Form* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1942).

[12] Simon Kuznets, *Secular Movements in Production and Prices* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1930), chap. i.

[13] "U.S. Steel—Break It Up?" *Fortune*, XLI (April, 1950), 91.

to us at the moment may be moving in the opposite or diverse directions.

The conception of Hart of successive logistic trends stacked one upon the other on a two-dimensional plane would not portray adequately the conception of inventive processes as given above.[14] As the inventive process evolves, it probably requires a multidimensional model for adequate representation. For example, in its earlier period, the development was toward mechanical combinations. More recently, it is toward chemistry, physics, and the compounding of mechanical, chemical, and electrical combinations. Development proceeds in a certain way until diminishing returns retard it. Then a new development takes off along a different line of less resistance, and so on. We see here an evolutionary or one-way process, no regression to earlier forms, which is at the same time multiform and multidirectional. In short, no single index may be adequate for the correct delineation of changes in the inventive process. And the movements of two or more indexes which might be used to portray the changes of as many aspects of invention would probably be mixed. The composite change in such a schema could not be reduced to the simple language of increase and decline.

Finally, the social climate for variation in the rate of techniques, particularly in the perspective of centuries, is far more important in the long view than is commonly realized.[15] The social climate of invention is a consequence of the innate impulse to live in societies which is as fundamental, as uncaused in human beings, as the need for food or, to a lesser extent, the need to play with ideas and tools. It is a driving force of invention or an insuperable obstacle to it, although it is not primarily directed toward invention. However, fluctuations in the process of invention cannot be understood without reference to it.

The sociological factor, or the social climate of invention, is determined by many social values, among which are fashions, ostentation, "instinct of workmanship," desire for knowledge and power, and the rules for proper social behavior and procedure. The sprouting and growing of inventions cannot be completely dissociated from them. For example, religion in the broadest sense has an influence on technological development which has been brought out forcibly by Tawney and to a lesser extent by Le Cœur.[16]

The profound influence of social climate on inventions is illustrated by three of the most important inventions of modern times, namely, modern harness for the horse, the stirrup, and the nailed horseshoe.[17] These inventions increased tenfold the driving and carrying power of domestic animals and had an effect on the structure of societies comparable with the invention of the steam engine. They were made not by the highly civilized people of antiquity but about A.D. 900 and earlier, in the darkest period of the Middle Ages. The resistance which prevented the Greeks and Romans from making such simple inventions was not intellectual but sociological.[18] Such inventions did not fit into their collective representations, beliefs, or social values concerning the relations of men and animals to work.

Since about the twelfth century the social climate has been changing in such a way as to favor the evolution of modern capitalism and industry. Different concep-

[14] Hornell Hart, "Depression, War, and Logistic Trends," *American Journal of Sociology*, LII (September, 1946), 112.

[15] The writer acknowledges his debt to M. Pierre Henry, eminent French technologist, for his insistence, in various conversations, on the importance of the sociological factor for the theory of invention.

[16] R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1926); C. Le Cœur, *Le Rite et l'outil: Essai sur le rationalisme social et la pluralité des civilisations* (Paris: Alcan, 1939).

[17] Lefebvre des Noëttes, *L'Attelage, le cheval de selle, à travers les âges* (Paris: A. Picard, 1931).

[18] On sociological resistance to technical invention in Greek civilization see B. Farrington, *Greek Science* (Penguin Books, 1944), Vol. I, esp. chap. ix.

tions of property and a compelling drive for pecuniary gain have come into existence. The change in the relation of man to things has favored the prodigious growth of science and invention, particularly since the late eighteenth century. Hence, the growth of invention and wealth reflects change in the sociological factor. Accordingly we see why the technological and economic factors are interrelated with other factors and not independent.

As noted, the drift of social values in recent centuries has strongly favored the introduction of new techniques. Has that sociological drift changed in recent decades? The evidence from the patent statistics indicates that it is changing, although nothing conclusive may be affirmed.

The nineteenth century gave the doctrines of Adam Smith as free a play as they have ever had. Property rights and pecuniary gain were in their ascendancy. The game which these forces brought into play favored technical efficiency. But techniques among other things favored the growth of huge "natural" monopolies and corporations. The latter, in turn, brought on regulatory commissions, government "intervention," and bureaucracy. Conceptions of the individual and property which may have had some validity in the eighteenth century have ceased to have meaning in a regime of corporate giants. The older collective representations of property have lost much of their former content and validity. One more war—and they may have nothing in common with their meaning at the turn of the last century. With these changes have come income taxes, the labor movement, and changing industrial policies. As a result, social security and full employment are given high social value by the masses of people, and competition, profits, and technical efficiency are given correspondingly less value. Subsidies for all sorts of marginal production, blocked currencies, the barriers to foreign trade, and nationalism are evidence of the emphasis on welfare. As Schumpeter put it, "Capitalism produces by its mere working a social atmosphere—a moral core, if the reader prefer—that is hostile to it, and this atmosphere, in turn, produces policies which do not allow it to function."[19]

The sociological drift which appears to be in progress may or may not reduce the incentive for patentable invention. However, if the social value currently given to technical efficiency should wane, it may only be an indication of a shift in the focus of the human propensity for making new combinations. Our social values may change so as to induce a higher rate of invention in the fields of biology and medicine as well as the industrial and social organization.

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[19] *Op. cit.*, II, 1038.

ON GROUP COHESIVENESS[1]

NEAL GROSS AND WILLIAM E. MARTIN

ABSTRACT

In certain studies of the cohesiveness of small groups the operational definitions of cohesiveness are logically deficient because they do not measure the dimensions of cohesiveness as nominally defined by the investigators. These studies are empirically deficient because single measurements of cohesiveness of the same groups are not positively and highly correlated. A unitary concept of cohesiveness is unacceptable because of the incorrect assumption that different aspects of cohesiveness are highly correlated. Additional limitations are lack of concern for the importance of the negative case in scientific investigations and overgeneralization. Alternative operational and conceptual definitions are suggested.

I. INTRODUCTION

In recent years there has been increasing attention devoted to the study of the structure and functioning of small groups. Although sociology is sometimes defined as the study of groups or as the study of human interaction, relatively few sociologists have attempted to conduct research on small groups in which specific theories and hypotheses have been tested. Until recently the major concern of sociologists in their study of groups has been to classify them without recognizing that the logic and relevance of a classification scheme depend largely on the particular problem being investigated. Such schemes are devoid of any roots in theory. Methodologically, the experimenter is left adrift; his only basis for choice of technique of investigation lies in the immediate situation. Bruner's recent comment on progress in social psychology is pertinent: "Our methods become increasingly exquisite; their use remains *ad hoc*."[2]

This recent interest in small-group analysis has already had its effects: in the work of Moreno and his followers and the current vogue of sociometry;[3] in the efforts of Bales and others to develop instruments whereby the dynamic process of interaction between group members can be "captured" for research purposes;[4] in the shift of emphasis of social psychology to the study of the impact of the group on the individual as manifested in Newcomb's recent book, *Social Psychology*;[5] in Stogdill's paper on leadership, in which the leader is viewed as one who fulfils a certain function in the group process rather than as an isolated collection of traits;[6] and in Homans' systematic analysis of the small group.[7]

Perhaps the most stimulating and ingenious studies of small-group structure and process are those of the Research Center for Group Dynamics at the University of Michigan. The especial significance of this agency's work lies in its concerted effort to build and test theories concerning the interrelationship of group phenomena. The hypotheses that are tested are not *ad hoc* hypotheses but rather flow from the deduced logical interrelationships of clearly stated nominal definitions. After operational defi-

[1] This is one of a series of studies on the broad problem of social responsibility being conducted in the Laboratory for Research in Social Relations, University of Minnesota, under a grant from the Carnegie Corporation. The authors were members of the laboratory at the time the first draft of the paper was prepared.

[2] J. S. Bruner, "Social Psychology and Group Processes," *Annual Review of Psychology*, I (1950), 119.

[3] J. L. Moreno, *Who Shall Survive?* (Washington: Nervous & Mental Disease Publishing Co., 1934), and most of the articles in *Sociometry*.

[4] R. F. Bales, *Interaction Process Analysis* (Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Press, Inc., 1950).

[5] Theodore Newcomb, *Social Psychology* (New York: Dryden Press, 1950).

[6] R. M. Stogdill, "Leadership, Membership and Organization," *Psychological Bulletin*, XL (January, 1950), 1–14.

[7] G. C. Homans, *The Human Group* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1950).

nitions are formulated, hypotheses are usually tested by creating an experimental situation in which the variables under investigation can be measured while other possible explanatory variables are controlled. The research projects of this center and its students constitute one of the very few areas in social science wherein rigorous theory-building and theory-testing are being attempted. In consequence, this work deserves the careful attention and scrutiny of social scientists concerned with small groups.

Largely stimulated by the investigations of this group, the writers of this paper undertook a preliminary study of the relationship between certain aspects of group structure and group process in natural groups. One of the problems investigated was the determinants and the consequences of group cohesiveness. In dealing with it, the investigators were forced to review critically certain of the studies concerning group cohesiveness of the Research Center for Group Dynamics; this paper is a resultant of that critical appraisal and points out certain possible logical and methodological inadequacies which were noted in these ingenious studies. It is our hope that this paper will bring certain important problems to the attention of students of small groups and will result in reconsideration of the logic and the assumptions in designing research on small groups. It should be noted, however, that the following comments pertain only to the particular studies cited; in no way should they be generalized to apply to any and all studies of group cohesiveness emanating from the Research Center for Group Dynamics.

II. THE INADEQUACIES OF OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS OF COHESIVENESS

A. FROM A LOGICAL VIEWPOINT

We shall raise certain questions in the latter portion of this paper concerning the nominal definition of cohesiveness used in several researches. For our present purpose we shall simply indicate the nominal definition of cohesiveness in order to consider the legitimacy of the operational definitions.

The nominal definition of cohesiveness used by Festinger, Schachter, and Back is "the total field of forces which act on members to remain in the group."[8] This conception requires a conceptualization of crucial factors that will affect the magnitude of the "force field."[9] Two classes of forces are distinguished and conceptualized: (1) the attractiveness of the group for its members (i.e., the extent to which the group is a goal in and of itself) and (2) the extent to which the group mediates goals for its members.[10]

Back states the matter in this way: "Individuals may want to belong to a group because they like other members, because being a member of a group may be attractive in itself (for example, it may be an honor to belong to it), or because the group may mediate goals which are important for the members."[11]

The nominal definition, therefore, has as its crucial factor the attractiveness of the group for its members. It is clear that the same group may be highly attractive to its several members but for highly diverse reasons. The group may have a positive valence for member A because he has friends in it; for member B because he receives in the group approbation from other members; for member C because he believes in the program of the group; for member D because he has no place to go on Wednesday

[8] L. Festinger, S. Schachter, and K. Back, *Social Pressures in Informal Groups: A Study of a Housing Project* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1950), p. 164.

[9] See Carl Hempel, "Concept Formation in the Empirical Sciences," p. 10 (mimeographed), for a criticism of key terms of topological psychology such as "vector," "force," and "field." Hempel argues that the conditions of application for these terms are indefinite, and in consequence rigorous testing of theories is precluded.

[10] Festinger, Schachter, and Back, *op. cit.*, pp. 164–65.

[11] K. W. Back, "The Exertion of Influence through Social Communication," in L. Festinger *et al., Theory and Experiment in Social Communication* (Ann Arbor: Edwards Bros., Inc., 1950), p. 22.

evening, and the group meets on Wednesday night; for member E because his father was a member of the group at one time, and he feels it is his duty to belong; for member F because he thinks there are potential customers in the group for his business; for member G because he hates his wife, and the group gives him an excuse to leave his home one night a week; and for other members the group is attractive because it meets their peculiar and idiosyncratic needs. Further, since cohesiveness is viewed as the "total field of forces," the attractiveness of the group for any one member may be based on one or a combination of several or more factors.

Since these investigators have selected as their nominal definition the total field of forces acting on members to remain in the group, it is relevant to raise the question: Do the operational definitions used adequately represent this nominal definition of cohesiveness? A review of such definitions in the two studies cited suggests that they do not.

In the Westgate study, one and only one of the possible number of forces that act on group members is utilized. More specifically, the operational definition utilized to test hypotheses about cohesiveness is an in-out group ratio of friendships.[12]

> The courts and buildings in Westgate and Westgate West were mainly social groups. The attractiveness of the group, may, therefore, be measured by the friendships formed within the group. If residents had most of their friends within the court, the group was more attractive to them than if they had few friends within the court. The former situation will imply a more cohesive court which should be able to induce stronger forces on its members[13]

The measures utilized for ascertaining the cohesiveness of the groups were the replies to a sociometric question regarding whom the residents saw more of "socially."

> Thus, if the members of one court give a total of 30 choices, 18 of which are given to others in their own court the percentage of "in-groups" choices is sixty. This court is then considered more cohesive than some other court which gives a total of 32 choices, only 16 of which are to others in the same court.[14]

In short, one "force" of the possible innumerable attractiveness forces of the group for its members is utilized and this one measure is determined on a priori grounds.

The basic deficiency in this measurement of cohesiveness can be described as follows: (1) Only one dimension of the innumerable dimensions of the total field of forces is utilized; this is clearly an inadequate measurement of the *total* field of forces operating on group members. (2) The measurement refers to an a priori conception of the investigators as to the most crucial attractiveness factor for all group members rather than allowing the subjects to utilize their own perceptions of why the group is attractive to them.

The same basic criticisms apply to Back's experiment to test the hypothesis "that the greater the cohesiveness of a group (the stronger the forces acting on the members to remain in the group) the greater will be the amount of influence that can and will be exerted on the members."[15] Back experimentally established high and low cohesive groups "for each of three kinds of 'attraction to the group' conditions." One force, then, out of the innumerable forces that might constitute the total field of forces operative in groups is utilized as an operational definition of cohesiveness. It is true that three different kinds of "attractiveness" were considered, but each kind was considered singly in any one group. In short, here again there exists an operational definition that inadequately reproduces the nominal definition of cohesiveness.

How does Back "create" high and low cohesiveness in his groups on each of his

[12] Festinger, Schachter, and Back, *op. cit.*

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 91.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 91. We do not consider here the effect of mutual choices on their index of cohesiveness. Their arbitrary solution of this problem is extremely questionable from a methodological point of view.

[15] *Op. cit.*, p. 30.

three kinds of attractiveness? To create weak cohesiveness on the basis of personal attractiveness, the two group members were told, upon the basis of a questionnaire they had previously filled out: "We tried to find a partner with whom you could work best. Of course, we couldn't find anybody who would fit the description exactly, but we found a fellow who corresponded to the main points, and you will probably like him. You should get along all right."[16] To create strong cohesiveness, the same kind of "line" is given the subjects, but they are told that the matching of the two group members was almost perfect and that, in consequence, they should get along extremely well.

What has the experimenter really created in these groups? He has created simply a number of dyads in which in some the members are told that they should get along "all right" and in others that they should get along "swell" together. The assumption implicit here is that, because two people are told that they should get along fairly well or extremely well, they will *de facto* do so. Interpersonal relationships are not so easily and arbitrarily created; nor are groups. In short, Back's attempt to create experimentally high and low cohesiveness rests on a highly tenuous assumption. To assume that because people are told that they should be attractive to each other, it does not follow that they will be attractive to each other. It is true that the technique worked in the sense that differences between the two kinds of groups were found; but, in view of their artificiality, it is hard to understand the meaning of these differences.

Although space limitations preclude further consideration of other studies, the criticisms made of the Westgate and Back studies are in large part applicable to the Festinger and Thibaut study[17] and Schachter's study of deviation, rejection, and communication.[18] In the latter study, the attractiveness of the activity is utilized as the single index of cohesiveness. In the former, different degrees of pressure toward uniformity in a series of discussion groups were produced by varying the amount of emphasis upon unanimity of decision expected by the experimenter.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

[17] L. Festinger and J. Thibaut, "Interpersonal Communication in Small Groups," in Festinger *et al., op. cit.*, pp. 37–50.

B. FROM AN EMPIRICAL VIEWPOINT

The foregoing criticisms of these studies are based on logical analysis and are directed to the lack of sufficient correspondence between the conceptual and operational definitions of cohesiveness. The inadequacy of measurements based on such operational definitions can also be demonstrated from an empirical point of view. For example, in one aspect of an investigation carried out by the writers, an operational definition similar to the one in the Westgate study was used, namely, an in-out group ratio of intimate friends. But, in addition, two other possible indexes were utilized, a dislike ratio and an isolate ratio.[19] The assumption was that, the greater the proportion of in-group choices, the higher the cohesiveness of the group; the greater the proportion of group members who disliked each other, the lower the cohesiveness of the group; the greater the proportion of isolates in a group, the less cohesive the group. These indexes were also chosen on a priori grounds as possible meas-

[18] Stanley Schachter, "Deviation, Rejection and Communication," in Festinger *et al., op. cit.*, pp. 51–82.

[19] These indexes were utilized in the analysis of data secured from a sociometric schedule completed by female students who resided in thirteen separate houses constituting a co-operative housing project sponsored by the University of Minnesota. (Such questions as these were asked: "Name the girls in the village whom you consider as friends. *Check the names of those whom you consider as most intimate friends.* List the names of those girls in the village whom you can honestly say that you like. List the names of those whom you dislike.") The data were obtained during the academic year 1948–49 as a part of the Village Project of the Laboratory for Research in Social Relations at the University of Minnesota. A detailed report of these data and the methods by which they were collected and analyzed will be presented in forthcoming publications.

ures of the attractiveness of the group for its members.

Table 1 shows the scores and rank positions of each of thirteen groups constituting a co-operative residence unit for university women on the three indexes. The variation in rank position depending on the particular index of cohesiveness used is clearly shown in the table. Thus, Group I would be the most cohesive group using criterion A but would have a rank of 11.5 and a rank of 13 (the lowest rank) on criteria B and C, respectively. A simple inspection of the table indicates that the rankings of the groups on cohesiveness vary with the criterion used. The rank-difference correlation coefficients are as follows: —.37 between in-group ratio of intimate friends and proportion of group members disliked; —.42 between the intimate friends index and the dislike ratio; +.69 between the dislike ratio and the proportion of isolates in the group. Only the latter is statistically significant, at the 2 per cent level. The especial importance of this is that, if we use criterion A as our measure of cohesiveness in testing hypotheses concerning the influence of cohesiveness on certain variables (e.g., cohesiveness is positively related to productivity), the hypothesis may be supported; but, if we use criteria B, the hypothesis might have to be rejected. In short, using one simple index as a measurement of cohesiveness is highly unreliable when other equally relevant indexes of attractiveness are not highly correlated with that measure on the same groups.

TABLE 1

THE SCORES AND RANKS OF THIRTEEN GROUPS ON THREE CRITEEIA OF COHESIVENESS: (A) INTIMATE FRIENDS; (B) DISLIKE RATIO; (C) ISOLATE RATIO

GROUP	INTIMATE FRIENDS		DISLIKE RATIO		ISOLATE RATIO	
	Score	Rank*	Ratio	Rank*	Ratio	Rank*
A.....	11.5	13	.11	2.5	.11	6.5
B.....	17.1	12	.27	6	.18	8
C.....	35.7	5	.22	4	.11	6.5
D.....	32.0	7	.11	2.5	.00	2.5
E.....	43.1	3	.30	7	.23	10
F.....	32.0	6	.45	11.5	.20	9
G.....	58.3	2	.40	9.5	.40	12
H.....	31.9	8	.33	8	.00	2.5
I.....	66.7	1	.45	11.5	.71	13
J.....	20.3	10	.40	9.5	.09	5
K.....	20.0	11	.00	1	.00	2.5
L.....	27.4	9	.50	13	.30	11
M.....	36.5	4	.25	5	.00	2.5

* 1 = highest rank.

C. A POSSIBLE SOLUTION

The preceding discussion has attempted to show certain logical and empirical limitations of the operational definition of cohesiveness used in selected studies. What type of operational definition would be logically and empirically consistent with the conceptual definition of cohesiveness utilized by these writers? It will be recalled that their nominal definition is the total field of forces acting on members to remain in the group, or, translated, the attractiveness of the group for its members. Heuristically, it is highly improbable that an investigator could ever define adequately the multitudinous and heterogeneous field of forces as perceived consciously and unconsciously by all group members. But it is a relatively easy task to ascertain the attractiveness of the

group for each member if we disregard the specific reasons for the valence.

Posit a continuum of attractiveness for members of a group with one end of the continuum "very great attractiveness" and the other end "slight or no attractiveness"; then it is the task of the investigator to place each member of the group at some point on the continuum. Without regard for the specific basis of the attractiveness of the group for any member, it seems reasonable to assume that each member can be placed on the continuum. If this reasoning is accepted, then it follows that the most logical operational definition is to ask each member to indicate his place on this attractiveness continuum. In short, the question should be asked in general terms: How attractive is this group to you? And the respondent should be given the opportunity to respond to a series of categories, from the highest to the lowest degree of attractiveness, or to indicate his place on a linear scale, with each scale value being clearly labeled.

This provides an operational definition which is logically compatible with the nominal definition; further, it allows the respondent to utilize his own frame of reference in determining how attractive the group is to him rather than imposing a highly questionable single index developed a priori by the investigator.

III. COHESIVENESS AS A UNITARY CONCEPT

In Back's study it is stated: "If increase in cohesiveness under *all* conditions leads to the same influence effects, then cohesiveness can be regarded as a unitary concept. In the experiment, therefore, groups were established on all three bases; personal attraction, task direction, and group prestige. The strength of cohesiveness for each basis was varied."[20] Since the conclusions of this study indicate that increase in cohesiveness on each of the three bases of "cohesiveness" (i.e., the attractiveness of the group for its members) led to the same influence effect, the implication is that evidence has been presented to support the hypothesis that "cohesiveness" is a unitary concept. This line of reasoning requires careful scrutiny.

What is the meaning of a unitary concept? Back, unfortunately, does not explain his use of this phrase. However, if we mean by a unitary concept a nominal definition whose utility for theory construction cannot be shown to be improved by splitting it up into components, then we disagree with Back that he has offered any evidence to support the unitary conception of cohesiveness.

To demonstrate that "cohesiveness" is a unitary concept, Back must at least demonstrate empirically that the three kinds of attractiveness he uses are correlated highly in the same population so that the three kinds of attractiveness may be viewed as possible representation of the same phenomenon. What does Back do? He creates each of the three kinds of cohesiveness singly in different populations, and then, because the same effects occur, he assumes that these three aspects of attractiveness are highly correlated.

The illogic here is the assumption that because A in population R, B in population S, and C in population T produce the same effects in their respective populations, that A, B, and C will be highly correlated in population R, S, and T. This need not follow at all. Further, three factors may be related to the same dependent variable, but it does not follow that they are representations of the same higher level phenomenon. Thus, female 1 may be attractive to her husband because she is a good cook (I); female 2 may be attractive to her husband because she dresses well (II); female 3 may be attractive to her husband because she is beautiful (III). If I, II, and III can be shown to be related to success in marriage, it does not necessarily follow that I, II, and III are highly correlated with one another; and, further, placing these three factors under a general rubric, attractiveness, tends to obfuscate rather than to clarify our understanding of factors related to successful marriage.

Further, when only three forces of the "total field of forces" are studied, it seems

[20] *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

premature to begin speaking of the unitary nature of concepts. These considerations appear to be especially relevant in view of the lack of correspondence between the operational and nominal definitions of cohesiveness as indicated above.

IV. THE NEGATIVE CASE

Another criticism that can be made of this particular group of studies centers on an apparent lack of concern for the importance of the negative case in scientific investigations. One of the especial advantages of the experimental design as a research tool is that other investigators or the same investigators can duplicate the design to test the hypothesis under the same or similar conditions. Our confidence in a theory tends to increase as we observe the same findings in repeated experiments.

To their credit, the studies usually include a number of repetitions for each experiment. But, in reporting their findings, these investigators usually show the means or percentages of the factors being measured in the experimental groups—and in the control groups, if such groups are used. They then compute the statistical differences among the groups under investigation and indicate whether the observed differences are statistically significant.

Thus, in Back's study, for example, the total pattern of each group's discussion was rated "as either active participation or withdrawal from the group discussion."[21] Since 73 per cent (19 out of 26) of the low cohesive groups tended to withdraw, while only 41 per cent (11 out of 27) of the high cohesive groups tended to withdraw, Back concludes that his data indicate that "low cohesiveness groups react to realization of difference by withdrawing from the situation, while high cohesive groups tend to try to eliminate the differences in opinion."[22]

We agree that there appears to be some association between "cohesiveness" and communication patterns. But of equal or more interest is the more than one-fourth of the low cohesive groups that did not tend to withdraw and the substantial proportion of the high cohesive groups which did tend to withdraw from the discussion situation in contradistinction to the theoretical expectation. In short, here are negative cases. Why does not the theory handle these cases? How can these exceptions be explained? Under what conditions do high cohesive groups remain with the problem and attempt to reach a solution acceptable to all members? Not under just any conditions, it appears.

These negative cases suggest that the theory is somehow inadequate; that perhaps the theory applies only under certain conditions and not under others. One of the especial values of the experimental design is precisely that it allows us to examine in detail the negative as well as the positive findings and the conditions which govern their appearance. In sum, the value to social science of such research would be immeasurably increased by exploitation of the negative findings in addition to reporting the positive evidence in support of stated hypotheses.

V. THE GROUP PROBLEM

Another aspect of the research that deserves careful consideration is the problem of the kinds of groups frequently used in their experimental studies. The most generally used sociological definition of the group has been two or more people in psychic interaction. There is no doubt that the experimentally created groups conform to this nominal definition. Even though the sociologist is uncomfortable with a group of three people, two of whom are stooges, who are placed in separate rooms and who interact through a series of notes, yet these three people are interacting, and in consequence they do meet the conceptual criteria of the nominal definition.

Sociologists, however, are acutely aware that there are groups and groups. A primary group is quite different in the intimacy of interaction from a secondary group. A family is quite different from a class.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 29. [22] *Ibid.*

Among the numerous obvious criteria of group differentiation are the size, the intimacy, the intensity and the duration of the interaction, the complexity of the organizational structure, and the strength of the psychological bonds among group members. This suggests that the conclusions of these experiments may not apply to all groups but only to those with characteristics similar to those of the groups studied.

To be specific, if we accept Back's conclusions, then they are applicable only to groups of size 2, in which the interaction has a low degree of intimacy and intensity, which meet for a short period of time, which have a very informal organizational structure, etc. In other words, the evidence that has been amassed supports the relationship between the variables under investigations *under these but only these conditions*.

The dissatisfaction of some social scientists with the experimental groups used in these studies can be at least partially explained by the overgeneralization of the conclusions. In their experimental studies, the investigators fail to specify a statement of the conditions under which the generalization is verifiably true. To argue that the relationship holds between X and Y in general neglects an integral requirement of theory construction, namely, a statement of the conditions under which the theory holds.

Of course, these studies are only a few of many in the social sciences in which the investigators are not always careful to state their conditions—a criterion of vigorous theory-building. A possible defense is that theories should be so stated that they have the widest general applicability even though the pertinent tests of that theory must be made piecemeal. It is true that this is the goal of theory construction, but the burden of proof is upon the research-worker to show that the relationships between X and Y exists under conditions a_1, $a_2, \ldots, a_n$ rather than assuming that, because X and Y are related under conditions a_1 they are also related under conditions a_2 or a_n. It must be remembered that systematic searching for the negative case is the task of the scientist who has proposed evidence in support of a theory.

In sum, a careful statement of the "group conditions" under which relationships between the variables being studied hold has been largely ignored in these studies. Hence the tendency toward overgeneralization. If this criterion of theory-building is respected, systematic studies will be encouraged in which the "group conditions" are systematically varied. In short, in their zeal to study experimentally the relationship between the independent and dependent variables, these investigators have neglected to specify the conditions under which these relationships are being studied. This omission clearly delimits the generality of their findings and should be so recognized in their research designs and conclusions.

VI. AN ALTERNATIVE NOMINAL DEFINITION OF COHESIVENESS

In the first part of this paper attention was directed to pointing out certain inadequacies of the operational definition of cohesiveness used in the researches; in addition, an attempt was made to show how these inadequacies could be remedied. In this section of the paper we wish to reconsider the nominal definition of cohesiveness and propose another.

On first appraisal of the nominal definition of cohesiveness as "the total field of forces acting on group members to remain in the group" we were somewhat startled at the disinvestment of this term with the common-sense notion of cohesiveness as "sticking-togetherness." If one views cohesiveness as sticking-togetherness or, in more sophisticated terms, the resistance of a group to disruptive forces, then it is immediately apparent that the attractiveness of a group for its members could be viewed as a variable that might be related to the resistance of a group to disruptive forces. Although on logical grounds one can never declare one conceptual definition to be

truer than another, one can argue that one definition is better than another if it seems to identify better leads to the investigation of existent problems.

The "total forces" or "attractiveness" definition view of cohesiveness results in an additive conception of this phenomenon. If for some members of the group the forces are strong and for others weak, then the cohesiveness of the group is regarded as an average of the attractiveness of the group for the individual members. In short, a group phenomenon is viewed in terms of the sum total or the average of the perceptions of its individual members. But a group may be highly attractive to all its members and still possess a very low degree of sticking-togetherness. Thus, the members of the executive committee of the American Sociological Society may find membership in that committee and attendance at meetings very attractive because of the prestige attached to their positions or for other reasons, but it does not follow that such a committee will cling together as a group.

In short, the conception of "attractiveness" or total field of forces results in an emphasis on individual perceptions and minimizes the importance of the relational bonds between and among group members. The attractiveness concept raises the question: "How attractive is the group to each member?" In contrast, the resistance conception raises the question: "How strong or weak a disruptive force will be required before the group begins to fall apart?" In short, the emphasis is on the strength of the relational bonds between and among group members under varying conditions of crises. Operationally, this conception of cohesiveness could be utilized by setting up a continuum of relevant weak and strong disruptive forces and observing at what point on the "disruptive force" continuum the group does actually begin to disintegrate. Methodological problems would certainly arise in setting up the precise operational definitions to be used in concrete researches. But this formulation emphasizes the strength of the relational bonds among group members rather than the attractiveness preceptions of individual members. Since we are dealing with a group phenomena, it may be fruitful to attempt to "capture" the group or relational aspect of member relations rather than or in addition to the individual attractiveness perceptions.

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COMMENT

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The studies that Gross and Martin discuss were conducted as part of a general program of research on social communication.[1] To date, this program has centered on three areas of investigation: (1) communication and social influence; (2) communication in hierarchical structures; and (3) the transmission of rumor.

Gross and Martin are concerned chiefly with certain aspects of the theory and experiments included under the label "communication and social influence." The work in this area has focused on the following set of problems: (1) determinants of the magnitude of pressures to communicate to or influence others in a group; (2) determinants of the choice of the recipient of communications or attempts at influence; (3) determinants of the acceptance of induction in the recipient of a communica-

[1] A complete bibliography of this program of research follows: (1) K. W. Back, "Influence through Social Communications," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XLVI (1951), 9–23; (2) K. Back, L. Festinger, B. Hymovitch, H. H. Kelley, S. Schachter, and J. Thibaut, "The Methodology of Studying Rumor Transmission," *Human Relations*, III (1950), 307–12; (3) L. Festinger, "Informal Social Communication," *Psychological Review*, LVII (1950), 271–82; (4) L. Festinger, D. Cartwright, *et al.*, "A Study of a Rumor: Its Origin and Spread," *Human Relations*, I (1948), 464–86; (5) L. Festinger, S. Schachter,

tion; and (4) determinants of subgroup formation among the members of a group.

The variables which have been identified as closely related to these problems are: the differences of opinion which exist among members of a group, the relevance of the issue to the functioning of the group, the cohesiveness of the group, the extent to which the opinions concerned are related to other group memberships or fill need satisfying functions for the person, and the status of the group member. Each of these factors has been studied in a variety of experiments and field studies, and a systematic body of theory encompassing these variables has been evolved.[2] The major concern of the Gross and Martin paper is a critique of the formulation of one of these variables—cohesiveness. They are concerned chiefly with the conceptualization of cohesiveness and the operational co-ordinations to the concept. In addition, they point out what they feel are shortcomings in other aspects of this body of experiment and theory on social influence. For the reader's convenience, the major points raised by Gross and Martin will be treated under headings similar to theirs and, where possible, in the same sequence.

THE INADEQUACIES OF OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS OF COHESIVENESS: FROM A LOGICAL VIEWPOINT

Cohesiveness has been formulated in the Westgate study[3] as "the total field of forces which act on members to remain in the group." These forces will depend upon the attractiveness or unattractiveness of the members of the group for one another and of the activities which the group permits its members. Cohesiveness is defined as the resultant of all these various forces acting on members to remain in the group. These forces, some with direction toward and some with direction away from the group, will, in some fashion, summate in a resultant force which is an expression of the intensity of attraction of the group for its members.

In terms of this formulation there appear to be three ways in which operational co-ordinations may plausibly be made to the construct cohesiveness: (1) to identify and measure *all* possibly relevant forces in the total force field; (2) to identify and measure the major component force or forces in the force field; and (3) to measure the resultant force.

Gross and Martin object that in the Westgate study and in some of the experiments only a component of the force field is measured, whereas the definition demands, they feel, that all forces be measured. For the Westgate study, this is, of course, true. In this field study of a housing community, it would have been extremely difficult to measure all possible sources of cohesiveness, and, in the specific situation, it was technically unfeasible to devise a really adequate measure of the resultant force. The Westgate study is clearly a case in which the conceptualization defines the class of phenomena included under the construct and the operational co-ordination defines for the specific event only major operating components of this class. This is probably a characteristic of most co-ordinated theory and research in early, formative stages of development, and the criticism of an "operational deficiency" in the Gross and Martin sense is a freely admitted and obvious point. It is scarcely a problem, then, of a lack of complete parallel between the concep-

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and K. Back, *Social Pressures in Informal Groups: A Study of a Housing Project* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1950); (6) L. Festinger and J. Thibaut, "Interpersonal Communication in Small Groups," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* XLVI (1951), 92–99; (7) H. H. Kelley, "Communication in Experimentally Created Hierarchies," *Human Relations,* IV (1950), 39–56; (8) S. Schachter, "Deviation, Rejection and Communication," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* XLVI (1951), 190–207; (9) S. Schachter, N. Ellertson, D. McBride, and D. Gregory, "An Experimental Study of Cohesiveness and Productivity," *Human Relations,* IV (1951), 229–38; (10) J. Thibaut, "An Experimental Study of the Cohesiveness of Underprivileged Groups," *Human Relations,* III (1950), 251–78.

In addition to these papers, several other studies, still unpublished, have been mimeographed and distributed. The monograph, "Theory and Experiment in Social Communication," to which Gross and Martin refer, was originally printed as a report to the office of Naval Research and is not generally available. All of the papers contained in this monograph are listed in the above blibliography. The journal articles are more complete, and all references to these studies will be to the journal publication.

[2] A systematic summary of this theory and the experimental work from which it has derived can be found in Festinger's article, "Informal Social Communication," *op. cit.*

[3] Festinger, Schachter, and Back, *op. cit.*

tual and operational definitions but rather of the adequacy of a procedure which at the time and in the specific situation was technically the most feasible.

It would seem reasonable to suggest that the adequacy of such a procedure should be judged in terms of the following question: How convincing a case can be made that the major components of the force field have actually been identified and measured and that the effects of all other components are either negligible or constant for all cases or effectively randomized among all cases? The situation in the Westgate community should therefore be examined to determine the reasonableness of identifying friendship as the majer source of cohesiveness. At this point Gross and Martin's criticism of "the a priori conception of the investigators" should be discussed. In their sense of the term almost any study is a priori. Since no one can measure everything, the choice of the variables to study and the measurements to make must, in good part, rest on certain a priori conceptions. Our evaluation of these preconceptions must rest on the extent to which they seem well grounded and on their potential fruitfulness. The write-up of the Westgate study contains much information, which Gross and Martin ignore, which will allow the reader to evaluate the decision to identify friendship as the chief source of cohesiveness, a decision made after more than six months of participant observation and a series of interviews covering, among many things, sources of satisfaction and dissatisfaction in the Westgate community. Detailed data from one of these surveys is presented in chapter ii of the book, and pertinent data will be reviewed briefly here.

In response to the question, "Do you feel that living in Westgate limits or enlarges your friendship?" only 15 per cent of those interviewed felt it limited their friendships. To the question, "Do you feel a need for friends outside of Westgate?" only 15 per cent replied "Yes." These friendships seem to have been active social relationships, for 80 per cent of the interviewees reported that they invited other Westgaters to their homes frequently. Though there were numerous complaints throughout the interviews about the physical plant of the community and the shortcomings of the houses, there was not a single complaint about neighbors or the social life in the project. Clearly, these people did have the feeling that Westgate promoted friendships and seemed to be satisfied with the friendships they developed and exhibited few efforts to seek social activities outside the project. The most frequent explanation of this high degree of social satisfaction was the 'congeniality of the community." There is no indication of other even moderately strong sources of cohesiveness in any of three series of interviews or in the protocol of the participant observers. Westgate was a housing community with a minimum of formalized activities which might in themselves be a source of group attraction. On the basis of these data, it does seem reasonable to assume that friendship is the major source of cohesiveness in the Westgate community. If this is an a priori notion, it is, at least, a well-documented one.

There is, of course, one further very obvious criterion by which this procedure should be judged. Very simply—does it work? If the predicted relationships had not come out, the issues Gross and Martin raise would have been cogent and to the point. In this case, using only a component of the force field might well have been an inadequate operational definition of cohesiveness. As it is, however, the predictions of a relationship between cohesiveness and influence are clearly and significantly borne out and it becomes somewhat difficult to appreciate Gross and Martin's criticisms as anything more than puristic bickering. If this single case is not completely convincing, the three other studies,[4] in which much the same relationships between cohesiveness (operationally defined in terms of the friendship component of the force field) and influence are demonstrated, do constitute a convincing array.

The third method suggested for making operational co-ordinations to the cohesiveness construct was that of measuring the resultant force toward remaining in the group. Where such measurement is possible, this procedure has the advantage of short-circuiting the labor necessary to identify and measure the major components of the total force field, for the resultant force is the summative expression of all forces toward and away from the group. It

[4] Back, *op. cit.*; Schachter, Ellertson, McBride, and Gregory, *op. cit.*; and L. Goodman and L. Salk, "A Further Study of Group Cohesiveness and Social Influence" (MS).

should be pointed out that the solution Gross and Martin offer in the section of their paper entitled "A Possible Solution" is the suggestion that the resultant force rather than the total field of forces be measured. Their "solution," however, is scarcely a novel one for two of three laboratory experiments which they condemn for not having such a measure do measure cohesiveness by attempting to estimate the resultant force. In Schachter's study of deviation and rejection, for example, all subjects were asked these questions: (1) "Do you want to remain a member of this group?" (2) "How often do you think this group should meet?" (3) "If enough members decide not to stay so that it seems this group might discontinue, would you like the chance to persuade others to stay?" These questions have nothing to do with the source of attractiveness but do compose a rough sort of scale for estimating how eager a subject was to remain a member of his group.

No attempt to measure the resultant force was made in the Westgate study because of a certain skepticism about the value of questions which ask, "How attractive is this group to you?" and allow the interviewees to respond by checking a point on a continuum ranging from "very great attractiveness" to "slight or no attractiveness."

Gross and Martin make one further point in this section. They question the effectiveness of Back's procedure for making high and low cohesive groups. Telling people that they will like or dislike one another is scarcely, they feel, a guaranty that they will like or dislike one another. Only an independent measure of the effectiveness of the manipulation can provide satisfactory evidence that the manipulation has worked. Though Gross and Martin are undoubtedly correct in questioning Back's manipulation, they do overlook the fact that Back did have an independent measure. This is described in considerable detail on page 15 of his article. In addition, Back's manipulation for producing high and low cohesive groups has been used in three other studies[5] which Gross and Martin ignore. In each of these experiments a variety of independent measures was used to determine the success of the manipulation, and in each experiment large, consistent, and significant differences were obtained between high and low cohesive groups.

Gross and Martin also feel that their objections to the inadequacies of the operational definitions of cohesiveness are equally applicable to the Festinger and Thibaut study. It would be interesting to see their demonstration of this applicability, for the Festinger and Thibaut study has nothing whatever to do with cohesiveness.

FROM AN EMPIRICAL VIEWPOINT

In this section, Gross and Martin make the point that "using one simple index as a measurement of cohesiveness is highly unreliable when other equally relevant indexes of attractiveness are not highly correlated with that measure on the same groups." They reach this conclusion on the basis of an analysis of data from one of their own projects. Since they do not present a full description of their ratios or the method by which the data in their Table 1 is determined, I am grateful to Dr. John Darley, senior member of the project to which they refer, for his help in going over the original data from which their Table 1 is derived.

The three ratios described were determined by the following formulas:

$$a)\ \text{Intimate score} = \frac{\text{Total in-group choices}}{\text{Total out-group choices}}$$

$$\frac{\text{Total no. in house}}{\text{Total no. in village—no. in house}}$$

$$b)\ \text{Dislike ratio} = \frac{\text{No. disliked in house}}{\text{No. of respondents in house}}$$

c) Isolates were determined in the following way: On each of four different questions, the following ratio was determined for each girl:

$$\frac{\text{No. choices received from members of her house}}{\text{No. respondents in her house}}$$

The four questions asked for the following information: (1) girls liked (asked on a questionnaire administered in the spring quarter); (2) girls who were friends (asked on a questionnaire administered in the spring quarter); (3) girls wanted as roommates (asked on a questionnaire administered in the fall quarter); and (4) girls who were intimate friends (asked on a questionnaire administered in the

[5] Schachter, Ellertson, McBride, and Gregory, *op. cit.*; Goodman and Salk, *op. cit.*; L. Festinger, H. Gerard, B. Hymovitch, H. Kelley, and B. Raven, "The Communication Patterns of Deviate Group Members" (MS).

spring quarter). For each of these four questions a distribution was made of the ratios of all girls in the village. Any girl in the lowest quartile of any two of these distributions was considered an isolate. The isolate ratio then is equal to

$$\frac{\text{No. isolates in house}}{\text{Total no. in house.}}$$

There is much about these ratios that merits detailed consideration. Space limitations, however, permit only a few particularly relevant comments. Notice first that the isolate ratio is determined on the basis of questions asked at different times. A period of seven months separates the roommates question from the other questions asked. The isolate ratio, therefore, is made up of data collected at two different times. The intimate score and the dislike ratio are both made up of data collected only in the spring quarter. Thus, two of their correlations relate, in part, data collected at different times. The interpretation Gross and Martin give to these low correlations is particularly interesting when we note that in another article,[6] these same authors conclude, on the basis of precisely the same source of data, that "derived measures of mutuality and of cohesiveness show a high degree of instability over the course of the year."

The intimate friends score is based on the total number of *choices* made. The dislike ratio is based on the total number of *people* disliked. Not only does this make for noncomparability of the two indexes but it grossly distorts the dislike data. For example, the house labeled "L" in their table has a total of six respondents, only one of whom gives any dislike choices. She makes three such choices. The house labeled "I" has eleven respondents, of whom six give a total of ten dislike choices to five different people. Thus, 54 per cent of the respondents in House I make dislike choices, and only 17 per cent make such choices in House L. There is an average of .91 dislike choices per respondent in House I and an average of .50 dislike choices in House L. Yet by Gross and Martin's method of computation, House L has a higher dislike ratio than does House I.

Note also that isolates are determined on the basis of a distribution of the entire population of the village. Thus, by the criteria used, a girl may be a relative isolate in her own house and still not be categorized as an isolate. The intimacy score and the dislike ratio are calculated only for the subgroup—the house unit. Thus, two of their three correlations attempt to relate scores determined for the subgroups to scores determined for the entire population.

It is also interesting to compare the denominators of the intimate score and the dislike ratio. The denominator of the intimate score is based on the total number of people actually living in the house or village. The dislike ratio is based on the number of people who actually filled out the questionnaire. Ten per cent of those living in the village did not fill out the questionnaire. The scores of six of the thirteen houses are considerably changed by the use of a different denominator. Probably, the use of either set of figures is justifiable. But it is certainly necessary that the same set of figures be used as the denominators for both ratios when a comparison of this order is being made.

It is scarcely surprising that the correlations are low.

Let us now imagine that Gross and Martin had employed indexes that were comparable, that their methods of analysis were irreproachable, and that they had obtained legitimate low correlations and proceed to examine the interpretations they give to these data.

In terms of the definition of cohesiveness as "the total field of forces acting on members to remain in the group" their three sociometric indexes represent independent measures not of the resultant cohesiveness but of different components of the total field of forces. Positive sociometric choices, or their "intimate score," may be co-ordinated to forces with direction toward the group. Dislike choices should be co-ordinated to forces with direction away from the group. Isolates who are neither attractive nor unattractive to the chooser neither contribute to nor detract from the cohesiveness of the group. Gross and Martin, then, are not testing the empirical relationships among three independent measures of the same thing. Each index represents a measure of a

[6] J. Darley, N. Gross, and W. Martin, "Studies of Group Behavior: I. Stability, Change, and Interrelations of Psychometric and Sociometric Variables," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XLVI (1951), 565–76.

different component of the total field of forces,[7] and there would seem to be no convincing a priori reason to anticipate the level of correlations among them.

Gross and Martin are actually testing a hypothesis about the interdependence of various components of the force field. Restated, their hypothesis might read something like this: People who like many people (or choose many friends) will tend to dislike few; people who dislike many will like few. While this may be a plausible assumption to readers of morality plays, and admirers of the good fairy and the evil witch, it does seem somewhat strained as a hypothesis about female college sophomores. However, it is a hypothesis subject to empirical test, and as such let us examine the adequacy of their test.

A correlational test of this sort demands the complete independence of each measure. The sociometric indexes are measures for each house—a group averaging about ten people. The sociometric questions allow unlimited choices. Clearly, with a limited population, the making of "like" choices necessarily decreases the number available for "dislike" choices and vice versa. With a very small group this interdependence of measures would make for extremely high correlations. In very large groups this effect should have little importance. In medium-size groups (such as those tested by Gross and Martin) one would anticipate correlations of about the magnitude and direction they obtain, attesting not to the validity of their hypothesis but to the spurious nature of their test.[8]

[7] This is, of course, equally true for all studies using sociometric indexes of cohesiveness. Thus, in the Westgate study, the "like" choices ratio also can only be co-ordinated to one of the component forces of the resultant cohesiveness. The justification for using this single index of cohesiveness has, in part, been presented in the first section of this paper. Further justification can be found in Gross and Martin's own data. Rather than their various indexes being, as they maintain, "equally relevant," their original data reveal that their subjects made 240 like choices and only 52 dislike choices. Apparently in groups of this sort friendship is a major component of cohesiveness, and dislikes are relatively infrequent. However, a better operational approximation of the resultant force toward the group would undoubtedly take account of both like and dislike choices.

COHESIVENESS AS A UNITARY CONCEPT

Gross and Martin define a unitary concept as "a nominal definition whose utility for theory construction cannot be shown to be improved by splitting it up into components." They continue: "To demonstrate that 'cohesiveness' is a unitary concept, Back must at least demonstrate empirically that the three kinds of attractiveness he uses are correlated highly in the same population so that the three kinds of attractiveness may be viewed as possible representation of the same phenomenon." They then proceed to demonstrate logically that it is impossible to make inferences about correlation from Back's experimental design. They are completely correct; it is impossible to make inferences about correlation. However, since Back does not assume correlation among these three factors, or conclude that correlation exists or even attempt to demonstrate the existence of correlation, it is a little difficult to appreciate the nicety of their point.

There are a number of major difficulties with their argument. Though their definition of a unitary concept is perfectly acceptable, their implication from this definition that the various sources of cohesiveness must be highly intercorrelated before cohesiveness can be considered a unitary concept is a complete *non sequitur*. One of the tests of a construct in any science is the extent to which it facilitates the comprehension of a variety of events as examples of a single construct rather than as a series of discrete events. Back's experiment attempts to demonstrate that a number of apparently very different phenomena can, for certain purposes, be subsumed under the construct "cohesiveness"—in this sense Back chooses the label "unitary construct." There are a number of such ideas in science; for example, heat, electricity, and income. Heat would in this sense be a unitary construct, for subsumed under the construct would be a great variety of source of heat such as burning oil,

[8] Following this line of reasoning, one might anticipate slight negative correlations between the isolate ratio and the dislike ratio. The obtained correlation of +.69 is, however, not particularly surprising, for the data composing the two ratios overlap considerably. Isolates are determined only by lack of some form of "like" choices. Clearly, those people who receive "dislike" choices are necessarily able to receive fewer "like" choices.

sunlight, two bodies rubbing against one another, etc. The notion is meaningless that before we can lump together these various sources of heat under a single construct there must be demonstrated correlations among the amounts of burning oil and sunlight existent. Similarly for electricity; flowing water, burning coal, and ten-cent combs rubbed against wool are all sources of electricity. Is it reasonable to suggest that electricity may be considered a unitary construct only if the number of ten-cent combs is highly correlated with the amount of flowing water?

To demonstrate the existence of a unitary construct in this context, it is necessary to demonstrate the relationship of each of these sources of heat, electricity, or cohesiveness to some criterion which is co-ordinated to the construct. Thus, increasing the amount of either burning oil, coal, or gas will increase temperature irrespective of any correlations among them. Similarly, increasing the strength of friendship ties, the attractiveness of the activities, or the prestige of the group will all increase the amount of influence exerted and accepted. The demonstrated relationship of each of these to the criterion is evidence that the three may be subsumed under the construct.

It is somewhat difficult to understand precisely why Gross and Martin feel correlation is necessary. Though they use the imperative, "Back *must* at least demonstrate empirically that the three kinds of attractiveness . . . are correlated," they, at no point, suggest a single reason why he "must." I would suggest, though, that Gross and Martin have thoroughly confused the difference between operational and conceptual definitions and enmeshed themselves in a number of heroic semantic tangles similar in origin to their difficulties in the section of their paper titled "From an Empirical Viewpoint." In that section they assume that each of their sociometric indexes is a direct measure of cohesiveness, whereas they are measures of some of the independent forces contributing to the cohesiveness. Here they are assuming that friendship, attractive activities, and prestige are each cohesiveness, or, in their words, "representations of the same higher level phenomena." They are, of course, nothing of the sort. In the theoretical system under discussion friendship, attractive activities, and prestige are hypothesized as independent sources of cohesiveness, and no presumption is made about possible intercorrelation.

Gross and Martin seem further to feel that placing a variety of apparently discrete events under one "general rubric . . . tends to obfuscate rather than to clarify." This interesting point, if followed out, makes science and theory impossible, for science proceeds by a constant process of subsuming a variety of phenomena under a lesser number of constructs. To be consistent, Gross and Martin should reject the economist's construct income, for, though two men may have identical incomes, one earns by scaling fish and the other by placing the salami between the bread. Though the construct may be useful for making derivations about purchasing power, it "obfuscates" the differences between the two men. Or, to reject the physicist's construct gravity, for, though it enables us to comprehend free fall, it "obfuscates" the differences in pigmentation of free falling apples, pears, and oranges.

Any construct represents an attempt to abstract particular properties of a class of phenomena. Beyond these specified properties, the construct includes no formal statements about other aspects of the phenomena. A construct does not attempt to present a pictorial representation of an event. For derivations related to the formal properties of the construct, the construct may be eminently useful. For any other statement, it may be irrelevant. Thus, the cohesiveness construct is an attempt to abstract from the enormous variety of interpersonal and group phenomena and situations certain properties of attractiveness, of "binding together." Subsumed under the construct would be all factors which make for attractiveness. For derivations linked in some way to attractiveness (e.g., derivations relating to social influence, resistance to group disintegration, etc.) the construct is useful; for statements other than these, other constructs must be employed.

THE NEGATIVE CASE

Gross and Martin point out that "another criticism that can be made of this particular group of studies centers on an apparent lack of concern for the importance of the negative case in scientific investigations." They continue, "one of the especial values of the experimental design is precisely that it allows us to examine in detail the negative as well

as positive findings and the conditions which govern their appearance.

It would be somewhat more correct to say that the experimental design is particularly unsuited to examine negative cases. Any experimental design represents an attempt to study the relationships of a very limited number of variables. One attempts to manipulate, measure, and relate these few variables. Inevitably, in any experiment in social science countless additional variables will affect the experimental results. At best, it is possible to control a few of these variables and randomize the effect of others among the various experimental conditions. Though in the best of experiments there may be substantial differences among experimental conditions, inevitably these uncontrolled, unmeasured, and unidentified variables will produce negative cases. Because these cases are products of unmeasured and unidentified factors, any attempts to understand negative cases involve at best the most haphazard of speculation. Of course, one does get hunches about these negative cases, and such hunches may provide the basis for future experiments. It scarcely seems reasonable, though, to burden an already strained literature with a variety of unsupportable guesses. If, short of complete clinical, biological, and social histories of each subject, Gross and Martin are masters of some secret experimental design which permits precise understanding of "negative as well as positive findings," they could make a welcome contribution.

THE GROUP PROBLEM

In this section, Gross and Martin raise the timeworn and stereotyped problem of generalization. We all sometimes grow grim and cynical about our "social psychology of college sophomores" and insist upon the impossibility of generalizing to different groups or of saying anything more than our immediate experimental conditions allow. Thus Gross and Martin seem to insist, first, that these experimental reports should contain some avowal of limited generalizability and, second, that "a careful statement of the 'group conditions' under which relationships between the variables being studied hold" should be made. In view of their first implied demand and the considerable attention they devote to the study, it is surprising that they ignore the statement in the introduction to Back's study, "Because of the artificiality of the situation and a narrow range of subjects (mainly students in a psychology course), the results cannot be freely generalized." Let us, however, ignore this quotation, which, though pious, contributes little to the point at issue, and examine the demand for a careful statement of the "group conditions" under which the relationships hold. In their discussion these authors appear to use the term "group conditions" in at least two ways: as (1) a qualifying statement of the experimental design and a description of the subjects and as (2) a precise statement of the relationship of all possibly relevant variables to the variables under study.

If the first is their meaning, it is difficult to understand what more is needed than the customary methodology section of any experimental write-up which contains precise descriptions of the experimental design, the manipulations, the measuring instruments, and the subjects. Apparently Gross and Martin suggest that each conclusion of the experiment be qualified by a repetition of the entire methodology section; at best, a trifle dull.

If the second suggested interpretation of "group conditions" is their meaning, it would demand not only the identification of all other relevant variables but a precise statement of the way in which they interact with the variables under consideration—an ambitious and praiseworthy sentiment but hardly possible in an area of investigation in which a comprehensive set of useful variables has not even been identified. Except in relatively advanced areas of investigations, only a single nonpresumptuous qualifying clause is possible, the statement that the demonstrated relationships hold "with all other factors held constant or effectively randomized"—a frank admission of temporary ignorance concerning the relationship of other possible relevant variables to the variables being studied.

Actually, the studies under discussion make no particular claim to generalizability, though the impression that they do is undoubtedly created by the language of theory. Conceptualization necessitates the separation of the concepts from specific and immediate referents. Thus, a theory is couched in the language of universality and may, therefore, unintentionally create the impression of generalizability. The question of whether or not a specific formulation is generalizable to other popula-

tions or different situations is largely an empirical problem. The limited evidence available does, however, indicate fairly wide applicability of the conceptualization guiding these studies. For example, in the Westgate study, there is a marked relationship between the cohesiveness and the power of the group. The same relationship is clearly demonstrated in Back's laboratory experiment and in a partial replication[9] of Back's experiment where three people constitute the experimental group. Similarly, in the Westgate study there is a clear relationship between deviation and rejection. This relationship is again demonstrated in Schachter's study of experimentally created clubs and in a still unpublished study by Chabot and Zander of an industrial concern. In their experiment, Festinger and Thibaut demonstrate that the force to communicate to a particular member of the group increases as the difference in opinion between that member and the communicator increases. Schachter's experiment, in a completely different setting, demonstrates precisely the same phenomena. In short, the same relationships are demonstrated again and again in a variety of very different laboratory experiments, in students' clubs, in a housing community, and in a going industrial concern. It does seem reasonable to suggest that the postulate set guiding these various studies has generalizability beyond any of the single research settings described.

[9] Goodman and Salk, *op. cit.*

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

REJOINDER

NEAL GROSS AND WILLIAM E. MARTIN

After reading Schachter's reply we can only conclude that our hope that our paper would result in the reconsideration of the logic and assumptions utilized in designing small-group research was not well founded, for we find here a lengthy effort to prove that the logic and procedures in the studies reviewed cannot be questioned. While not now willing to withdraw from consideration any of the questions raised in our original paper, we shall comment on some of Schachter's answers.

1. Schachter admits that the operational definition of cohesiveness used in the Westgate study was inadequate. It did not measure "the total field of forces or the resultant force." We suggest that if an investigator cannot secure a measurement of a variable about which he desires to make predictions, then he cannot make *scientifically meaningful* statements about the way such a variable is related to other variables.

Schachter's "relevant criterion" for judging the operational definition, "the adequacy of the procedure which at the time and in the specific situation was technically the most feasible," does not square with the *only* justification offered by Schachter and his co-authors for use of "friendship" as the operational definition of cohesiveness: "The courts and building in Westgate West were mainly social groups. The attraction of the group may, *therefore,* be measured by the friendships formed within the group" (p. 91; italics ours).

Schachter claims to show that "friendship" was the major component of the force field out of which cohesiveness develops. He cites data which show that the residents of Westgate found little need for friendship outside the project. To us, the full body of data in chapter ii suggests that the residents of the project had little time or money for associations of any kind. For example, wives reported that 75 per cent of the husbands were too busy for social activities. The authors state: "Indeed, social life seems to have been encompassed by an occasional movie, exchanging dinners with the neighbors, asking one's court neighbors in to chat, and playing bridge" (p. 30). It is this peripheral activity involving at most passive social contacts that we are asked to believe constitutes the major component of the force field. That differential degrees of cohesiveness did develop out of this situation, mediated by the factor of propinquity, we can believe. But the investigators have hardly defined the total field of forces or the resultant force which acted on members to remain in their residential groups.

Another fundamental weakness of Schachter's "defense" is his lack of recognition that the cohesiveness measurement in the Westgate study is one applied to the nine separate and

individual residential "groups" in Westgate and the seventeen separate and individual residential "groups" in Westgate West (pp. 92 and 93), not to the community *qua* community. Schachter's comments on chapter ii present no eidence that there were no other major or minor positive or negative forces operative on "members" of these twenty-six *individual* groups to remain in their *respective* residence groupings.

2. Schachter offers an additional criterion by which the adequacy of the operation definition should be judged—"Does it work?" According to Schachter, it is only when the operational definitions do not relate in the manner predicted for the phenomena (conceptually defined) that it is "cogent and to the point" to question the adequacy of operational definitions. Apparently Schachter would be willing to accept the hypothesis that the cost of living is positively related to total national farm production if an investigator used as measurements of these phenomena the price of chewing gum and the national production of chives. If the price of chewing gum were positively related to the price of chives then, *ipso facto,* Schachter would tell us that it is "puristic bickering" to question the logical adequacy of the operational definitions. If the resulting correlations were negative, then and only then, according to Schachter, is it cogent to question the operational definitions. This type of reasoning results in highly questionable procedures for developing knowledge. It might be termed the "loaded dice" approach to theory testing.

Schachter is impressed with the fact that *even with admittedly inadequate definitions* "consistent and significant differences" were obtained. We are—and were—cognizant of these differences but not so impressed. Some workers, upon obtaining such differences, are mesmerized by them; others inquire into their meaning.

3. Schachter's statement that we ignored, in our criticism of Back's procedure for making high and low cohesive groups, an "independent measure" of the effectiveness of that procedure is unacceptable because the measure Schachter refers to was not utilized as an independent measure of "cohesiveness," as Schachter claims. Rather, as Table III (p. 17) shows, this measure is utilized to measure the extent to which high and low inducers like their partners in *low* and *high* "cohesive groups."

4. From his review of our data with the "senior member of the project" Schachter must realize that we considered at length various possible ways of defining our indexes of "cohesiveness." We can only point out that, no matter how these measures of cohesiveness are defined, one can find practically no significant correlation among them.

Schachter first explains why we obtained low correlations. Then he tells us why the correlations were high: Our indexes did not represent independent measures of cohesiveness. To him, the hypothesis under test was: "People who like many people (or choose many friends) will tend to dislike few; people who dislike many will like few." It is Schachter who has been affected by the "morality plays . . . the good fairy, the evil witch, Pollyanna, and Billy Budd." The hypothesis should read: A group which is considered relatively cohesive because the members of the group choose each other as intimate friends should also be found to be relatively cohesive in the sense that there are few disliked members of the group and few isolates. This hypothesis may also be a "somewhat strained" one for Schachter. But it is interesting to look at the sociometric data as they relate to this hypothesis. Even using Schachter's method of computing the dislike ratio, we find that House I, which has the highest proportion of in-group choices for intimate friends, has members which on the average give almost twice as many dislike choices as do the residents of House L, which has one of the lowest proportion of in-group choices for intimate friends. This result hardly supports Schachter when he says, "The making of 'like' choices necessarily decreases the number available for 'dislike' choices and vice versa." The fact that the sociometric questions allowed *unlimited* choices makes for *independence* of these measures, a result supported by the data.

5. Schachter's rejoinder to our criticism of labeling cohesiveness a unitary concept from the findings of Back's study is in large part irrelevant. This is so because, after Schachter accepts the definition of a unitary concept upon which our discussion is based, he then "proves" that our implications are a "complete *non sequitur*" by discussing the functions and tests of constructs, not unitary concepts.

Schachter's excursions into the field of physics betray the confusion of his position.

The crux of Schachter's presentation is: "To demonstrate the existence of a unitary construct, in this context, it is necessary to demonstrate the relationship of each of these sources of heat, electricity, or cohesiveness to some criterion which is co-ordinated to the construct." The center of his confusion lies in his equivocation in meaning of the phrase, "some criterion which is co-ordinated to the construct." In Schachter's heat example the three sources of heat are subsumed under the construct "heat" because they increase temperature. Schachter's implicit and not very rigorous definition of heat is that which causes a body to rise in temperature. In this case, then, the criterion is a part of the definition of heat; it is *internal* to the definition, while in the cohesiveness example the criterion—influence—is *external* to the definition. Whether the criterion is external or internal to the definition does not concern Schachter.

We agree with Schachter that electricity is a unitary concept. And it is one because, no matter what measure of it is applied, it is there in a given amount or it is absent. Whether "cohesiveness," as conceptually defined by these investigators, exists in a group depends upon which operational definition is employed.

Schachter rightly points out that we were measuring different components of the total field of forces. If these forces are correlated, then we are justified, to some extent, in using a measure of one as a representative of the total. But when they do not correlate, we are obligated to select several and from the measurements of those derive an estimate of the resultant force. Unless we do that, we can hardly speak of a cohesive group. Instead, we can speak of a group the members of which tend to select one another as friends or of a group the members of which tend not to dislike one another or of a group few or no members of which tend to be isolates. We are glad to accept Schachter's analysis as support for one of the main contentions of our paper, namely, that the measurement of no single component of the total field of forces constitutes an adequate operational definition of cohesiveness.

6. We cannot agree that speculation about negative cases is the worthless task Schachter considers it to be. For example, Darwin spent a good share of his life investigating reports and findings which seemed contradictory to his theories and researches. The result was a firm structure of both theory and data which holds in its main outlines to the present day. It seems that Schachter, like Dr. Pangloss, is dedicated to looking at only the "positive" side of life.

7. Concerning the matter of overgeneralization, Schachter quotes a limiting statement in the second Back report. He might well have quoted the sentence which immediately follows: "But it is probable that the relationship holds in various other circumstances" (p. 9). We think that an increase in the dulness of a paper might be a small price to pay for making the generality of the findings crystal-clear.

We suggest that the crux of the difficulties that Schachter has attempted to explain away is the "unsuitability" of the conceptual definition of cohesiveness. The conditions of application are indefinite, and the difficulties of the co-ordination of operational definition to it, as the work reviewed clearly demonstrates, are so great that the testing of theories in which the concept is integral is apparently precluded.

We are acutely aware that difficulties are frequently encountered in the early stages of "co-ordinated" research and theory. However, unless there is a recognition of these difficulties and a willingness to apply the criterion of logical adequacy to research operations, a scientifically realistic co-ordination of research and theory becomes an impossibility. In conclusion, we think it is time that we attempt to learn from the mistakes and inadequacies of past studies ways of moving forward to the design and execution of ever better investigations. We are sorry that our paper, designed for this purpose, has instead brought forth such a lengthy defense of what is now past history. We are especially sorry, since we felt that the studies reviewed held within them great promise for that brighter future.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
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THE QUANTITATIVE STUDY OF SOCIAL DYNAMICS AND SOCIAL CHANGE[1]

DONALD J. BOGUE

ABSTRACT

Quantitative studies of social dynamics involve the use of data which refer to behavior or change of status during an interval of time. At the present time statistical observations are predominantly static or based upon data which refer to status at some instant of time. If these static data are supplemented by mobility data, or data which refer to behavior or change of status during an interval, significant progress can be made toward quantification of the study of social dynamics. A list of topics in the field of social change which are immediately amenable to this type of analysis is submitted, together with prototype questions for collecting the necessary mobility data.

Much quantitative sociological research uses a static approach, even to problems which are essentially dynamic. This is likely due in large part to the fact that it is an offspring of the social survey, the goal of which has been to describe conditions which exist as of a given moment. Because much of the statistical data available for analysis are survey data and refer to a single instant of time, a major share of the hypotheses subjected to test have been those which refer to static situations. Consequently, quantitative sociological research has tended to concentrate on the study of structure. This has been a particularly pronounced trait of research in the fields of population and human ecology: measurement of the degree of correlation between variables, the regression of one variable on another, or the behavior of one variable with other variables held constant, all within a framework of a single instant of time, characterizes much of the current work. Hence, in this area there has been a close alliance between social statistics and social statics.

Whereas social statics is concerned primarily with structure, social dynamics is concerned with such concepts as functioning, interaction, movement, growth, and change. A common element in all these phenomena is that they can be observed directly only with reference to an interval or series of intervals of time during which they occur. Hence, the quantitative study of social dynamics requires, as one element of the research design, the collection and use of statistics which refer to behavior during an interval of time rather than to status at an instant of time.

Two types of phenomena are usually subsumed by the term "social dynamics": (*a*) routine or recurrent processes by which a given arrangement of units maintains its solidarity and equilibrium and (*b*) fundamental changes in the arrangement and functioning of units. In the research different types of hypotheses must be set up for testing. The present paper is an attempt to contribute to the advancement of quantitative research in social change, or dynamics of this second type. (With only minor modifications the principles stated, however, are equally relevant to the study of social dynamics of the first type.)

Most studies of social change do not employ data which refer to an interval of time. Instead, they make a static approximation of such data. By using comparable data from successive surveys, they estimate the amount of growth, change in composition, or change in distribution which has taken place during the interval between

[1] This paper grew out of a research project in the field of labor mobility which is now being completed as a part of Scripps Foundation's long-range program of research in the field of population distribution. The study which gave rise to the problems discussed here is published as *A Methodological Study of Migration and Labor Mobility in Michigan and Ohio, 1947* (Oxford, Ohio: Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems, 1952). A major portion of the funds expended in this aspect of the study of population distribution was granted by the Rockefeller Foundation.

surveys. The movement or change inferred in this manner is, of necessity, *net* change. This technique yields little information concerning the way in which the change was made, however. Moreover, there is no possibility of testing hypotheses concerning (*a*) what types of persons participate in a change, (*b*) what situations appear to motivate a given change, (*c*) what the rate of change is at its peak intensity or exactly when and where the peak intensity is attained, and (*d*) whether or not the net change is accomplished by a single type of behavior or by a great variety of different types whose net resultant is the observed change. These details of what constitute the factors, forces, and personnel of change lie outside the scope of survey statistics as now constituted. Yet these are the very types of questions which have been the primary concern of leading social theorists of both past and present. Its static orientation is causing statistical research to leave comparatively unexplored many aspects of social dynamics.

The problem of quantifying the study of social change may be solved if social statisticians will face the major premise, to stop trying to make static data alone solve dynamic problems, and to set out to collect, tabulate, and analyze data which refer to behavior during an interval of time. For much of the field of social change this suggestion appears to be not only possible, using current data-collecting techniques, but also attainable, using present data-collection resources.

One who examines survey data for exactly the same individuals at two different instants of time is struck by the fact that with respect to several important characteristics, over any reasonably short period of time, the vast majority of the population does not change. A preponderance of persons live in the same house, work at the same occupation, have the same marital status or educational attainment, and occupy the same relative position in the income scale as at a previous date. This lends plausibility to a hypothesis that possibly many alterations in the structure or functioning of an institution or a community do not overtly involve a change in status or function for all members collectively but require such a change for only a small part. To the extent this hypothesis is valid, one important way of studying social change is to analyze the data for persons who changed their status during an interval of time, using the total population or the nonchanging population as a control group.

This is not to deny that the members of a group react to the innovations of a few or that they stimulate such innovations through collective unrest or other interaction. Nor is it to attempt to maintain that the "cause" of any change is the people whose status has changed. Rather, it asserts that some of the most observable and widely studied manifestations of social change are not necessarily collective actions which involve the entire population as participants. The comparatively few persons whose roles or statuses are altered are, by this view, the group which, if intensively studied, will lead the researcher to the fuller explanation which he seeks.

But a change of status or of function has long been known as mobility. Spatial mobility has been associated with the tendency to change residence; labor mobility with the tendency to change employment; class mobility with the tendency to change social classes; occupational mobility with the tendency to change occupations; etc. Extending and generalizing the concept of mobility to all its possible applications, it becomes evident that, during any interval of time, status-changing or function-changing persons are mobile and that stable or unchanged persons are not. For each aspect of social change which one can specify there is a corresponding type of social mobility. For any arbitrarily established time interval the total population can be classified as being relatively mobile or nonmobile with respect to each of these aspects of change. Thus, the study of social mobility can be constituted as one important aspect of the study of social change.

This extending of mobility analysis to several different areas amounts to asserting that social statisticians may successfully invade the entire field of social change. In order to do this, they must systematically supplement their statistics which refer to a single instant of time with a new type of data, here called "mobility statistics," which refer to some behavior or to a change in some status during an arbitrarily selected interval of time. The unique characteristic of such data would be that they identified each person in the population who was actively involved in a given change during the time span. This permits a separation of changed (mobile) persons from unchanged (nonmobile) persons. By tabulating mobility data to test hypotheses concerning the personal characteristics, the environmental situation, or even attitudes and values of

TABLE 1

PROTOTYPE FORM OF QUESTIONS ASKED TO COLLECT STATIC DATA AND MOBILITY DATA FOR A VARIETY OF SUBJECTS*

Area of Research	Static Question	Additional Question To Provide Mobility Data for Dynamic Analysis†
Area of residence	In what area does this person live?	In what area did this person live a year ago?
Community of residence	In what type of community does this person live?	In what type of community did this person live a year ago?
Marital status	What is the marital status of this person?	What was the marital status of this person a year ago?
Family status	What is the family status of this person?	What was the family status of this person a year ago?
Fertility status	What is the fertility-parity status of this woman?	What was the birth order of any children born to this woman during the past year?
School attendance	Is this person attending school?	Was this person attending school a year ago?
Educational attainment	What is the highest grade of school completed by this person?	Did this person complete a grade of school during the past year?
Employment status and class of worker	What is the employment status and class of worker of this person?	What was the employment status and class of worker of this person a year ago?
Occupational status	What is the occupation of this person?	What occupation did this person have a year ago?
Industry of employment	In what industry is this person employed?	In what industry was this person employed a year ago?
Income	What was the income of this person during the calendar year 1951?	What was the income of this person during the calendar year 1950?
Institutionalization	Is this person residing in an institution? If so, specify type.	Was this person residing in an institution a year ago? If so, specify type.
Health	Does this person have a disabling illness?	Has this person had a disabling illness during the past year?
Church or other affiliation	Of what church is this person a member?	Of what church was this person a member a year ago?
Homeownership	Does this person own his home?	Did this person own his home a year ago?
Housing—type of structure	In what type of structure does this person live?	In what type of structure did this person live a year ago?
Farm mechanization	Is a tractor being used on this farm this season?	Was a tractor used in farming during the preceding season?

* It is assumed that the questions listed, or an appropriate rewording of them, would appear on a schedule containing several additional questions concerning the social and economic characteristics of the individuals to be enumerated and that the responses to these other items would be coded and cross-tabulated with the categories specifying mobility.

† A one-year interval has arbitrarily been used in wording the additional question to provide mobility data. The actual interval of time specified should be determined by such factors as obtaining reliable bases for rates, reliability of informant's memory, the length of time required to complete a change in status, and the relative frequency with which a given change takes place among the population.

mobile persons in comparison with those of nonmobile persons, the possibility of making a more comprehensive quantitative explanation of the social and economic factors of any form of change begins to materialize. It is not necessary to have a complete set of data about all possible events for the entire time interval during which a change takes place. It is necessary only to have a set of working hypotheses about the change being studied, to collect data for a representative sample of persons involved in the change, and to compare their situation, characteristics, or behavior with the total population or with persons not involved.

Reduced to its simplest form, this proposal is merely a suggestion that, *in addition* to collecting enumeration data about status as of a given instant, social statisticians should also begin collecting a wide variety of mobility data. Table 1 illustrates the proposed supplementation of static survey statistics with dynamic mobility statistics. The subjects are, in all cases, those for which a widespread enumeration has been made or proposed at some time. They certainly do not exhaust the list of possible topics but merely indicate some of those which could perhaps most readily be subjected to dynamic analysis.

There is little in the proposal made here which is unique to at least some part of social science research. Several recent studies have followed the line of attack outlined. The purpose here is to make explicit several implicit principles, to generalize these principles to the whole field of social change, to point out their implications for an emerging dynamic aspect of statistical research in sociology, and to list several specific areas in which important dynamic research in social change can be undertaken immediately.

There are at least two other techniques for attacking the problem of social change quantitatively. One is to select an arbitrary interval of time and to record every change of status made by every individual, together with the time of the change. This might be called the technique of the "life-history segment." Although the data are complete and detailed, the use of many questions and complex tabulating methods would be required. In mass surveys the cost would quickly become prohibitive.

The second method is the use of what may be called "tenure statistics." Each person is asked when he entered his present status. These data alone are inadequate to study social change but provide data for testing many useful hypotheses about the conditions associated with lack of change. However, mobility data necessary for the study of change may be obtained simultaneously with tenure data if the tenure question is supplemented by still another question asking those who have changed status recently what their status was at some earlier date. The Census is now experimenting with this procedure in its annual count of residential mobility in the Current Population Survey. This two-question method may be called the "tenure-mobility" technique. Tenure data alone, without the supplementary mobility question, have been collected for many years and for a variety of subjects but have been used comparatively little. Inasmuch as the method of mobility statistics requires the use of only one additional question, whereas both of the above alternatives require two or more, its use is recommended in making exploratory studies of social change in new fields, at least until the tenure-mobility technique has proved practicable by actual test. Its chief weakness, of course, is that it fails to count as mobile those persons who change status during the interval of observation but return to their original status by the end of the interval. When the interval is short, such as one year, this "return mobility" tends to be a small part of all mobility and should not interfere greatly with the testing of specific hypotheses.

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NEGRO AND WHITE MALE INSTITUTIONALIZED DELINQUENTS[1]

SIDNEY AXELRAD

ABSTRACT

A group of Negro and a group of white delinquents in the same institution were compared. The hypothesis that the courts commit on a differential basis was verified. The groups differed in age, number and seriousness of offenses, previous institutionalization, and family pattern.

A review of the literature from 1914 to date discloses that there has been no empirical comparison of Negro and white delinquents.[2] There have been a number of studies dealing with the relative incidence of delinquency in different racial groups. Blanchard indicates that, in proportion to the population, there are about five times as many Negroes as whites in the city and state prisons of New York and that there are about five times as many Negro children arraigned as delinquents in the children's courts of New York City as there are white children in proportion to their relative frequencies in the total population.[3] Robison concludes:

> There is a persistently higher percentage of Negro children in the delinquency category than would be expected on the basis of their proportion in the population. However, the dearth of Negro children under care in all but official agencies points to extreme differences in type of care available for white and Negro children.[4]

From Robison's and other studies it is clear that many factors must be taken into account in evaluating court and other agency data relating to delinquency. The reasons that the court figures show such a disproportion of Negro children may very well lie in the relative paucity of other means of treatment (which would result in a greater proportion of Negro children being referred to the courts). Whatever the causes may be, it is apparent that there are differences in the incidence and treatment of Negro and white delinquents; but how the Negro and white delinquents differ, except in gross respects, chiefly a statement of court offenses, is not known. The present study is an attempt to determine what these differences are and to set forth some hypotheses for their origin.

Delinquency involves both an act and a social and legal evaluation of it. It is necessary to begin research in this area by excluding as many variables as possible. For this reason, and with the realization that the kind and number of generalizations might be narrowed, the study was confined to one state institution and only to children who had been committed by the Children's Court as delinquent. By selecting an institution that draws almost entirely from one city and from one court system, we exclude differences resulting from local conditions and legal and judicial variations.

Confining the sample to boys *committed* for delinquency results in the further elimination of other variables. If the study is confined to those committed to an institution as delinquents, the differences that

[1] This study was done as part of a research project under the directorship of Henry Harper Hart, M.D., but the author has sole responsibility for this paper. At the time the case material was gathered, the author was a member of the Medical and Research Department, New York State Training School for Boys, State School, New York.

[2] P. S. de Q. Cabot, *Juvenile Delinquency* (New York: W. W. Wilson Co., 1946).

[3] Paul Blanchard, "Negro Delinquency in New York," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, XVI (1942), 115–23.

[4] Sophia M. Robison, *Can Delinquency Be Measured?* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), pp. 60–63.

might be expected to exist between those children who can be treated while they remain in their own homes and those who must be removed are automatically excluded.

The data presented were drawn from the case studies of 300 boys—179 Negro and 121 white—who had all been committed to the institution between 1933 and 1934 as delinquents. They were all under the age of sixteen and over the age of ten at the time of commitment. Forty-two per cent of the group was white; 58 per cent, Negro. This ratio corresponded to that which prevailed in the institution during these years; the 300 cases constituted about 90 per cent of the institutional population at the time. Aside from the racial ratio, the only other selective factor was the adequacy of case records. Because only the better-studied cases were selected, the sample is possibly biased in the direction of including only the more serious problems.

TABLE 1*

AGE IN YEARS AT COMMITMENT

Age	Per Cent Negro	Per Cent White
10	1	0
11	2	0
12	19	6
13	22	14
14	27	29
15	23	43
16	6	8
Total	100	100

* Number of cases in this table and in following tables, unless otherwise indicated, is 179 Negro and 121 white.

TABLE 2

NUMBER OF PREVIOUS COURT APPEARANCES

Number of Previous Court Appearances	Per Cent Negro	Per Cent White
None	10	9
1	18	17
2	30	18
3	23	24
4	12	15
5 and more	7	7
Total	100	100

We shall present the data as answers to two questions: (1) Did the Children's Court commit Negro and white children on a different basis? (2) Are there significant differences in background, family relationship, and family constellations between the two groups?

SELECTION FOR INSTITUTIONALIZATION

The Negro group was almost two years younger than the white delinquents at the time of admission. The median age for the Negro group was 13.1 years; for the white, 15.0. The difference between the medians was 1.9 years, with a standard deviation of .19.

Negro children were younger than white at the time of first court appearance. The median age for the Negro group was 12.1; for the white, 12.8 (Table 1).

Negro children were institutionalized after a smaller number of court appearances than white children. The median number of previous court appearances for the Negro group was a little over 2; for the white, almost 4 (Table 2).

The same proportion, a third of each group, was institutionalized without previous probationary periods. But if we take as a base the number in each group who have had probation before institutionalization, a different picture emerges; almost 70 per cent of the Negro group were committed after one probationary period, only 50 per cent of the white; 27 per cent of each group had two probationary periods; but only 4 per cent of the Negro group, as against 23 per cent of the white, had more than two periods. Thus, there appears to be a tendency for the white delinquent to be afforded a larger number of probationary periods prior to institutionalization than is the case with the Negro delinquent (Table 3).

Seventeen per cent of the Negro children had been previously institutionalized in an institution for delinquents; 59 per cent of the white children had had previous institutionalization. If previous commitment is an indication of more serious delinquency, then it can be concluded that the offenses of the white delinquents were more serious. However, it may also indicate the lack of resources other than the state institutions for the Negro delinquent; as stated above, the greater proportion of previous institutionalization for the white delinquent may be attributed to the existence of other facilities which can be used before commitment to the state institution has been made necessary. The length of prior institutionalization was almost the same; the median stay was 10.7 months for the Negro and 12.6 months for the white.

TABLE 3

NUMBER OF PROBATION PERIODS

Number of Probation Periods	Per Cent Negro	Per Cent White
None	33	37
1	46	33
2	18	17
3	3	10
4	0	3
Total	100	100

The white delinquents have had greater prior institutionalization in homes for dependents—10 per cent for the Negro children, 19 per cent for the white—and the median time in the institution was double for the white children—24.5 months to 12.3 months. It is apparent that a Negro child will be committed with less previous institutionalization than the white child.

If we consider the formal charges on which these boys were brought before the court and for which they were committed as delinquents, some significant differences emerge. In both groups most boys were committed as a result of more than one offense, but differential treatment is still evident. Thirty-eight per cent of the Negro boys were committed on the basis of one charge, as against 28 per cent of the white boys; 37 per cent of the Negroes with two charges, as against 29 per cent of the whites; but from this point the proportion was reversed. Twenty-three per cent of the white delinquents had three offenses as against 17 per cent of the Negro delinquents, and 20 per cent of the white delinquents had four or more offenses as against 8 per cent of the Negroes. Of the major offenses, white children were committed for more serious offenses: burglary,

TABLE 4*

OFFENSE OF DELINQUENTS

Offense	Per Cent Negro	Per Cent White	C.R.
Burglary	29	48	3.3
Larceny	24	49	4.5
Truancy	18	38	3.8

* These figures are computed on a total base of 296—Negro, 179; white, 117.

48 per cent white, 29 per cent Negro; larceny, 49 per cent white, 24 per cent Negro (Table 4). White delinquents were more prone to be committed for truancy than the Negro delinquents, 38 per cent as against 18 per cent. This should not be understood to mean that the white children were less adjusted than the Negro.[5]

Almost all the delinquents were school problems. It is probable that the community, or at least the school system, considers truancy in the white child as something about which it is willing to be active. Seemingly, it did not care so much in the case of the Negro child.

It may be concluded that Negro children are committed to a state institution as delinquents, younger, with fewer court appearances, less previous institutionalization, and for fewer and less serious offenses than white children.

[5] Only those differences are discussed where the critical ratio is ≥ 3, $P = .01$.

THE NEIGHBORHOOD AND FAMILY

In considering the background and family constellations of the two groups of delinquents, it should be borne in mind that delinquents are likely to have rather severe family pathology. We might expect differences of pathology in the two groups rather than absence of pathology in one of the groups.

The Negro children much more than the white delinquents came from areas characterized by high delinquency rates and high density. Much more than the white delinquents, they lived in neighborhoods that contain a majority of residents of their own racial stock (Table 5).

TABLE 5

NEIGHBORHOOD OF DELINQUENTS

Neighborhood	Per Cent Negro	Per Cent White	C.R.
Urban	88	60	5.7
Rural	2	2	3.3
Delinquency area	50	22	5.3
Suburban	11	26	3.1
Congested	70	35	6.3
Dominant racial group same as child	67	30	7.0

Of the Negro children, only two were not Protestant. Of the white children, almost 60 per cent were Catholic, one child was Jewish, and the others were Protestant.

In American society it is normal for the child to live exclusively with both his parents. But only 18 per cent of the Negro children did so as contrasted to 46 per cent of the white delinquents. Eighty-two per cent of the Negro children came from broken homes; 50 per cent of the white children. But here again there is a difference: of the 60 white broken homes, 50 per cent of the separations were caused by death; of the 139 Negro broken homes, 37, or 26 per cent, were caused by death of one of the parents. Very clearly factors other than death are responsible for the proportion of broken homes among the Negro delinquents.

The Negro children came from families which were smaller than those of the white children if the size of the family is measured by the number of children in the family (Table 6). The median number of children in the Negro family was a little more than 3; for the white families, almost 6. But the distribution indicates even greater deviation. Eighteen per cent of the Negro delinquents were only children. Nineteen, or 58 per cent, of the Negro only children were illegitimate, as has been pointed out in an earlier publication.[6] In this group of delinquents the smaller size of the Negro family was not caused by the death of a parent but by the instability of the relationship between the parents. In this group, 25 per cent of the Negro delinquents were illegitimate, while only 5 per cent of the white children were.[7] Seventeen per cent of the

TABLE 6

NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN FAMILY

Number of Children	Per Cent Negro	Per Cent White
1	18	3
2	18	4
3	19	10
4	13	19
5	10	15
6	7	14
7 and over	15	35
Total	100	100

[6] Henry H. Hart and Sidney Axelrad, "The Only Child Delinquent," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XXII, No. 1 (May–June, 1945), 42–66.

[7] The census reports for 1930 of the number of illegitimate births of Negro children for New York indicate a figure of 6 per cent. This should be compared with the 25 per cent for our group. It may also be of interest to note that the figure for our group is higher than those reported for the cities of the deep South.

The average size of the Negro family in urban areas in New York is 2.6. Thus, the median number of children in the family of the Negro delinquent exceeds the size of the total family among Negroes. Families of this size are found only in the rural areas of the South. The median size of

Negro children were unwanted, 4 per cent of the white; 33 per cent of the Negro children were stepchildren, only 17 per cent of the white; 30 per cent of the Negro children were foster-children, 13 per cent of the white (Table 7).

A gross index of the stability of the psychosocial environment in which a child lives may be obtained in terms of the number of sets of parent figures with whom he has lived. For this study, each set was counted as a unit and defined as a home situation. Thus, a child who had lived only with both his parents prior to the present institutionalization would have 1 home situation; a child who had lived with both his parents, his mother alone, and had been previously institutionalized would have 3. The number of home situations other than the present institutionalization showed significant differences. The median number of homes for the Negro delinquents was 2.1; for the white delinquents, 1.0. The range for the Negro delinquents was from 1 to 7; for the white delinquents, from 1 to 5. Analysis of the distribution indicates that 51 per cent of the white delinquents had been in only one situation; only 23 per cent of the Negroes. This is a difference of 28 per cent (C.R. 7.8). Thirty-one of the Negro children and 18 of the white had been in 3 situations, a difference of 13 per cent (C.R. 3.8); 17 per cent of the Negroes and 5 per cent of the whites had been in 4 or more homes, a difference of 12 per cent (C.R. 5.0).

Institutions are included in these situations; and it should be remembered that the Negro delinquents had been institutionalized less often than the white delinquents. These differences point to a much greater instability of homes for the Negro children than for the white delinquents.

The family constellations differed in the two groups of delinquents. The white delinquents tended to have lived more with both biological parents; the Negro delinquents either with mother and stepfather, with mother only, with other relatives, or in unrelated families (Table 8). In 26 per cent of the Negro families the mother was the

TABLE 7

STATUS OF CHILD IN FAMILY

Status	Per Cent Negro	Per Cent White	C.R.
Unwanted	17	4	4.0
Illegitimate	25	5	5.0
Stepchild	33	17	3.3
Foster-child	30	13	4.0

TABLE 8*

TYPES OF FAMILY CONSTELLATIONS

Type	Per Cent Negro	Per Cent White	C.R.
With both own parents	76	92	4.0
With mother and stepfather	25	11	3.2
With mother only	49	21	5.5
With other relatives	37	10	6.0
In other family	18	4	3.9

* This table represents the significant differences in all the types of family constellations in which the delinquents have lived. Since many of the delinquents lived in more than one type, the total is more than 100 per cent.

TABLE 9

DIFFERENCES IN PARENTAL FACTORS

Parental Factor	Per Cent Negro	Per Cent White	C.R.
Death or deprivation	59	35	3.9
Desertion	41	14	5.7
Discipline deficient	50	72	3.9
Immigration to America	27	2	7.3
Language handicap	2	41	8.5
Neglect	72	52	3.6
Racial difference	3	14	3.2
Rejection	66	46	3.5
Religious difference	1	9	3.3
Rural-urban shift	39	5	8.0
Separation	36	13	4.9
Sex immorality	54	31	4.0

families of native white individuals was 2.9; for the foreign-born, 3.6. The median number of children in the families of the white delinquents was 5.

only person employed; this was true of only 5 per cent of the white families.

The family of the white delinquent was larger than the median for the New York City population; the family of the Negro delinquent was also larger than the average Negro family; and it exhibited instability as compared to the families of the white delinquent. It was likely to be mother-centered. This, according to Frazier, is a tendency found in the Negro family of the South and related to the form that the Negro family was forced to adopt during slavery and immediately following the days of abolition.[8]

There are further differences. In contrast to the white delinquents, the Negro children came from homes where there was more death or deprivation of a parent, desertion, neglect, rejection, separation, and sexual promiscuity. Contrasted to the Negro delinquents, the white delinquents came from families where there was deficient discipline, language handicap, ethnic difference, and religious difference (Table 9).

[8] E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Family in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), pp. 125–27.

SUMMARY

The case records of 300 institutionalized delinquents—179 Negro, 121 white—were analyzed to determine whether the courts were commiting Negro and white children on the same basis and whether the two groups differed in family constellations. The study discloses that Negro children are committed younger, for less serious offenses, with fewer previous court appearances, and with less prior institutionalization. Negro children came from more unstable homes and from homes with a different kind of family pathology from the white delinquents.

QUEENS COLLEGE

AUTOMOBILE THEFT: A "FAVORED-GROUP" DELINQUENCY

WILLIAM W. WATTENBERG AND JAMES BALISTRIERI

ABSTRACT

In contrast to other boys charged by Detroit police with misconduct, juveniles involved in automobile theft came in relatively higher proportion from good neighborhoods and favored ethic groups. They had good peer-group relationships but otherwise were similar to a cross-section of other juvenile offenders. What they shared with boys of lower socioeconomic status might be a personality structure which responded to the values of their primary group but not to those of larger adult-dominated social entities.

The purpose of this paper is to explore certain implications of "white-collar criminality." That concept, based largely on evidence dealing with adults, challenges the adequacy of some generalizations concerning crime and its causation. The point of impact of the concept lies in its assumption that the form of antisocial or illegal conduct rather than its frequency varies from social class to class in our society. If this is so, then there is need to search for factors common to the causation of delinquency or similar misconduct at all social levels rather than to accept without reservation the vast mass of research linking juvenile misconduct with neighborhood situations which in turn reflect the economic status of the adult population.

In general, the ecological findings are that delinquency rates are highest in those sections of a city where, among other things, rentals are low and the occupations are typically unskilled or semiskilled labor. The relative poverty of the population is associated with high transiency rates, substandard housing, and a breakdown of family and other controls. Often youth is also exposed to a conflict of cultures. This constellation of influences is assumed to give rise to a neighborhood subculture of which delinquency patterns are one aspect. This subculture transmits to youth a readiness to embark upon delinquent behavior.

Challenging all this is the contention that crime is culturally defined rather than culturally determined and that it is not the fact of criminality but the form of it which varies with socioeconomic level. Thus, we have burglars and embezzlers, holdup men and black-marketeers, prostitutes and fashionable mistresses. The antisocial conduct of the "lower classes" affronts the middle-class legal norms and so leads to prison terms and criminal records. The antisocial deeds of "respectable" folk are likely to draw much milder treatment. All this casts doubt on many research data by implying that we have not been measuring the extent of crime or of delinquency but only of the varieties we do not like. By such reasoning, no theory of delinquency or criminality can be adequate unless it explains the "white-collar" offenses as well as the more obvious forms of theft and violence. It is assumed that, if this were done, the present emphasis on relationship of socioeconomic variables to crime might have to be discarded.

For the field of juvenile delinquency, the existence of "white-collar" offenses is difficult to establish. We have fairly good figures on assaults, burglary, truancy, and similar offenses. However, the early manifestations of patterns which could develop into bribery, bucket-shop operations, and price-control evasions are not likely to draw police attention. Certainly, statistical evidence would be hard to get. Apparently the best we could do would be to assume that among juveniles there was much hidden misconduct analogous to adult "white-collar" crime.

An alternative would be to search for some class of offense which departed from the usual high correlation with socioeconomic or ecological variables. Then, by exploring the similarities and differences between the offenders thus identified and a run-of-the-mill group, we might find more clues as to causal factors common to antisocial character formation in privileged as

well as underprivileged groups. To be most helpful, in this respect the offense must be sufficiently common and widespread so that it is not peculiar to a single neighborhood. Also, to avoid argument as to antisocial quality, the offense should be clearly illegal and generally condemned. Otherwise, as in the case of the recent debate between Hartung and Burgess,[1] we would be bogged down in claims and counterclaims as to whether or not the offenders were real delinquents.

Evidence of the existence of such an offense was turned up in connection with another investigation.[2] In a study of the complete police records of 1,170 boys all of whom had passed their seventeenth birthdays it was found that during the period when they had been ten to sixteen years old automobile thefts were proportionately three times as frequent among white boys as among Negroes. (The general ratio of delinquencies was two to one; automobile theft approached seven to one; results were significant well beyond the 1 per cent level of confidence.) The same offense was proportionately heavier among boys of West European parentage. Again, results were statistically reliable. This is significant because the largest recent foreign immigration to Detroit's transitional areas was from Eastern Europe.

TABLE 1*

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AUTOMOBILE THEFT AND RACE OF ALL BOYS INTERVIEWED ON COMPLAINT BY DETROIT POLICE, 1948

RACE	TOTAL	NUMBER		PER CENT	
		Involved in Automobile Theft	All Others	Involved in Automobile Theft	All Others
White.....	2,774	230	2,544	88.5	70.5
Nonwhite.	1,096	30	1,066	11.5	29.5
Total...	3,870	260	3,610	100.0	100.0

* $X^2 = 38.29$; $n = 1$; $P < 0.01$.

The police explanation of the small proportion of Negroes involved in automobile theft was one of danger and difficulty. Veteran police officials said that colored youngsters were almost sure to be challenged by parking-lot attendants and thus were barred from some opportunity to take cars. Also, it was widely believed that squad-car crews were prone to investigate credentials of Negro young people driving automobiles. However, these explanations, even if accurate, did not account for the nationality differentials among white boys. Therefore, it was decided to dig deeper.

All investigations made by Detroit police of boys aged ten to sixteen inclusive for 1948 were secured and analyzed. These reports included some fifty items of information obtained by interview with the boys and their parents on such matters as housing, neighborhood conditions, family relationships, peer-group activities, and recreation. In all, data were available for 3,870 boys, of whom 2,774 were white. These records were carefully sorted, and all records involving any form of automobile theft were segregated. There were 260 such records. As shown in Table 1, the previously discovered tendency for automobile theft to be a "white" offense was thoroughly verified.

In order to avoid various possible distorting influences, such as the correlations between race and such variables as housing, employment discriminations and the like, it was decided to confine the remainder of the study to comparisons among white boys only. The 230 involved in automobile theft were compared on every available recorded item of information with the 2,544 charged with other offenses. In all cases the chi-square computation was employed to estab-

[1] Frank E. Hartung, "White-Collar Offenses in the Wholesale Meat Industry in Detroit," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLI, No. 1 (1950), 25–32. See "Comment" by Ernest W. Burgess, "Rejoinder," by Frank E. Hartung, and "Concluding Comment," by Ernest W. Burgess, on pp. 32–34 of the same issue.

[2] William W. Wattenberg and David Faigenbaum, "Completed Delinquent Careers" (Detroit: Crime Prevention Bureau, Detroit Police Department, 1949). (Mimeographed.)

lish the degree of statistical reliability with which the null hypothesis could be rejected. A total of fifty tables was prepared and tested. Of these, nine proved significant at the 1 per cent level of confidence; five more, at the 5 per cent level. Thus, the number of tables showing statistical significance was more than five times chance expectation. For convenience, the statistically significant factors will be discussed below in terms of the clusters into which they fell.

Socioeconomic level.—The automobile-theft group again met the requirements of the category denoted by the title of this article. As compared with the other boys in trouble, they were reliably more likely to come from neighborhoods rated "above average" by the police and less likely to come from neighborhoods rated as "slums." This was borne out by the more objective evidence of the ratio between the number of rooms in the dwelling unit and the number of persons occupying the unit. The proportion of boys from dwellings with less than one room per person was significantly smaller than for all other boys contacted by the police. There were other tables of inconclusive reliability which supported this general picture. In these the tendency was for the automobile-theft group to come from racially homogeneous neighborhoods, to live in single-family homes, to come from homes not showing need of repairs, and to have only one parent employed.

On one socioeconomic item no relationship with automobile theft was found. When police were asked to classify the family income as either "adequate" or "inadequate," both the automobile-theft group and all other boys came from the same percentage of homes classed as having "adequate" income. However, fewer boys involved in automobile thefts had parents both of whom had to work to secure that level of income.

Age.—As might be expected, automobile theft was largely confined to the older boys; it was relatively rare below the age of fourteen. Accordingly, a number of items in which chronological age was a factor were significantly related to the offense. These included reliable tendencies for the boys involved in automobile theft to be better developed physically, to have completed sex development, to be in the junior high school grades in school, to have records of previous offenses, to have laboring jobs, and to use some of their earnings to purchase their own clothing.

Peer-group relationships.—This group also showed evidence of socializing well with other young people. The statistically reliable tables showed they were less likely to be classed by the investigating officers as social "lone wolves" and were more likely to be members of definite gangs with a reputation of either being rambunctious or engaging in organized theft. Although the statistical reliability was inconclusive, it seemed likely that they also got along well with their classmates in school.

Miscellaneous.—There were three statistically reliable tables that do not fit into any of the three clusters described above. When police officers rated the attitude of the boys toward themselves, they were more likely to class it as "responsive." Also, in disposing of the cases, the police were more likely to be stern and either file an official complaint or otherwise refer the case to the juvenile court. This, of course, was an indication of the seriousness of the offense in the eyes of the police, even though they were not required to file delinquency petitions in such cases. The third significant table dealt with the degree of the parents' participation in their sons' recreation; for the automobile-theft group this was more likely to be ranked in the medium level of "occasional," as contrasted to "regular," on the one hand, or "seldom," on the other. Interestingly, this was the only item involving family relationships where statistical significance appeared.

More consequential for the purpose of this article were the similarities between the automobile-theft group and the less privileged other white boys involved in all other offenses. In the list below we give only those items not previously mentioned which failed of significance in the present series of comparisons but were found reli-

ably linked to repeating among all boys interviewed by Detroit police in 1948.[3]

1. Number and sex of siblings
2. Boys' expressed attitude toward home
3. Boys' expressed attitude toward parents
4. Boys' feeling of being "picked on"
5. Boys' appearance
6. Estimated intelligence
7. Hobby and sports interests
8. Membership in organized youth groups
9. Church attendance
10. Attitude toward school
11. Attitude toward teachers
12. School grades
13. Chores around home
14. Method by which parents gave boys money
15. Comparability of boys' recreational equipment with playmates
16. Attitude toward adult neighbors
17. Distance of home from nearest recreational facility
18. Parents' attitude toward boys
19. Parents' attitude toward police
20. Marital status of parents
21. Degree of quarreling between parents
22. Family ownership of a car

In summary of the chi-square-tested comparisons, then, we get the following general picture of white juveniles involved in automobile theft: they were more likely to come from relatively favored neighborhoods, to be older, and to have good social relationships with their peers. On indexes of family relationships, school adjustment, and religious training they were like a cross-section of all other white boys interviewed on complaint by the Detroit police.

DISCUSSION

To some extent the above findings buttress the implied contentions of the writers on "white-collar" criminality. That is to say, there is here shown to exist at least one type of offense which is relatively less correlated with low socioeconomic level and neighborhood disintegration than the general run of juvenile offenses. This being the case, it is fair to argue that we need to look for formulations of causal influences beyond the customary "bad"-neighborhood factors. We have reason to assume that there may be other varieties of antisocial conduct which would not so swiftly be indicated by police or court statistics and which are sufficiently prevalent in good neighborhoods and among high socioeconomic folk to rule out their being dismissed as exceptions.

Interestingly, in the case of automobile theft, we are dealing with a group that is well socialized as far as primary-group relationships are concerned. These boys are not isolated, peculiar individuals. In the rubrics of the Hewitt and Jenkins[4] study of clinic cases they are neither the quarrelsome, "unsocialized aggressives" nor the pathetically neurotic "overinhibited" children. Rather, they are similar to the "socialized delinquents" in all respects save residence in deteriorated neighborhoods.

There may be a possible systematic explanation in the general picture of this last-mentioned "type." On the basis of a very elaborate statistical analysis, Hewitt and Jenkins described this group as characterized by good ability to relate to people and by a conscience partially formed in the sense that it did not include the prohibitions of the wider society. The value systems of such individuals were quite responsive to the immediately present code of interpersonal relations pertaining to their friends but only weakly responsive to the more abstract rules codified in statutes and ordinances. Thus, if a boy's friends got pleasure from riding in automobiles, he would oblige in carefree fashion by borrowing a car. Similarly, if an adult with a similar value system found he could get along well in business by violating price controls or by bribing public officials, he would be untroubled by compunctions. However, if his immediate associates would react hostilely to such crude or dangerous crimes as

[3] William W. Wattenberg and James J. Balistrieri, "New Offenders, 1948" (Detroit: Youth Bureau, Detroit Police Department, 1950). (Mimeographed.)

[4] L. E. Hewitt and R. L. Jenkins, *Fundamental Patterns of Maladjustment* (Springfield: State of Illinois, 1946).

burglary or physical assault, he would shun such behavior. Of course, in a "bad" neighborhood where such out-and-out criminality was tolerated, that might enter into his conduct. Much would depend upon the limits prevalent among his associates.

The common element in all this is a rather general type of personality structure. If such is indeed the case, the causes of all varieties of antisocial conduct having this quality are to be found in how that personality structure is formed. Hewitt and Jenkins believe they could trace it to a lax kind of family in which children are not rejected but rather have weak affectional relationships with their parents, who exercise little supervision over them. It is easy to see that such a pattern might be relatively prevalent where parents are bedeviled by a struggle for existence and are bewildered by the culture conflict found in slums. However, with some variation, it also could be found in better neighborhoods where parents are forever "on the go" or even where children are reared by a succession of servants.

Using methods very different from Hewitt and Jenkins, the studies conducted by the Committee on Human Development of the University of Chicago in "Prairie City" led to a description of a very similar type of personality. In their reports it is called "the adaptive person."[5] This "type" is described as having high "social intelligence" and as conforming easily to the expectations of whatever group in which it is found. Their case studies led them to believe that the family relationships were the important factor in its development. The relationships in the home were characterized as easygoing and the parents as having "broad and tolerant" moral views and as setting few restrictions on the social activities of the children.

Whether we accept the formulation of Hewitt and Jenkins or that of Havighurst and Taba, the principal point would be that a variety of permissive upbringing produces a personality "type" with little moral courage and a potentiality for engaging in antisocial behavior finding support among associates. Obviously, this is only a hypothesis, to be tested by carefully designed studies. In all probability, as our storehouse of scientifically verified knowledge grows, such a hypothesis would undoubtedly have to be modified. At best it would apply to only one of a number of patterns leading to delinquency and crime. It would hardly cover adequately all types of misconduct, delinquency, crime, and fraud.

It should be pointed out that even the admittedly incomplete hypothesis now being advanced hardly negates the theories built on statistics showing high correlations between delinquency rates and socioeconomic variables. Rather, it would offer an explanation of how some cases contributing to such correlations might arise. The tensions induced by relative poverty, culture conflict, and social pressures might interfere with the parents' supervision over their children or otherwise lead parents to be lax in a fashion which would produce in slum areas a relatively high proportion of young people prone to engage lightheartedly in the theft, violence, and immorality tolerated by the neighborhood's culture.

SUMMARY

In this study 230 white boys charged with automobile theft were compared with 2,544 others in trouble with the Detroit police in 1948. They had good peer-group relationships, came from relatively more favored neighborhoods, but were otherwise similar to juvenile offenders in general. It was suggested that the common factor accounting for one general class of antisocial behavior regardless of socioeconomic factors was a personality structure which readily accepted the values of immediate associates but responded weakly to the enactments of larger social entities.

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[5] Robert J. Havighurst and Hilda Taba, *Adolescent Character and Personality* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1949), chap. xiii.

DATING BEHAVIOR AS EVALUATED BY HIGH-SCHOOL STUDENTS

HAROLD T. CHRISTENSEN

ABSTRACT

A nation-wide sample of twenty-five hundred high-school students was studied to determine attitudes toward dating practices, with the following results: (1) Feelings of shyness in the dating situation were found to be rather common among both sexes. (2) Males were considered to be more careless, disrespectful, and sex-driven, while females were thought to be more inhibited, touchy, and money-minded. (3) Though males and females agreed on both self-criticisms and sex criticisms, there were some differences—and these mainly in the direction of projected blame.

This report is based upon a study of eight thousand teen-age students living throughout the United States. From this number, a stratified sample of twenty-five hundred was drawn, to represent the nation's high-school population.[1] Observations which follow are from an analysis of this smaller, but more representative, sample.[2]

Preferences in date selection.[3]—Students were first asked to rate a list of twenty items from the standpoint of their importance in making or accepting a date. The seven which were rated highest are as follows, in order of rank:

Is physically and mentally fit
Is dependable, can be trusted
Takes pride in personal appearance and manners
Is clean in speech and action
Has pleasant disposition and sense of humor
Is considerate of me and others
Acts own age, is not childish

Though the answers of boys and girls were in rather close agreement (rank-order correlation of .73, with fiducial limits at the 5 per cent level of confidence being .43–.89), some differences were noted. Males followed the expected by wanting a good cook and housekeeper, and females did likewise by stressing the importance of a good financial prospect. In addition, males gave relatively greater stress to such items as physical attractiveness and nonuse of

[1] Data were obtained through the Purdue Opinion Panel, Poll No. 27, given under the direction of H. H. Remmers and A. J. Drucker of the Division of Educational Reference, Purdue University. Questionnaires were distributed through co-operating high schools during November, 1950; approximately eight thousand returns were received.

Stratification was according to school grade and geographical region, the sample being made proportionate in these respects to the known national high-school population. In addition, the sample was found to approximate the national high-school population in the following characteristics: sex, religion, size of community, and parents' education.

[2] This research was preceded by similar inquiries among college groups. The author studied 1,385 unmarried Mormon students at Brigham Young University during 1946–47 (see "Courtship Conduct as Viewed by Youth," *Journal of Home Economics,* April, 1948, pp. 187–88) and 674 unmarried and unengaged Purdue University students during 1948–49 (see Harold T. Christensen, *Marriage Analysis* [New York: Ronald Press, 1950], pp. 212–25). In so far as these two studies parallel the present one, results are similar.

[3] This part of the study is to be treated rather briefly here, but will be reported in more detail in a later article. The subsequent article will give more refined analyses of preference patterns in dating and, in addition, will make comparisons between date and mate choices and between preferences and practices in the dating process.

Respondents indicated whether they considered each of twenty items "very desirable," "fairly desirable," "of no importance," or "undesirable." Reported here are rankings based upon the "very desirable" column. The thirteen items not listed above are as follows, continuing in rank order: Is approved by my parents; Does not use liquor; Has interests and ideas similar to mine; Desires normal family life with children; Mixes well in social situations; Doesn't pet or try to get too familiar; Shows affection; Is popular with others; Does not use tobacco; Shows promise of getting ahead, making money (girls' answer); Is physically attractive, good-looking; Has romantic appeal, makes my heart "skip a beat"; Knows how to cook and keep house (boys' answer).

tobacco. Females, on the other hand, considered the following as being relatively more desirable: moderation regarding intimacy, has parental approval, and consideration toward others. In general, females tended to give greater stress than males to most items, raising the question of whether females are more exacting.

Patterns of objectionable conduct.—To explore further the idea of there being separate dating expectations for males and females, respondents were asked to decide which sex each of twenty-three criticisms more accurately described. The list of criticisms had been compiled from earlier essays, wherein students had been invited to describe things about dating that were most objectionable to them.[4] In considering the items thus listed, respondents in the present study assigned each to one of three categories: (1) applies more to boys than girls, (2) applies more to girls than boys, and (3) applies equally to boys and girls. In our analysis of responses, the number of persons assigning any given item to one sex was subtracted from the number assigning it to the opposite sex, to give a "net" assignment for one sex or the other. This was done separately for all items and for the male and female parts of the sample. Finally, the frequencies thus obtained were changed into rates and plotted graphically (see Fig. 1).

Two definite patterns, assigned separately to the two sexes, result from this analysis. In general, males are characterized as being less inhibited and more careless, thoughtless, disrespectful, sex-driven, and loud than are their partners in dating. By way of contrast, females are characterized as being less natural and more touchy, money-minded, unresponsive, childish, and flighty than are the boys they date. The male pattern can be observed to consist of nine items, six of which are conceded by the males themselves; and the female pattern of twelve items, ten of which are conceded by the females themselves.[5] On the assignment of only two items did males and females show significant disagreement: being too possessive, which each sex projected upon the other; and being too self-conscious, which each sex accepted to itself.

The remarkable agreement just observed between the ratings of males and females on dating patterns received further substantiation when the two sets of judgments were correlated statistically, the resulting coefficient being .93 (fiducial limits at the 5 per cent level of confidence, .84—.97).

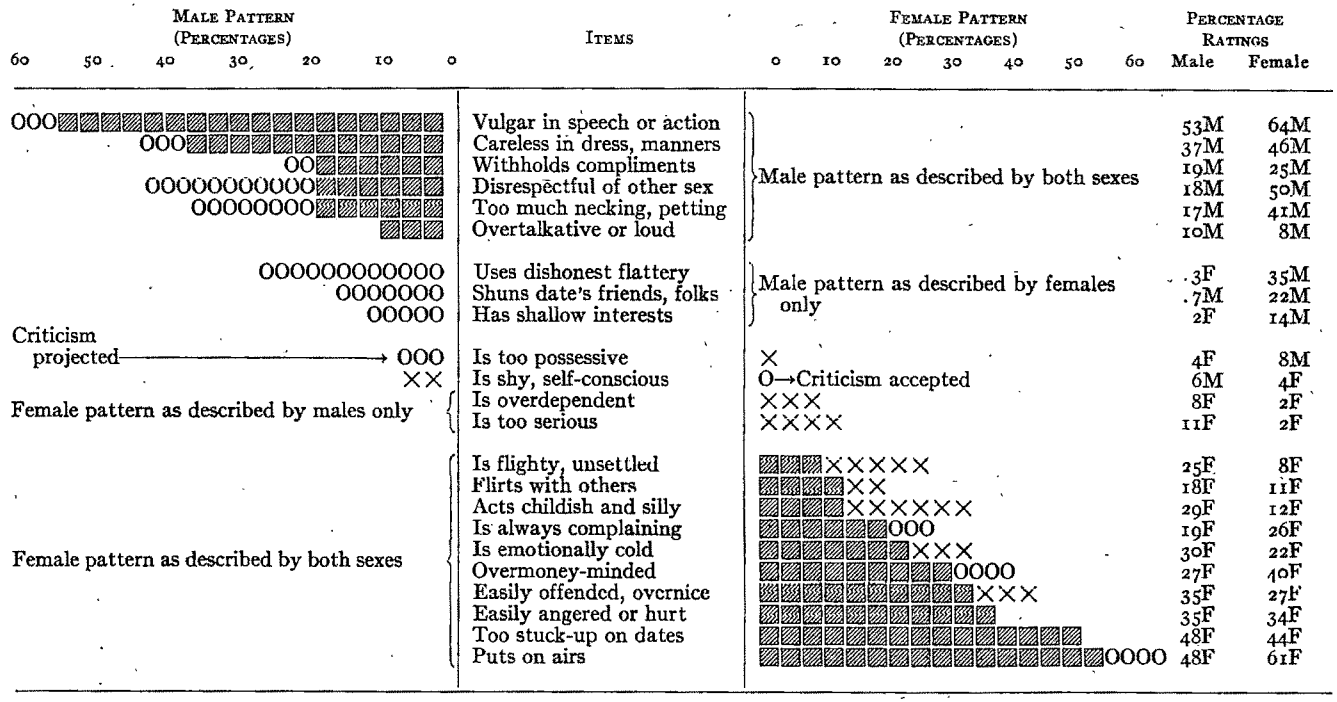
Cross-sex projections.—Yet there are differences, and these generally in the direction of projected blame. A further study of Figure 1 reveals that surplus female percentages are mostly on the side of the male pattern, and surplus male percentages mostly on the side of the female pattern. Three items are assigned to the male by females but without being accepted by him. In like manner, two items are assigned to the female by males but without being accepted by her. One item is assigned by each sex to the opposite sex without being accepted by either.

Attention is called to items showing the greatest discrepancies in judgment between the sexes. Males are disinclined to admit either the existence or the extent of the following criticisms leveled against them by the females: disrespectful of other sex, too much necking or petting, dishonest flattery, spurns date's friends or folks, has shallow interests, and is too possessive. Similarly, there are criticisms leveled against the females by the males which are only partially accepted or not at all; important ones are: acts childish or silly, is flighty and unsettled, is too serious, is overdependent, and is too possessive.

To test further the assumption of blame projections across sex lines, the ratings by each sex were classified according to the proportions of each sex receiving the as-

[4] For samples of these descriptions see Christensen, *op. cit.*, pp. 215–21.

[5] By "male pattern" we refer to those items assigned to males by females, and agreed to by both sexes as not belonging to the female pattern. "Female pattern" has a corresponding meaning.



▨▨▨ = Percentage common to both males and females. ××× = Male percentage where larger than female. OOO = Female percentage where larger than male.

FIG. 1.—Comparison of male and female patterns of objectionable dating behavior. Rates were calculated as follows: From the largest number assigning each item to a particular sex was subtracted the number assigning it to the opposite sex. The net scores resulting were then changed to percentages of total potential responses in the respective categories. Only those percentages and percentage differences which are statistically significant at the 5 per cent level of confidence are shown.

signed criticisms. The percentages, shown in Table 1, were tested by means of chi square and found to be significantly different beyond the 1 per cent level of confidence. This tendency toward projection is observed to be especially strong with the males, in that they assigned approximately two-thirds of all criticism to the females and only one-third to themselves.

It is interesting to note that one dating fault was accepted (not projected) by both sexes; males felt that males are more shy and self-conscious, while females thought that females are. This suggests feelings of inadequacy in the dating situation on the part of both boys and girls. Apparently, being ill at ease on dates is one trait that does not distinguish one sex from the other.

Self-criticisms.—The observation just made finds additional support in another part of the study. After having assigned each of the twenty-three criticisms to one sex or the other, or to both equally, respondents were asked to be self-critical by checking any and all items that they felt applied to themselves on dates. Results are shown in Figure 2. It will be observed that being shy and self-conscious is by far the greatest self-criticism of both sexes and that the items next on the list seem most closely related to this condition.

When the self-criticisms of the two sexes are compared, several additional generalizations suggest themselves: (1) Both sexes were in rather close agreement regarding personal shortcomings, as demonstrated by a correlation of .83 (fiducial limits at the 5 per cent level of confidence, .63–.93), between the two sets of judgments. (2) Males tended to be more self-critical than females on such items as being vulgar in speech and action, wanting too much necking and petting, withholding compliments, being careless in dress and manners, shunning date's friends and folks, being overmoney-minded, and being disrespectful of the other sex. (3) In contrast, females tended to be more self-critical than males on such items as being easily angered or hurt, being shy and self-conscious, being too possessive, being too serious, being emotionally cold, being flighty and unsettled, and acting childish or silly. (4) With few exceptions, the traits on which each sex exceeded the other in self-critcism are the very traits which characterize the patterns of the respective sexes, as described in an earlier part of this study. In other words, males tend to criticize themselves more on items which are regarded as typical of males in general, and females tend to criticize themselves more on items which are regarded as typical of females in general. To test this further, we compared, for both sexes, actual with theoretical percentage distributions of self-criticism classified by sex pattern as viewed by each sex separately. It can be noted, from Table 2, that males tend to criticize themselves more within the male and less within the female pattern than could be theoretically expected if chance alone were operating; and that females do similarly, favoring the female and mixed patterns. Both of these differences when tested by chi square proved to be highly significant (beyond the 1 per cent level of confidence).

TABLE 1

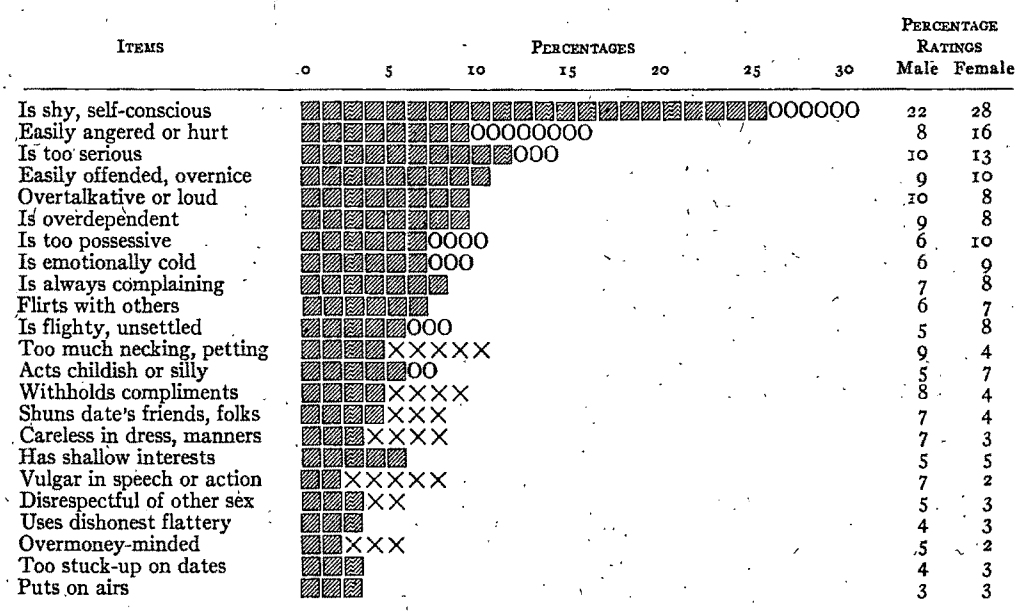
PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL SCORE ASSIGNED TO EACH SEX BY EACH SEX

Assigned by	Assigned to		Total
	Males	Females	
Males	32.57	67.43	100.00
Females	52.04	47.96	100.00

It will be further observed that, while both sexes in their self-criticisms tend to avoid the pattern of the opposite sex, only the males lean heavily toward the pattern which they ascribed to males. The females, in contrast, are disproportionately more self-critical on items within the mixed group, emphasizing items which they consider a part of the female pattern no more than might be expected from chance. A close comparison of Figures 1 and 2 will reveal that there are several items which fe-

males assign to the female pattern but do not accept to themselves; notably, "puts on airs," "too stuckup on dates," and "overmoney-minded." Apparently females, more than males, tend to project blame upon other members of their own sex.

Opinions on selected questions.—Certain questions were asked which provide data supplementary to the analysis thus far reported. One of these had to do with the most desirable age for the first date. On the average (mean), males thought the first



▨ = Percentage common to both males and females. XXX = Male percentage where larger than female. OOO = Female percentage where larger than male.

FIG. 2.—Comparison of male and female self-criticisms regarding dating behavior. Rates indicate the percentages of each sex who checked the various items as applying to themselves. Only those differences which are statistically significant are shown.

TABLE 2

COMPARISON OF ACTUAL WITH THEORETICAL PERCENTAGES OF SELF-CRITICISM, CLASSIFIED BY SEX PATTERN

Comparisons	Male Pattern	Female Pattern	Mixed Pattern
Male comparison:			
Theoretical distribution according to male classification of sex patterns*	30.4	52.2	17.4
Actual distribution of male self-criticisms	40.7	45.9	13.4
Female comparison:			
Theoretical distribution according to female classification of sex patterns*	43.5	43.5	13.0
Actual distribution of female self-criticisms	26.4	43.7	29.9

* Theoretical distributions consist of actual assignments of the twenty-three items to male and female patterns by males and females, respectively. To illustrate, 30.4 per cent of all items were considered by males to be characteristic of the male pattern, 52.2 per cent of the female pattern, and 17.4 per cent not significantly different between the sexes. This approach assumes that, were chance alone operating, self-criticisms would be distributed equally among the various items.

date should be at age 15.2, and females at age 15.1.

In Table 3 are presented questions and answers pertaining to sex roles and intimacy during dating. Tests for significance of difference were run between columns 1 and 2, 3 and 4, 1 and 3, and 2 and 4. With the three exceptions noted in the table, all differences were found to be significant at the 5 per cent level of confidence.

First, let us examine the questions dealing with sex roles (Nos. 1, 2, and 6). Nearly half the males thought that it would be a good thing for girls to feel as free as boys in asking for dates, while only slightly more than a fourth of the females thought so. This suggests that large numbers of both sexes feel uneasy about approaching the opposite sex and that they would welcome having the other sex take the initiative; this gives support to our earlier findings regarding widespread feelings of dating inadequacy in both sexes.

The majority of both boys and girls say "No" to the proposition that girls should pay about half the expense of dates. More boys, however, than girls favor this proposal for "dutch-dating," which fact seems to fit logically with the recognition by both sexes that being overmoney-minded is largely a female trait (see Fig. 1).

Concerning the question of sexual immorality being more wrong for girls than boys, large numbers of both sexes remained undecided. While a significantly larger proportion of the boys favored a single standard, girls tended to favor the double standard. The fact that females answered the question more in favor of a double standard, which discriminates against females, gives support to our earlier finding that females are more critical of their own sex than males are of theirs.[6]

Answers to the three questions concerning necking and petting during dating (Nos. 3, 4, and 5) show variations according to sex and degree of intimacy. The females are the more conservative—a smaller proportion of them approved kissing on the first date and a larger proportion said that intimate petting should be delayed until after marriage. This difference between

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE COMPARISONS OF ANSWERS TO CERTAIN QUESTIONS PERTAINING TO DATING

DO YOU BELIEVE THAT—	YES		NO		UNDECIDED OR UNANSWERED	
	Male (1)	Female (2)	Male (3)	Female (4)	Male (5)	Female (6)
1. it would be a good thing if girls could be as free as boys in asking for dates?	48	27	33	54	19	19
2. it would be a good thing if girls would pay half the expense of dates?	29	21	53*	55*	18	24
3. it is all right for a couple to kiss on the first date?	51	33	26	44	23	23
4. the first kiss should be delayed until after marriage?	3*	3*	87	93	10	4
5. intimate petting should be delayed until after marriage?	31	66	39	16	30	18
6. sexual immorality is any more wrong for girls than for boys?	27	36*	42	32*	31	32

* Indicates percentages on a given question that are not significantly different from each other at the 5 per cent level of confidence. (Percentages in the "Undecided or Unanswered" columns not tested.)

[6] Another possible explanation for the observed male-female differences in answers to questions 1, 2, and 6 is that females might be more conservative or conventional in their thinking.

the sexes supports our earlier finding that necking and petting are predominantly a male pattern.

In general, the greater the intimacy, the less it is approved for dating. While approximately one-half of the boys and over one-third of the girls approved kissing on the first date, only about one-third of the boys and one-sixth of the girls thought intimate petting is justified before marriage. Almost no one, of either sex, thought that the first kiss should be delayed until after marriage.

Summary and conclusions.—We have reported the opinions of twenty-five hundred representative American high-school students on questions pertaining to dating behavior. The following generalizations seem justified:

1. Males and females are in rather close agreement concerning (*a*) things to look for in choosing a date, (*b*) conduct patterns characteristic of each sex, and (*c*) self-criticisms as applied to the dating situation. Cross-sex correlations on these three factors were .73 (ρ), .93 (ρ), and .83 (ρ), respectively.

2. Disagreement between the sexes concerning the assigning of criticisms lies chiefly in the direction of projected blame. This is true for both sexes but especially for males, who, in this sample, assigned approximately two-thirds of their net criticisms to the female side and only one-third to their own.

3. When engaging in self-criticism, males and females both tend to identify with their respective sex patterns. Here, too, this is especially true for males. The picture is spoiled somewhat for females because of several items that they are willing to accept as part of the female pattern but not accept as applying to themselves.

4. From the above two paragraphs, it appears that projected blame is directed more toward the opposite sex by males but to other members of the same sex by females.[7] If this is true (and we make no claim of having fully established the fact), it is apparent evidence of the acceptance of a male-dominant culture—where masculine values have priority, and females feel a strong sense of competition among themselves. It would seem that each person, male or female, tends to rationalize his own behavior by projecting blame upon the "other woman."

5. There is considerable evidence that both sexes rather commonly experience feelings of inadequacy in the dating situation. "Is shy, self-conscious, or ill-at-ease" was the only one of twenty-three criticisms that each sex assigned to itself.[8] Furthermore, in the list of self-criticisms, this item was prominent. Also, as will be remembered, large percentages from each sex were anxious for the other sex to assume more initiative in making dates.

6. Definite male and female patterns of dating become evident from this study. Males are considered to be more natural but also more thoughtless, mannerless, and disrespectful; too, they make a greater play for sexual intimacy. Females, on the other hand, are considered to be more socially and sentimentally inclined; consequently, they are more apt to appear shallow or conceited or to be touchy, possessive, or money-minded.

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[7] Recall that females, compared with males, assigned a relatively smaller proportion of their total criticisms to the opposite sex, that their self-criticisms were more closely identified with the "mixed" than the "same-sex" pattern, and that they showed greater inclination toward accepting the double standard of morality.

[8] The same thing occurred in the author's earlier Purdue study. There, out of thirty criticisms, the only item accepted to itself by each sex was "acts nervous and rattled, isn't calm or at ease, lacks self-confidence and poise" (Christensen, *op. cit.*, pp. 222–24).

RESEARCH NOTE ON THE MEASUREMENT OF INTERRACIAL MARRIAGE

JOHN H. BURMA

ABSTRACT

When the California anti-miscegenation law was nullified, the marriage of whites and non-whites became more easily measurable. There was, however, no rush to intermarry; the rates of marriage of whites to other races was only 56 per 10,000. Approximately 41 per cent of these mixed marriages involved Filipino men; 20.5 per cent involved Negro men; 20.4 per cent involved Anglo men; 44 per cent of these mixed marriages involved Anglo women. Filipino men marrying Anglo women and Anglo men marrying Negro women showed a much higher average age than any other groups.

Until 1948 the laws of the state of California prevented the marriage of whites with persons of other races. As the result of court suits, this law was declared unconstitutional,[1] and, beginning in November, 1948, marriage licenses were issued regardless of race. This is a report on all marriage licenses issued to mixed couples of white and other races from the nullification of the original law in November, 1948, to April 30, 1951,[2] plus a special study of a sample of a thousand consecutive marriages in April, 1950.

Los Angeles County is both a desirable and an undesirable area to study interracial marriages. It is good in that there are a relatively large number of minority groups and of cases of racial intermarriage. It is not good in that the city of Los Angeles itself, in which nearly all the intermarriage seems to occur, is not typical of other cities in the number of Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos, Mexicans, and Negroes who live there. It would be incorrect to draw any direct inferences whatsoever concerning other cities from the data for Los Angeles.

During the thirty months covered by the study, there were 78,266 licenses issued, of which 445 were between persons of white (Mexicans are considered white) and some other race. This indicates a rate of 56 per 10,000 marriages, or a little over one-half of 1 per cent of all marriages.

[1] The winning argument came when two Catholics, one Negro and one white, declared that their religious freedom was hampered by the law: they could receive all the sacraments except that of marriage, which was being unconstitutionally denied them by the law.

[2] Cases furnished by the Los Angeles County Marriage License Bureau.

Although the Marriage License Bureau study did not separately record interracial marriages not including whites, it may be estimated that, if these were included, the total rate of intermarriage of racial groups would be somewhere near 65 per 10,000, or nearly two-thirds of 1 per cent of all marriages.

TABLE 1

RATES PER 1,000 MARRIAGE LICENSES ISSUED TO MIXED COUPLES OF WHITE AND NON-WHITE RACES IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY, NOVEMBER 1, 1948, TO APRIL 30, 1951, BY RACE OR NATIONALITY

Filipino–Anglo*	217
Filipino–Mexican	193
Negro–Anglo	146
Anglo–Japanese	67
Anglo–Negro	58
Negro–Mexican	59
Chinese–Anglo	54
Anglo–Chinese	34
Anglo–Filipino	34
Japanese–Anglo	27
Mexican–Filipino	25
Chinese–Mexican	22
Japanese–Mexican	18
Mexican–Negro	16
Anglo–Korean	11
Mexican–Japanese	7
Mexican–Chinese	5
Other mixtures	7
Total	1,000

* Male listed first in all cases and tables.

The 1,000 sample, which is admittedly too small except to give some basis for estimates, seems to indicate that within the marriages of whites to whites about 3½ per cent are be-

TABLE 2

INTRA- AND INTERMARRIAGE BY SEX, RACE, OR NATIONALITY AND BY PERCENTAGE IN AGE GROUPS, LOS ANGELES COUNTY, NOVEMBER 1, 1948, TO APRIL 30, 1951

AGE AT ISSUANCE OF LICENSE	ANGLO*–ANGLO		MEX.–MEX.		NEGRO–NEGRO		JAP.–JAP.		FILIP.–ANGLO		FILIP.–MEX.		NEGRO–ANGLO		ANGLO–NEGRO		ANGLO–MEX.		MEX.–ANGLO	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
15–24	43	54	47	67	25	36	16	42	6	31	12	36	17	42	19	34	23	61	57	86
25–34	37	30	37	18	44	47	63	53	6	37	9	44	62	38	27	23	69	31	43	14
35–44	11	9	6	5	20	9	16	0	65	25	63	16	18	20	12	23	4	4	0	0
45–54	6	4	4	7	10	6	5	5	19	7	14	4	1.5	0	19	12	0	4	0	0
55 and over	3	3	6	3	2	2	0	0	4	0	2	0	1.5	0	23	8	4	0	0	0
Total	(182)		(100)		(77)		(19)		(97)		(86)		(65)		(26)		(26)		(7)	
Median age	*26*	*24*	*25*	*22*	*28*	*27*	*27*	*25*	*40*	*30*	*40*	*29*	*30*	*25*	*39*	*30*	*28*	*24*	*23*	*20*

* Male listed first.

TABLE 2—*Continued*

AGE AT ISSUANCE OF LICENSE	NEGRO*–MEX.		ANGLO–JAP.		JAP.–ANGLO		CHIN.–ANGLO		ANGLO–CHIN.		CHIN.–MEX.		MEX.–FILIP.		ANGLO–FILIP.		MEX.–NEGRO	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
15–24	32	68	43	43	25	42	25	54	33	53	50	50	82	82	33	73	14	43
25–34	40	20	50	57	33	25	33	25	53	47	30	40	18	18	47	13	43	14
35–44	20	8	3	0	8	8	29	17	0	0	20	10	0	0	7	0	0	14
45–54	8	4	0	0	8	0	13	4	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	28	14
55 and over	0	0	3	0	25	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	7	14	14
Total	(25)		(30)		(12)		(24)		(15)		(10)		(11)		(15)		(7)	
Median age	*29*	*22*	*25*	*25*	*31*	*27*	*29*	*24*	*25*	*24*	*25*	*25*	*22*	*20*	*25*	*22*	*32*	*28*

* Male listed first.

tween "Anglos"[3] and Mexican-Americans, with the marriage of Anglo males to Mexican-American females making up about four-fifths of this total. On the basis of the 1,000 sample, it would seem that, of the marriage licenses issued in Los Angeles County, about 75 per cent are Anglo–Anglo, something over 11 per cent are Mexican–Mexican, nearly 10 per cent are Negro–Negro, and the remaining 4 per cent are intraracial marriages of other racial groups or interracial marriages.

Of the marriages between whites and other races (as can be seen from Table 1), some 41 per cent involve Filipino males, 20.5 per cent Negro males, 20.4 per cent Anglo males, 7.6 per cent Chinese males, 5.3 per cent Mexican males, and 4.5 per cent Japanese males. As for the women included, 44.4 per cent of these marriages involved Anglo women, 29.2 per cent Mexican women, 7.4 per cent Negro women, 7.4 per cent Japanese women, 5.9 per cent Filipino women, and 3.9 per cent Chinese women.

It was further ascertained that some differences existed in the ages of the various groups intermarrying. As can be seen from Table 2, there are significant differences in the ages at which various groups have married. Anglo men marry Anglo women at a median age of twenty-six; those marrying Japanese, Chinese, and Filipino women have a median age of twenty-five; those marrying Mexicans have a median age of twenty-eight, but those marrying Negroes have a median age of thirty-nine years. The high median age of male Filipinos securing licenses (forty years) is easily explained by the peculiar age groupings of the Filipino population in this country, but there is no such simple explanation of the disproportionate number of older Anglos who marry Negro women. Moreover, in no other case except that of the relatively few Japanese males marrying Anglo women is there such a high percentage (20 per cent) of the brides forty-five years of age or older. Mexican men marrying within their own group tend to be slightly younger than Anglos, while Negroes and Japanese tend to be somewhat older. Anglo men who marry Mexican women are somewhat older than those who marry Anglo women; Anglo men who marry Japanese or Chinese women tend to be younger than those who marry Anglo women; those who marry Negro women are considerably older than any other Anglo group. Mexican men who marry Anglo women tend to be younger than those who marry Mexican women.

Mexican women who marry non-Mexicans tend to be overrepresented in the 15–19 year age groups and the 30–44 year age groups and underrepresented in the rest, as compared to those who marry Mexican men. Anglo women marrying Anglo men tend to marry earlier than those marrying non-Anglos; about two and a half times as many are in the 15–19 age group, and 78 per cent as compared to 61 per cent are under thirty years of age; twice as many Anglo women who marry non-Anglos are thirty-five years of age or older. Negro women who marry non-Negroes are likely to be older than those who marry Negroes; 42 per cent as compared to 17 per cent are thirty-five or older.

Other than the above observations, there seem to be few significant generalizations which can be drawn from a group study of intermarriages in Los Angeles County. It is perfectly clear that the nullification of California's miscegenation law has caused no rush of interracial marriages. In every case, males and females of every group intermarried with every other group, though by no means in equal proportion. Marriage licenses were secured by interracial couples in their teens and in their sixties and for every age group in between. No significant trends as to increases or decreases by months or years were observable, except that if the rate for all of 1951 should be proportionate to the first four months of that year, it will have the largest number and largest percentage of mixed marriages of any of the years studied.

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[3] In the 1,000 sample "Mexican" and "Anglo" were determined by parents' place of birth; in the 445 sample only the names were available, so that those with Spanish names were considered Mexican and those with Anglo names were considered Anglo. While this makes for an increased margin of error, some of the errors would cancel each other out, and the samples are large enough and the figures rounded off roughly enough that this was not thought a serious defect.

Because Mexicans are legally "white," the term "Anglo" is used to denote whites of non-Mexican descent.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

January 21, 1952

To the Editor:

Morton H. Fried in his article, "Military Status in Chinese Society,"[1] predicts that my translation of Max Weber's work on China will "no doubt" reinforce "a very popular concept of the nature of Chinese society." He regrets the consensus among Sinologists, sociologists, and anthropologists in assessing the mentality of the Confucian literati as nonmilitaristic. He fears this might lead to "serious error," especially when connected with three fallacious views: that "the Chinese nation is nonmilitaristic; that Chinese interpersonal relationships are devoid of physical violence; and that Chinese personality is nonaggressive." Mr. Fried seems one-sided in his reading of Weber. Besides "pacifism," the Index has pertinent entries under "army," "Boxers," "chariot combat," "persecution," "revolution," "rebellion," "sanctions," "warfare," etc. One can readily see that Weber locates typical violence in (1) the nature of Asiatic despotism; (2) the cycle of Chinese dynasties; and (3) rural society, not to mention religious persecutions, secret societies, and merchant guilds.

The nature of Asiatic despotism is clearly brought out in its system of bureaucratic tax collection. This, according to Weber, "involved raids, flogging [*sic!*], assistance of sib members, howlings of the oppressed, fear of the oppressors, and compromise" (p. 234). Disciplinary caning in government offices and schoolrooms may be mentioned in passing because of flogging under naziism (and the postwar introduction of corporal punishment in Bavarian schools; the pejorative terms for German schoolteachers of old include the terms "*Arschpauker*" and "*Steiss-trommler*"). Weber states for more than metaphoric reasons: "Just as in Egypt the sign of 'government' is the Pharaoh holding the lash in his hand, so the Chinese character identifies 'governing' (*chih*) with the handling of a stick" (p. 16).

The violent displacement of Chinese dynasties by conquerors (such as the Mongol Manchu) or by peasant rebels and usurpers needs no great emphasis. Weber points to "the constant struggle of the literati and sultanism, which lasted for two millennia" (p. 138). In the declining phase of the various dynasties under the petticoat government of empress dowagers "eunuchs were especially popular as favorites and generals in the way of Narses" (p. 140).

Mr. Fried takes note of Amazons on the stage. He might have read in Weber that "suitable women were also enrolled in the (T'ai P'ing) army" (p. 221). Of course, Weber noticed the Boxers. Any German of Weber's generation knew the Boxers were no pacifists (cf. Weber's emphasis on their athletic training). But what is more remarkable is Weber's perception of violence in rural society, its setting, and possible perspective. Permit me to quote:

> The individual peasant was frequently threatened by feuds outside the village. . . . The solvent peasants . . . were typically at the mercy of the arbitrary *kuang kun* or the *kulaki* (fists), as one would say in Russian peasant terminology. But they were not exposed to the domination of the "village bourgeoisie," of usurers and their interested affiliates, as were the *kulaki* in Russia. Against these, the Chinese peasant would easily have found human and divine assistance. Rather, the peasant was exposed to the non-propertied villagers organized by the *kuang kun*, thus the *bjednata*, the "village poor" in the terminology of Bolshevism which,

[1] *American Journal of Sociology*, LVII (January, 1952), 347–55, in which he cites new translation of Max Weber's, *The Religion of China* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951).

in this respect, might be attractive in China. Against this organization every individual and even groups of large owners were often completely unprotected and powerless. And if, during the last centuries, larger estates in China have been exceptional, the above circumstances have contributed. Their paucity has been due to a sort of ethical and naïve peasant Bolshevism strongly tempered by the power of the sibs and the absence of state sanctions guaranteeing property [p. 94].

The *kuang kun* is the Chinese name for what Arthur Smith called the "village bully" (cf. his *Village Life in China* [Edinburgh, 1899]). Weber knew Smith's discussion and calls the *kuang kun* "athletically trained" and states that "the situation for the rest of the villagers could become hopeless if he had a literary education and was possibly related to an official" (p. 278).

Weber's thirty-year-old observations—then uncommon and now unpopular—seem rather astute for a Heidelberg academician who never made a personal visit to China or Russia.

HANS GERTH

University of Wisconsin

NEWS AND NOTES

American Catholic Sociological Society.—The society held its thirteenth annual convention at the Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., in December. Papers were presented on the sociology of the family, industry, intergroup relations, the parish, and the world community, and special sessions were devoted to the teaching of sociology in colleges, high schools, and seminaries. The presidential address of the Reverend Thomas J. Harte, C.Ss.R., reported a survey of the research and teaching roles of members of the society. Officers elected for 1952 were John J. Kane, University of Notre Dame, president; the Reverend Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, S.J., Fordham University, first vice-president; Sister Mary Gabriel, G.N.S.H., D'Youville College, second vice-president; and the Reverend Ralph A. Gallagher, S.J., Loyola University, Chicago, executive secretary.

American Studies Association.—A newly founded national society for the study of American civilization, the American Studies Association aims at a better understanding of the United States by means of communication across the established disciplines about the various aspects of America. Besides appealing to the person who has a general interest in American culture, the ASA should be especially useful to the college teacher; members, faculty, and graduate students of the thirty or more active American civilization programs in colleges and universities; the scholar doing interdisciplinary research on an American subject or who is interested in the European influences on the United States; the librarian and others; and the institution (university, library, etc.).

The association will operate through regional societies which it will sponsor or which will join it. Regional groups for the study of American civilization have been organized in seven areas (others will be added later): Michigan (chairman, Professor Russel Nye, Michigan State College, East Lansing); Minnesota (chairman, Professor Tremaine McDowell, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis); Missouri (chairman, Professor Ralph Eieber, Washington University, St. Louis); Upstate New York (chairman, Professor Stuart Brown, Syracuse University, Syracuse); Ohio (chairmen, Professors Lyon Richardson, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, and Robert Shurter, Case Institute, Cleveland); Rocky Mountains (chairman, Professor Bruce Granger, University of Denver, Denver); Texas (chairman, Mr. Robert Trent, director of libraries, Southern Methodist University, Dallas). Persons interested in joining one of these groups should get in touch with the appropriate chairman.

Officers of the ASA are Carl Bode (literature), University of Maryland, president; Merle Curti (history), University of Wisconsin, vice-president; and Robert Land (history), Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, secretary-treasurer.

Bowling Green State University.—A family living workshop is scheduled from June 9 to 27. It is for teachers, counselors, school administrators, religious leaders, and others interested in the development of a program in family living and in teaching marriage courses. It is open to students who have attained a collegiate rating of Junior or higher. It will consider the organization and teaching of courses of family living and the related problems of counseling and community relations. The workshop will be under the direction of Donald S. Longworth, assistant professor of sociology. Requests for information should be directed to Professor Longworth.

University of Buffalo.—Alvin W. Gouldner, of the department of sociology and anthropology, is on a year's leave of absence while acting as a consultant to the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. Professor Gouldner has also been granted an S.S.R.C. fellowship for the summer which he will spend at Dartmouth College, taking part in a seminar on leadership and group behavior.

University of California, Los Angeles.—Leonard Broom, associate professor, taught in the summer session, 1951, at the University of British Columbia.

Edwin M. Lemert, associate professor, whose textbook *Social Pathology* was published in 1951, spent the fall semester on sabbatical leave studying alcoholism among the Indians of British Columbia.

Philip Selznick, assistant professor, who was on leave for the year 1950–51 with the RAND Corporation, has returned to regular teaching and research.

Ralph H. Turner, assistant professor, was director of the interdepartmental Youth and Marriage Institute, offered by the university in the fall of 1951.

Donald R. Cressey, assistant professor, spent the summer of 1951 at Terre Haute federal prison continuing his research on embezzlement.

Ruth Riemer is a new addition to the faculty who came from the University of Michigan. She is specializing in population and quantitative method.

Scott Greer, who is completing his Ph.D. work, assumed teaching duties at Santa Barbara College (University of California) during the fall semester.

Three graduate students are recipients of outside fellowships. Wendell Bell received a S.S.R.C. Research Training Fellowship and is engaged in a comparative study of urban typologies; John Isuro Kitsuse received a John Hay Whitney Opportunity Fellowship; and Hiroshi Ito received the Sigmund Livingston Memorial Fellowship.

Carnegie Institute of Technology.—The department of social work, including the graduate program, will be discontinued after June 30, 1953, because of increased costs. No new students will be admitted to the department's two-year program leading to the Master's degree in social work. Students in the undergraduate program will be able to transfer without loss of credit to the social studies option in the department of general studies. The department of social work is the only department in Carnegie's Margaret Morrison College which offers graduate work, and the class of 1952 is the largest group to receive the Master's degree. The cost per student enrolled in the graduate program is necessarily much higher than that of any of the undergraduate courses offered by the college, the main expense being in the correlating of the field instruction and classwork for the individual student.

Centre d'Études Radiophoniques.—Under the direction of Alphonse Silbermann, a research project on the subject of the sociological aspects of radio music is being planned at the offices of the center, in Paris. The study will be concerned with both production techniques and the effects upon listeners. The latter part of the study will involve investigations of listening in cities, towns, and the country; of the evolution of differences in regional and national tastes; of the efficacy of musical education by radio; and of the part played by radio in stimulating listeners to go to concerts, buy records, play instruments, compose music, etc.

Information on the project may be had by applying to Dr. Alphonse Silbermann, Centre d'Études Radiophoniques, 37, Rue de l'Université, Paris, 7e.

Cornell University.—The Cornell Social Science Research Center is sponsoring on a two-year basis a field methods training program begun in September, 1951, under a Ford Foundation grant. It is to be a new type of training course in interviewing and observation for graduate students in social science disciplines. U. Bronfenbrenner, department of child development and family relationships; J. Dean, department of sociol-

ogy and anthropology; and W. F. Whyte, New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, form the advisory committee; and S. A. Richardson is the project director. The training course will be conducted on an experimental basis for the academic year 1952–53. Persons interested in the course should communicate with Dr. Richardson.

University of Edinburgh.—In January the department of social anthropology held a seminar on race relations in Britain, based on its current program of field research. A discussion of field-work methodology was followed by papers entitled: "Some Hypotheses concerning the Adjustment of a Group of West Indians in Liverpool," by Anthony Richmond; "Concepts and Terminology in Race Relations," by Michael Banton; "The Family as an Integrating Factor in Race Relations," by Sidney Collins; "Some Stereotypes of Colonial People among University Students," by Sheila Webster; "The Organization of Colonial Students in London," by Philip Garigue; and "The Church as an Acculturative Mechanism in Manchester," by Eyo Ndem.

Ruth Landes, of Columbia University, is collaborating with the department this session as Fulbright Senior Fellow, her specific field of interest being the comparative study of race relations.

Florida State University.—Lewis M. Killian has joined the staff as associate professor of sociology, effective September 1, 1952. Dr. Killian, formerly at the University of Oklahoma, has been engaged as chief analyst for the Disaster Studies Project of the Institute of Community Development.

Gerontological Society, Inc.—The fifth annual scientific meeting will be held September 5–7, 1952, in Washington, D.C., at the Willard Hotel.

Institut für Sozialforschung.—The institute, which was formally reopened at the University of Frankfurt-am-Main in November and operates under the direction of Max Horkheimer, professor of philosophy and sociology (and currently Rector) at the university, has announced that its program will continue to be built on the integration of philosophy with sociology, economics, and psychology. It aims to combine the emphasis on theory that characterizes the German tradition with the rigorous empirical methods that have been the specific American contribution to sociology. Major research projects at present center on the intellectual and emotional effects of the Nazi period on Germany, German attitudes toward America, and a comparative analysis of the impact of foreign propaganda on postwar Germany. In these projects a newly developed method of recorded panel discussions with selected samples of the German population is being applied.

Laval University.—Jean-Charles Falardeau has been nominated chairman of the department of sociology of the faculty of social sciences. Professor Falardeau is the present chairman of the Canadian Social Science Research Council.

Lewis and Clark College.—Eduard C. Lindeman, of Columbia, is a special consultant to two graduate workshops in education which are planned for the summer and staffed by departmental consultants. The first, a community study of Oregon City, is designed to give practical experience in the making of community studies which will be helpful to school authorities. It is scheduled from June 9 to July 18. The second workshop, on intergroup education, will be held from June 16 to July 3.

For information write to Lewis and Clark College, Portland 7, Oregon.

University of Louisville.—C. H. Parrish, for many years professor of sociology at Louisville Municipal College, has been transferred to the sociology staff of the Arts and Science College. This is in line with the recent action of the board of trustees in abolishing the separate college for Negroes

and integrating the Negro students into the various other colleges and schools of the university. Dr. Parrish is probably one of the first full-time professors to teach unsegregated classes in the South.

Ray Birdwhistell is on leave of absence to teach at the School of Advanced and Specialized Studies of the Foreign Service Institute connected with the Department of State. His work will consist in helping train specialists to be used in the Point Four program.

Frank Vicroy is offering a new course in industrial sociology.

University of Melbourne.—A large-scale investigation into the problem of the aged is now being carried out in the state of Victoria by the department of social studies. It is financed by the Sidney Myer Trust and directed by Bertram Hutchinson, formerly of the Government Social Survey Organization in Great Britain. The basis of the inquiry will be a sample survey designed to discover the general environmental and economic conditions, the health, and the occupational and recreational habits of the population aged sixty years and over. A parallel survey of the general population will be necessary for comparative purposes. The investigation will also be concerned with the beliefs which old people have concerning themselves and their role in society and with the beliefs of younger people as to the social functions of the aged and the social provision that should be made for them. The study is to be completed by mid-1953 and a report published.

University of Michigan.—For the fifth consecutive year the Survey Research Center will hold its annual summer institute in survey research techniques. The regular session of the institute will be held from July 21 to August 15, with an introductory session from June 23 to July 18, 1952. This institute is designed to meet some of the educational and training needs of men and women engaged in business and governmental research or other statistical work and of graduate students and university instructors interested in quantitative research in the social sciences. The program of the regular session will include a lecture and symposium series and the offering of five courses in survey research techniques which can be elected for graduate credit. These courses are: "Introduction to Survey Research," "Workshop in Survey Research Techniques," "Methods of Sampling in Survey Research," "Survey Research Methods," and "Advanced Methods in Survey Research." All courses are offered in conjunction with university departments. Students desiring graduate credit must be admitted by the Graduate School.

For further information write to the Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Michigan State College.—The board of trustees of the Alumni Fund again offer seven predoctoral and one postdoctoral fellowship for study at Michigan State College. Predoctoral fellowships ranging in value from $800 to $1,200 are open to candidates for the Ph.D. degree. The postdoctoral fellowship has an annual value of $3,000 and is, like the predoctoral fellowships, open to qualified candidates in any field of research for which Michigan State College has the appropriate facilities. Inquiries should be addressed to the Dean of the School of Graduate Studies, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan. Completed applications must be received before May 1, 1952.

University of Mississippi.—William G. Haag, associate professor of anthropology, is on leave during the second semester visiting Louisiana State University.

Robert L. Rands, who recently completed his doctoral work at Columbia University, is acting assistant professor of anthropology. He and Mrs. Rands are continuing work on the archeological materials from their expedition to the Maya site at Palenque.

National Consumers League for Fair Labor Standards.—An office has been opened at 1751 N Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C., as a center of information and the promotion of legislation on behalf of migrant agricultural workers.

The National Consumers League has prepared synopses of proposed bills under discussion before the Humphrey Senate Subcommittee on Labor and Labor-Management Relations which would provide a federal committee on migratory labor, on-the-job housing, restrictions on importation of foreign contract labor, and regulation of private employment agencies.

An occasional report on the status of this and other legislation affecting migrants will be sent individuals, study groups, and others interested in the problem.

Elizabeth S. Magee, executive secretary of the league and member of the President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation, will be frequently in Washington working on this legislation during the present session of Congress.

National Training Laboratory in Group Development.—A four-week summer laboratory session will be held at Gould Academy, Bethel, Maine, from June 22 to July 18. Persons involved in problems of working with groups in a training, consultant, or leadership capacity in any field are invited to apply. About one hundred will be accepted. The purpose of the training program is to sensitize leaders in all fields to the existence and nature of the dynamic forces operating in the small group. Group skills of analysis and leadership are practiced through the use of role-playing and observer techniques. There is also opportunity to explore the role of the group in the larger social environment.

The laboratory is sponsored by the Division of Adult Education Service of the National Education Association and the Research Center for Group Dynamics of the University of Michigan, with the co-operation of the universities of Chicago, Illinois, California, and Ohio State, Antioch College and Teachers College, Columbia University, and other educational institutions. Its year-round research and consultation program are supported by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York. For further information write to the National Training Laboratory in Group Development, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

Office of Intelligence Research, Department of State, Washington, D.C.—The External Research Staff has initiated a project for cataloguing recent and current nongovernment social science research on countries and areas outside the United States. The work is co-operative, co-ordinated by the External Research Staff and participated in by university faculties and graduate students.

Several bibliographies were completed by mid-January, 1952. They cover current research on China; U.S.S.R.; Southeast Asia; the Far East, the Near East; Korea; Eastern Europe; Western Europe; India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, and Iraq; Africa; and international affairs.

Scholars, including graduate students, are invited to contribute to the catalogue and to benefit by the information contained in it. Information may be had from the Chief, External Research Staff, Room 602, State Annex No. 1, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.

Ohio State University.—John W. Bennett is the director of a project supported by the Office of Naval Research which will analyze the materials collected during his stay in Japan with the Public Opinion and Sociological Research Division of SCAP. These materials are derived from research on social relationships and cultural patterns in various segments of Japanese economic and social institutions. Labor-boss systems, employer-employee relationships in heavy industry and in local industry, agricultural and forestry associations, and the rural family system are to be studied. The objectives are to document in some detail paternalism,

familism, and forms of feudal social control. Iwao Ishino, of the Harvard Department of Social Relations, and, like Dr. Bennett, a former member of the Public Opinion and Social Research Division, is research associate. Michio Nagai, of Kyoto University, is assisting in analysis.

C. T. Jonassen has been appointed director and chief investigator of a research project on urban decentralization, sponsored by the National Research Council.

Merton Oyler has been appointed book-review editor of *Marriage and Family Living*, the quarterly publication of the National Council on Family Relations.

Oregon State College.—A research project entitled "A Survey of Ethnic Groups in Oregon," financed by the Graduate Council of Oregon State College and the General Extension Division of the Oregon State System of Higher Education, was started in the summer of 1951 by Associate Professor Hans H. Plambeck and former part-time instructor in sociology, Clara Simmerville.

Dr. Hans H. Plambeck has been granted a Fulbright award for nine months of research in rural sociology at Lincoln Agricultural College, Lincoln, New Zealand, beginning July, 1952.

Glenn A. Bakkum, professor and head of the department of sociology, was a Fulbright lecturer in sociology at the American University at Cairo, Egypt.

Pennsylvania College for Women.—L. Saxon Graham, who recently received his Doctor's degree from Yale University, joined the department of sociology in September. Dr. Graham teaches the courses in anthropology and industrial society as well as sections in modern society and elementary sociology.

Mabel A. Elliott's new textbook on criminology, *Crime in Modern Society*, is to be published this spring.

Society for the Study of Social Problems.—The society is inviting its members to submit papers to be read before the annual meeting in September, 1952, at Atlantic City. All papers will be scheduled to be read by title, in digest form, or as a whole (with time limitations). Titles should be submitted by May 1. Papers may deal with research findings, with theory, or with questions of policy. The work of the program committee will be facilitated if a brief statement of the nature of the contents of papers accompanies the title. Rejection will be only for lack of accord with the Society's objectives: promotion and protection of sociological research and teaching in significant problems of social life; the stimulation and application of scientific method and theory to the study of social problems; encouragement of problem-centered research; and the fostering of co-operative relations among those engaged in the application of scientific findings to the formulation of social policies. Titles should be submitted to any member of the program committee, which consists of the following persons: Reinhard Bendix, University of California; Carroll Clark, University of Kansas; Edgar Schuler, Wayne University; Jessie Bernard, chairman, Pennsylvania State College.

University of Wisconsin.—T. C. McCormick, chairman of the department of sociology and anthropology, has been hospitalized as a result of a visual disability and will be incapacitated for the remainder of the semester. Howard Becker was voted acting chairman. Michael Nightingale has taken over Professor McCormick's course in sampling procedures.

Howard B. Gill's course in juvenile delinquency is being broadcast over a ten-station AM-FM network.

Ford Foundation fellowships have been awarded to James Silverberg and Alan Kerckhoff.

BOOK REVIEWS

Man, Mutable and Immutable: The Fundamental Structure of Social Life. By KURT RIEZLER. Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1951. Pp. x+359. $5.00.

Professor Riezler has written a work of profound significance. He addresses himself to the problem of the constant and the variable in the life of human beings—a basic problem to disciplines which propose to study human beings in either a generic or a historical way. In handling this problem, he has had to analyze the nature of human group life, the nature of human beings, and the nature of the relations between human beings and their world. He is admirably qualified for this task. He is an eminent philosopher, deeply schooled in the classical knowledge of human nature, he is familiar with the thinking in contemporary psychological and social science, and he has a rich practical experience with the ways of man. This breadth of knowledge and experience, sharpened intellectually by long and studious preoccupation with the nature of man, has led him to state and clarify basic questions in the study of human conduct which psychologists and social scientists are unaware of, ignore, or gloss over. His original and incisive treatment of these questions makes the present book a social psychological contribution of the highest order, worthy of ranking with George H. Mead's *Mind, Self, and Society* and C. H. Cooley's *Human Nature and the Social Order.*

Riezler gets at the basic character of human society by showing that it is a relation between human beings instead of between organisms. This fundamental distinction is developed in an original and penetrating manner by an analysis of the relations implied by the personal pronouns which are universal to human groups—"I," "you," "they," "we," "he," and "she." The human being, as actor, is an "I"—a *subject* who in taking others into account endows them with a being relative to himself. Another human being toward whom he acts is a "you," a "you" who, however, exists in his own right as an "I." Thus, the natural relation between one human being and another is not that of object and object, or even that of subject and object, but that of subject and subject. In this relation each is required to recognize the other in the role of an "I" and thus has to catch in some degree the other's subjective orientation. The sensitivity of each to the other, as each takes the other into account as one who similarly takes him into account, constitutes a responsiveness very different from the formal responsiveness between objects and likewise different from the responsiveness of a subject to an object which is not conceived as taking the subject into account. This relation of subject to subject is the original, the generic, and the basic relation in human society. Out of this relation, and only out of this relation, come the distinctive features of the human act and of human society: taking the role of others to get their perspectives and to divine their intensions; the formation of social feelings such as care, concern, trust, love, hatred, and respect; sensitivity to such feelings; and establishing claims and obligations, thus giving rise to a moral order. Such features do not arise in a relation of object to object or in a relation of subject to object. In turn, they are imperative and unavoidable in the relation of subject to subject.

Riezler shows that this basic relation of an "I" and a "you" presupposes a structure of other relations between subjects, represented again by other personal pronouns present in all human groups. The human being is not an isolated individual. He and others assert themselves at various points as a "we." Others who judge or who must be taken into account exist as a "they," a "he," or a "she." The sense of a "we" and a "they" pervades the act of an "I." Indeed, the act of the "I" implicates a society of others, structured in terms of a "you," a "we," and a "they," all existing as *subjects*. The human act arises in such a context and in character and being reflects that context. These relations represented by the personal pronouns constitute the universal structure of human societies.

One may well ponder this analysis of human society as a structure of relations between subjects. Under it human beings are restored to society, from which, paradoxically, they are removed by the general run of prevailing schemes —schemes which, respectively, view human so-

ciety as made up of culture-bearers, role-players, status-occupiers, biological organisms, psychological composites, or statistical units. Human relations are not between abstract entities, as most of current views would have it, but between acting subjects who are required to take each other into account as such. A recognition of this fact, which seems to this reviewer as indisputable, points directly to the mutable nature of human action—subjects who are themselves shifting "I" 's developing and organizing acts with regard to shifting "you" 's, "we" 's, and "they" 's in varying and variable situations. With concrete human action stemming from and reflecting such an ever shifting juxtaposition of the individual actors, there is little likelihood of reaching the "immutable" by an abstraction of the general or the common from the array of concrete human acts. The immutable must be sought not in the ever variable human act but, instead, in the *framework* of relationship between subjects.

Riezler has made a penetrating study of this framework, finding it to consist of what he terms the human passions—patience and impatience, fear and hope, care and carefreeness, love and hate, envy, pride and humility, shame and awe. These passions should not be viewed as distinct feelings lodged in independent and separate psyches. Instead, they are ways in which human beings as subjects become related when they take one another into account as subjects. They are ways in which subjects are motivated to each other, approach each other, protect themselves from one another, and organize themselves with respect to one another. The passions are universal to human groups. Amid all the diverse and mutable roles of people and amid all their diverse and changeable ways of acting toward one another, the passions constitute an enduring and immutable framework. If one takes seriously a premise that human nature arises from and exists in the generic relations between human beings, then the human passions as identified by Riezler must be recognized as the stuff of human nature.

The picture of the skeletal though basic relations between human beings developed by Riezler allows him to make a penetrating analysis of the relations of human beings to things or objects—to an "it" of experience. A human being confronts a thing as a subject facing an object. Again, the true relationship is not that of an external linkage of two separate, self-contained entities. Instead, the human being as a subject bestows a character on the thing and weaves around it a body of meanings and values that make it the kind of object that it is for him. The thing ceases to be part of an environment set over against the human being but becomes, instead, a part of the individual's world. However, just as the human being, as an "I," is implicated in the "you," "we," and "they" relations, so similarly the thing is given a character which reflects the perspectives of these others; its meaning embodies the common perspective of a "we," asserts itself against a "you," and is sensitive to a supporting or oppositional "they." Thus, things or objects arise and exist in the context of a human society and constitute, together, the world of that society. To study and understand a human being, one must view him as acting in a "world" which is his—a world which is sustained for him as he is sustained by others; a world which may be built up or torn down; a world which he may grip tightly or which may slip away from him or may collapse as he, as an "I," changes relations with a "we," a "you," or a "they." The setting of human life is a world—not an independent and self-constituted environment set over against separate human organisms, such as presupposed by the "man-environment" scheme which largely dominates present-day psychology and social science.

The above résumé, while not portraying adequately the acuteness of insight in Riezler's analysis, will serve to indicate some serious considerations of fundamental import to psychologists and social scientists.

One consideration is whether the pictures of man which underlie and guide current research and thought are true. As Riezler appropriately points out, no study of man can hope to be successful if based on a false picture of man. In the light of the view of man presented by him (a concrete subject living in an I-you-we-they association with other concrete subjects in a world of things whose character arises out of that association), current psychology and social science appear to be largely under the guidance of false images of man. For example, much of the research and thought in these disciplines is organized on the premise of man being a responding organism lodged in a separate and independently constituted environment. Riezler shows that under this "man-environment" scheme both the environmental object and man are necessarily given a character that represents the way in which they appear to a generalized neutral observer. Actually, as Riezler points out,

human beings do not act on the basis of the perspective of such a hypothetical neutral observer but act, instead, on the basis of their own perspectives as subjects. The "man-environment" imagery which pervades so much of present-day research and thought needs to be re-examined in the light of the fallacy intrinsic to it. Also widely current today are guiding images which in their respective ways convert men into abstract entities and thus ignore the character that is empirically given by their I-you-we-they relations. Such images are familiar to us in the views of men as culture-bearers, role-players, status-holders, class representatives, as general psychological composites, as biological structures, or as mere statistical units. Logically, such views treat human relations as being between abstract entities instead of being subjects who take each other into account as subjects. Such views incur the grave danger of either distorting or losing sight of the character of human action that comes from the organizing of such action to fit the actual I-you-we-they setting in which the action takes place. Students of the human sciences who have care for the realistic character of their discipline should ponder Riezler's analysis and in its light assess the picture of man implicit in their own thought and research.

Another challenging consideration refers to how man should be studied in view of his mutable and immutable character. Psychology and social science seek, commendably, to develop generic and universal knowledge. However, it seems that they are actually studying the mutable without being aware, or fully aware, of doing so. Their initial concern is with human acts that arise from concrete "I" 's in relation to concrete "you" 's, "we" 's, and "they" 's, relative to mutable things in a given particular world. These acts are taken as the "data" which when subjected to the application of "scientific" procedure are expected to yield scientific knowledge or universal propositions. The fact that such data are, following Riezler's analysis, in the realm of the mutable probably explains such interesting questions as why psychology and social science show a paucity of the generic knowledge which they ostensibly seek; why generality in the meaning of research findings is gained so frequently only by applying to the research findings some imported doctrine or scheme that is not derived from them; or why at the present time there is emerging so much talk of "middle-level" generalizations.

If the data with which psychology and the social sciences are chiefly concerned are mutable in the fundamental sense indicated by Riezler's analysis, then the important question arises as to how these data are to be profitably studied. Should they be studied through a procedure which is already organized to yield a generic result? This seems to be the nature of most current psychological and social research. Or should such mutable data be approached through a procedure which accepts their mutability and which seeks to understand and interpret them in terms of their mutability? The latter approach, as contrasted with the former approach, implies a profound difference in the form of observation, form of inquiry, and form of explanation. Much can be gained from Riezler's discussion of these matters.

It should not be judged from this review that Riezler's book is written specifically as an attack on present-day psychology and social science. That is not his task. He merely seeks, as he modestly declares, to outline the skeleton of the immutable framework of man. However, his treatment of the nature of man and of human society is so trenchant, so realistically grounded, and so challenging in implication that, in the reviewer's judgment, every conscientious student in psychology and the social sciences should read and face his analysis.

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English Life and Leisure: A Social Study. By B. SEEBOHM ROWNTREE and G. R. LAVERS. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1951. Pp. xvi+482. $4.00.

This recent addition to the Rowntree series of social surveys breaks new ground only in its topic—its close, serious attention to the more "frivolous" sides of English life—and in the form it has found for its half-page-long case histories of how over two hundred men and women spend their leisure. Its other and, by volume, major parts include chapter-by-chapter surveys of gambling, drink, sex, the media, and religion in England as a whole; a detailed examination of all the recreational facilities of High Wycombe, an English "Middletown"; and comparative data on the amiably folksy leisure developments in the Scandinavian countries. These not only lack the irony and saltiness that many of the case histories have but invent a dismalness and research backwardness all their own.

A few quotations will illustrate the quality of the case histories:

Mrs. Z., aged about 50, is a widow, and lived for many years in India. She is very "pukka Memsahib" and is a terrible gossip and an insufferable bore. . . . Naturally, Mrs. Z. has all the correct hobbies—bridge, liking for social functions, theatres, even the cinema occasionally, opera, ballet, concerts. Naturally, too, does not gamble. . . . She is not the sort of woman to suspect of sexual promiscuity—she probably does not stop talking long enough to enable a man to make improper advances. A regular churchgoer. [No. 54.]

Miss K. is a typist in a Government office. Aged 32 or 33, she is the daughter of a deceased clergyman. Quite attractive herself, she is not greatly attracted to men although over the course of years she has been the mistress of three men because she liked them and just couldn't be bothered to drive them away when they were insistent. She is well-read, interested in music . . . fond of walking and swimming, despises dancing and likes the cinema and theatre. . . . She is an agnostic, saying she has seen too much of professional Christianity at close quarters. . . . Drinks too much. [No. 73.]

Mr. S. is . . . well over six feet tall. . . . When first seen by the investigator he was striding along the road with his hands in his pockets whistling. Behind him staggered his mate . . . a bent, wizened and toothless old man . . . pushing a heavy barrow laden with all the brooms, shovels, etc. that both needed. Mr. S. . . . is probably as lazy as any man in England . . . he is now "more interested in chasers [whisky followed by beer] than chasing [girls]." . . . He also bets on horses, runs a football sweep every week in the season among his mates . . . smokes a clay pipe of incredible pungency. He is surprisingly widely read and well informed about current events. He says he's a Tory on the grounds that all politicians are thieves and rogues, and it's better to be robbed by a gentleman who'll say "Thank you" than by one of your own class. [No. 84.]

Mr. M. is aged 42, a foreman in a factory, and a member of the Communist Party. . . . He does not drink because he believes working men should keep their brains alive . . . he gave up sexual promiscuity because he wanted nothing to divert him from his work for the Party. He never "wastes time" on theatres and cinemas, and only listens to serious broadcasts. [No. 134.]

These case histories, selected for presentation out of a thousand done by Lavers and several junior collaborators, are a nonrandom nonsample, only vaguely intended to cover the main dimensions of the English population in terms of social stratification, youth and age, rural and urban, pious, indifferent, and impious. Moreover, there is no attempt to cover the same topics in all the interviews, although in almost all mention is made of the major and minor leisure "vices" or their absence (drink, smoking, gambling, promiscuity), and the major and minor leisure "virtues" (churchgoing, hobbies, voluntary associations, athletics, reading). Both method and stance will strike many American social scientists as hopelessly amateur, though amiably so in the British style. Yet this lack of touch by the authors with what the British, half-admiringly, half-patronizingly, would call "American methods" is undoubtedly one source for the strengths the case histories have: their sharpness of delineation, without fear of passing value judgments—judgments which, as in the illustrations quoted, are economical in saving much "factual" description; the not unconnected gift the interviewers manifest in penetrating the more shady side of their subjects' leisure (something inevitably missing—possibly, because it was not there—in Lundberg, McInerney, and Komarovsky's *Leisure: A Suburban Study* and the various other American books which cover recreation); the respondents' willingness, in a very high proportion of the interviews, to attack church and chapel in pretty brutal or sardonic fashion. One need only compare the discursive treatment of religion in the rest of the book with that which emerges from the case histories—and the same is true of gambling, the movies, and much else—to see the superiority these vignettes have as tools of survey research.

What is the picture of English leisure which emerges from them, taken as a whole? Though there is much liveliness of personal life-style, particularly in the irreverent and sexually emancipated young, there is much sameness, too: the English seem much less inventive than we in the gamut of leisure activities. Their constriction, of course, partly reflects simply the poverty of the island (the American addition to capital plant in 1951 exceeded the total British output of capital and consumer goods)—poverty which leads Rowntree and Lavers to concern themselves more with how leisure is spent in the pocketbook than in the affect-budget sense: much of their energy is devoted to finding out how much each respondent lays out for smokes, drinks, bets, and little to finding out what, in the case of each individual, are the salient leisure passions and problems.

Poverty, too—"the best things in life are

free"—may be one explanation for the amount of sexual promiscuity the case histories and the chapter on sex reveal. Taken together with the scathing comments on religion or utter indifference to religion on the part of the great majority, a picture emerges which reminds us of Merrie England without Morris dances. Victorian England appears to have nearly vanished in a way that Victorian America has not. One reason for this, it seems to me, lies in the fact that the English seem not to have invented or gained by diffusion our compromise of necking and petting; with sex on an all-or-none basis, they go for all; and their churches appear to lack the flexible ability of American Catholicism and nonfundamentalist Protestantism to retain some hold over people who live in "sin." While *English Life and Leisure* does not attempt to assess changes in the phenomena it studies, the fact that the pious are mainly the elderly and the rural (though a few young Methodists and several interestingly ascetic Communists like No. 134 do turn up) would seem to indicate a generational shift.

The authors are not quite sure, or perhaps not quite united, on how they feel about this shift. The case studies are oriented toward the satisfactions the individual gains from his leisure and sympathize not overromantically with unconventional and even illicit ones; the systematic chapters, however, view leisure mainly from a societal point of view, raising such questions as whether gambling is too costly for the poor, whether films promote delinquency and bad taste, whether the press contributes to civic spirit. The authors' ingenuousness appears in their judgment of many Hollywood films as giving the English public false values of glamorous consumption, when the island should devote itself to a Crippsian austerity. Many American intellectuals would agree with such criticism, though already out of date: the "new criticism" of the movies is taking another look. Indeed, I wonder whether without consumption bonanzas, such as Hollywood has presented—utterly "unreasonable" from any conservative viewpoint either aristocratic or socialist—any great strides can be taken under Keynesian economic rules of the game, once motivations rooted in the Puritan character have spent their force. Such questions should be raised in terms of the authors' own concerns with the collective national product; they should also be raised if one's focus lies wholly on the side of individual satisfactions, in which case Hollywood might be seen as one among many of the tutors to emotional vocabularies as well as to simply external habits of dress and decor.

All in all, it is clear that the authors are taking a middlebrow stance toward leisure rather than a highbrow one (these terms originally come, I believe, from Q. D. Leavis' *Fiction and the Reading Public*, a pioneering study of changes in English literary tastes whose challenges Rowntree and Lavers fail to deal with in their own discussion of reading). While Rowntree and Lavers have relaxed somewhat an older, more muscular insistence that leisure be "improving," the former's jaunt through Scandinavia and the survey of High Wycombe are reminiscent of the torpid diligence of the Webbs, and the cross-cultural comparisons are wholly unrevealing. There are in this book no re-examination of the overt and covert relationships between popular and *avant-garde* art and tastes in leisure and no discussion of the two competing leisure models traditionally offered the British public: one the middle-class, urban, hygienic, and middlebrow; the other aristocratic, pastoral, sporting, high- or beetlebrow. Only the confrontations with individuals in the case studies force the authors to transcend themselves.

But for these we must be very grateful. So, too, for the authors' effort to see the panorama of the country's leisure activities as a whole. And since the vested interests that people (including the reviewer, too) have in other people's leisure are among the significant vested interests in a culture, *English Life and Leisure* is "projective" evidence concerning some important patterns which are not confined to the "tight little island." Despite my misgivings, I am using the book with profit in a seminar on leisure, seeing in it how the class-restrictive attitudes which once took the form of sumptuary laws now may take the form of "research."

DAVID RIESMAN

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On Being Negro in America. By J. SAUNDERS REDDING. Indianapolis and New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1951. Pp. 156. $3.00.

On Being Negro in America is a personal document in which the author gives a lucid and impressive account of the frustrations, anxieties, humiliations, and limitations from which one

has to suffer as a result of "Negroness" in America. While the book is ostensibly designed to mirror the internal struggles of the writer against discrimination, segregation, and racial prejudice, it is really an attempt to speak for the American Negro, particularly the more enlightened, race-conscious elements of the population. It is strongly implied that by a careful analysis of his own life-organization as a minority group member one may pick out the threads which run through the patterns of life of other persons who are similarly conditioned and situated. While Mr. Redding stoutly disavows any claim to such an effort, it is difficult for one to escape that inference. For fear that he might be misinterpreted as assuming the position of spokesman for the race, the writer in his opening chapter caustically criticizes those who delegated to themselves such questionable powers in the past or who may do so in the future.

The central contention of this study is that being a Negro imposes on one the development of a dual ego or self, one of which is a racial self, compounded of the differential treatment which Negroes receive and the conceptions they acquire of themselves as a result of the inferior role they are forced to play in our biracial social system. He speaks of this racial ego as "a prodigy created by the accumulated consciousness of Negroness." He thinks of this as a means by which he is prevented from pursuing the goals and realizing the aspirations and hopes for which he as an individual has a right to strive.

In seventeen short, forthright and impassionately written chapters Redding, using his personal life-history as a point of departure, evaluates and penetratingly analyzes every important segment of American life as it affects the content and functioning of the racial ego.

It is this self which caused the writer to get a morbid and sadistic satisfaction from observing the suffering and misfortunes of a white person; it is about this self that many literary themes and creations of Negro life are developed and popularized; it is a self which has been fashioned out of the defects and limitations of our democratic institutions; it is the self which is most visible to the agents of the Communist party; it is this race-consciousness that has given rise to racial policies and institutions among Negro leaders themselves. These policies and institutions have accentuated the "Negroness" of the Negro. They have enhanced his satisfaction and contentment with his inferior and superficial values and have helped to sustain the other groups' conception of his inferiority. The author's most bitter indictment of the system which produced this racial self is seen in his attack upon the Negro college president who employs Fascist techniques in his administrative practices. He believes that the educated Negro is, through this medium, habituated to a pattern of submission and subordination. Thus, he neither acquires the skills nor develops the disposition to participate effectively in a democratic society.

Redding is convinced that integration as an end product of the evolutionary democratic process may solve the problem of "Negroness," but it will have to be on the elemental levels of human relationships and will have to break down the resistance of the vested interests of Negroes themselves. He says, for example: "They [Negroes] see in integration a breakdown of certain monopolies in education and the professions and some business enterprises." Moreover, he insists that America cannot successfully validate her claims to world leadership in a one-world society until the ideal of integration has been achieved. But this is difficult because it is in conflict with American learning.

The author not only brings out the relation of democratic practices, the educational system, racial policies, etc., to race consciousness but is also skeptical about the role of God and religion in race relations. He believes that religion and God are manipulated in the interest of the cherished values of the dominant groups. For he points out that "principally God and the word of God have been used to perpetuate the wicked ideas of human inferiority." On the other hand, he envisions the principles of Christianity as a means by which the problem of "Negroness" may be solved: "I would say that Christianity promises a cure for our American sickness. But it must be made truly a way of life in which the dignity and brotherhood of man is the first principle."

This is an interesting and significant human document. It is more than a story of the deeper emotional reactions of an individual to the differential treatment and abuses of a democratic society, but it may be fair to say that, in a general sense, it expresses to a somewhat lesser degree, perhaps, the emotional behavior of large segments of the Negro population. However, it must be recognized that the intense race-consciousness of the Negro tends to blind him to his superficial values and the differential norms of the biracial society. It is not the difference in

treatment that is important but the awareness of disparity.

It is fair to say that not only the early training and conditioning of the author in his own family but his formal training, broad contacts, and mental discipline as a literary critic have made him more sensitive to restrictions than, one suspects, the average Negro. It cannot be gainsaid that his statement on the problem of race does articulate the vague feelings and hopes of many of the more inarticulate elements of the population. While a study of this character is not designed to contribute to scientific method, it does show the microscopic value of a personal document when it is given by the person who has been constrained to speak freely about the abuses, the limitations, the frustrations, and the resentments from which he has suffered. It shows how rich the subjective content of such a life can be. The social psychologist has long since realized that this constitutes the mainspring of human behavior, both normal and abnormal. Moreover, this study illustrates the interrelatedness of a single personality, the ego, as the author speaks of it, to the total collective life of the society.

E. HORACE FITCHETT

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Courts on Trial: Myth and Reality in American Justice. By JEROME FRANK. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949. Pp. xi+441. $5.00.

A trial court must make two determinations: one as to the facts of the case; the other as to the legal rules applicable to these facts. The latter determination gains much attention from the jurists and the literate public; most of the activities of an appellate court, such as the Supreme Court, center about the question of the correctness of a trial court's application of rules. Judge Frank's concern here is with the other determination, that of the facts of the case. He argues that there are abundant reasons to distrust the accuracy of trial-court fact determinations and no method by which this accuracy can be tested. Our entire judicial system, not to mention our disputes about what should be the law, rests on the assumption that the courts will consistently arrive at the facts. There is, Frank charges, no evidence to believe that they do.

There is no need to summarize here the reasons which Frank advances for distrusting the accuracy of trial-court fact determinations: the inaccuracy and inadequacy of human observation, the unreliability of human memory, the effects of the bias of the witness and of the juror, etc. Social scientists are painfully aware of the difficulties of discovering what a given group of people did in the past and what their motivations were for so doing, and they will acknowledge that judge and juror usually operate under greater handicaps than they themselves do. Yet, it is important to note that Frank's reasons, weighty as they are, do not establish his thesis of trial-court inaccuracy. Neither Frank, nor anyone else, knows how often courts are wrong in their fact determinations. Isolated instances of injustice, such as are referred to by Frank, significant as they are to the individuals involved, prove nothing except that our judicial system is fallible, and this should surprise no one. The question is, "How fallible?" or, more particularly, "How fallible are which types of courts?"

There is a certain amount of indirect evidence which might be brought to bear on the question, for example, the stability of business contractual arrangements. If court decisions on commercial and financial matters were inaccurate, our entire system of business transactions would probably be quite otherwise than it is. For it would be clearly to the interest of the unethical businessman to break contracts at his convenience and to rely upon the inaccuracy of trial-court decisions. Frank dismisses this example by asserting that business contracts are usually not questioned and that when disputes arise they are usually settled out of court through the negotiations of lawyers. Frank argues in effect that businessmen honor contracts because of tradition and because they have been hoodwinked by lawyers into believing that trial-court determinations are accurate. This seems dubious.

In general, he ignores or evades (as above) the evidence which contradicts his thesis, places the burden of proof upon his opponent, and argues as if his thesis were highly verified: Since most theories of jurisprudence assume that trial courts are accurate, these theories are unrealistic; not merely unrealistic, but in fact they constitute a modern form of magic, and the lawyers who perpetrate them upon the public are, in turn, a species of wizard. Now, if Frank had really demonstrated his thesis, one might find this analogy stimulating—were it not for his naïve usage of it. But his discussion of magic is thoroughly rationalistic and without insight:

"Magic is stereotyped, wishful thinking applied to the overcoming of obstacles."

If, indeed, our social practices in such an important area were magical, this proposition would have the most important implications as to the nature of modern society and of its political and legal institutions. At the least, one could not think of improving our administration of justice, as Frank does, simply by changing some of the details of courtroom procedure and by enlarging the area of discretion of the judge. But Frank is blind to the magnitude of his own attack.

One must be grateful to the author for calling attention to the vital function of trial courts, a function which is difficult, important, and relatively neglected in public discourse. Moreover, some of his suggestions for reform have merit. At the same time, the reader cannot be grateful to him for a book which is overly long, whose course of argument is confusing, and whose terminology betrays a willingness to sacrifice clarity for the pretensions of scholarship.

MURRAY WAX

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The Attack upon the American Secular School. By V. T. THAYER. Boston: Beacon Press, 1951. Pp. x+257. $3.00.

This book is not a dispassionate survey but a spirited apologia for the secular public school. As such, it is moderate and generally well written. The author traces the history of the nonsectarian public school from Colonial days, showing how nonsectarian instruction gradually developed, through a long succession of laws and court decisions, as the only practical alternative in a country of multiple religious faiths.

The secular public school is currently under attack from two groups: those who desire tax support for parochial schools and those who wish some form or degree of religious education to be promoted by the public school. Both groups agree that secular education without religious education is morally deficient and even pernicious, and both accept the assumption that sound moral character can be developed only in conjunction with religious education. Thayer rejects these assumptions as contrary to all scientific behavior research findings and logically contradicted by the multiplicity of creeds, each one advanced as indispensable. He describes as "Practices That Undermine" such measures as compulsory Bible reading, sectarian prayers and religious ceremonies in the public school, programs of religious instruction on time released by the school, and any use of public funds for support of denominational schools, since these practices all tend to undermine the principle of separation of church and state. He discusses at length the laws and court decisions defining this principle, concluding that any sort of religious education in the public school, acceptable to the proponents of religious education, would be contrary to law, while any legal (nonsectarian) study of religion in the public school would be unacceptable to the proponents of religious education, precisely because of its nonsectarian character.

Thayer strenuously maintains that any support to nonpublic schools from public funds, state or federal, breaches the principle of separation of church and state, incurs public expenditure without public control thereof, encourages the atomization of the school system, and cultivates a pernicious separatism instead of the unity and understanding which education must foster in a heterogeneous society. He sees no objection to privately supported private schools or to public aid to *children* in nonpublic schools (school lunches, health services, or transportation when no additional routes are required), but he objects to any public expenditure to aid the nonpublic *schools* in any way.

Much of this book is devoted to a refutation of the charge that the secular school is hostile to religion or necessarily deficient in character-building. He argues that the claims for the character-building value of religious education and parochial schooling are not only totally unproved but that all available evidence tends to contradict these claims. He asserts that the kinds of school experience which are really effective in building character are nonsectarian and can be fully realized in the secular public school. He devotes the concluding chapters to a discussion of these procedures.

Thayer's handling of a controversial matter is moderate, and his treatment of opponents is fair and dignified. He generally employs neutral, nonevaluative language, in striking contrast to some of those with whom he takes issue. He presents a competent analysis of a major value conflict and a well-reasoned statement of the position which a probable majority of educators hold. His book is somewhat repetitious and suffers from some unfortunate omissions. The consequences of an atomization of the school system, through tax support to denominational

schools, are only briefly mentioned, and a most compelling argument for Mr. Thayer's case is largely lost. No data are given about size or growth trends of nonpublic schools, and one finds no official pronouncements of the various Protestant denominations or of Protestant leaders acting as semiofficial spokesmen for their respective denominations. Most readers will get little idea where their denominations stand on this question. No mention is made of the Christian Reformed church, or its most widely known pastor, the Reverend Peter Eldersveld, and his indictment of the public school as "national public enemy number one." Nor can this reader find any mention of the fact that some Protestant bodies, notably the Missouri Synod Lutheran church, maintain an extensive system of private schools while stoutly insisting upon receiving no support from public funds—a fact which somewhat weakens the Catholic demand for tax support. Thayer also barely touches, and only by implication, the fact that parochial schools and religious education programs are supported, not only because of their presumed character-building value, but as a means of holding and building membership of the denomination concerned. Since this is true, to lay the myth of superior character-building efficacy would by no means end the drive for public support for nonpublic schools or the effort to use the public school in promoting religious education. In fact, the proselytizing motive makes genuine agreement still more remote by defining religious education not only as a practical expedient but as an absolute obligation.

PAUL B. HORTON
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Geography in the Twentieth Century: A Study of Growth, Fields, Techniques, Aims, and Trends. Edited by GRIFFITH TAYLOR. New York: Philosophical Library, 1951. Pp. x+360. $8.75.

The writer of this review, who clearly recognizes his own lack of technical competence in geography, undertakes only to inform his fellow-sociologists what they may find in this joint-author survey of an allied discipline.

Professor Taylor, himself the major contributor to the volume, enjoyed the co-operation of nineteen fellow-authors, including some of the outstanding geographers of the twentieth century. As editor, he organized the diverse contributions into the three major divisions of the book, dealing, respectively, with (1) historical development and underlying philosophy, (2) environment as a factor in human affairs, and (3) special fields and applications of geography.

The historical materials describe the specialized branches and points of view that have developed from or within the broad geographic field—for example, geomorphology, climatology, meteorology, soils analysis, racial geography, regional geography, social geography, and urban geography. A graphic chart by Taylor, which indicates the relation of such specialized branches to the main geographic stem, lists names and chronological positions of outstanding contributors. This chart should help the sociologist to systematize his own knowledge of the historical development and the contemporary subdivisions of geography. A more detailed historical outline may be found in a chapter on nineteenth-century backgrounds and two chapters on French and German geographic schools of the twentieth century. These chapters list the names of many authors without giving an adequate statement of the distinctive contributions of each.

A single chapter deals specifically with the underlying philosophy of geography. This chapter centers attention wholly on the controversy between "environmentalism" and "possibilism." The "environmentalists," who are branded as "determinists" by their opponents, maintain only that in many extensive areas of the world—for example, deserts and polar regions—the environment sets such extreme limitations on human adjustment that the environmental features themselves may be counted as significant explanatory factors. The "possibilists" insist that environment itself never constitutes an active factor in human adjustment; that it only passively sets limits within which man's choice may operate; and that human rather than environmental factors afford the basic geographic explanation. This controversy seems fruitless. Man's relations with environment are a phenomenon of continual interaction in which both sets of factors necessarily play a part. Each can be properly used to explain certain problems of human adjustment, provided the other set of factors is treated as constant.

One phase of underlying philosophy, not formally discussed in the volume, but implied in several chapters, concerns contrasting conceptions of the task of geography (1) as attempting a relatively complete interpretation of man's

unique adjustment to environment within a single area at a given period of time or (2) as seeking to establish generalizations about the repetitive effects on human adjustment of a selected environmental factor, such as climate. Specific discussion of this topic might have helped the nongeographer to gain a clearer picture of the aims and problems of twentieth-century geography.

The second division of the book includes two contrasting types of study of environment as a factor in human affairs. Certain chapters center attention on some one limited aspect of environment—for example, land forms, weather, climate, or soils. Other chapters attempt to deal with the whole complex of human adjustment in certain types of environmental areas—for example, polar regions and arid regions.

The third division of the book includes a diversity of specialized topics—for example, effects of environment on racial development and distribution, utilization of geography in aviation, geopolitics, the nature of social geography, geographic analysis of cities, the place of geographers in government service, and the function of the professional geographic society. Of these varied and unequal chapters, the sociologist will probably find those on urban geography and social geography most closely related to his own field.

On the whole, the volume, with its diversities of approach, its controversies about underlying philosophy, its summaries of specialized fields, and its many descriptions of specific techniques, seems to fulfil, at least passably, its main purpose of giving the reader a realistic picture of the field of geography in the twentieth century.

JAMES A. QUINN
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Regionalism in America. Edited by MERRILL JENSEN. With a Foreword by FELIX FRANKFURTER. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1951. Pp. xvi+425. $6.50.

This volume celebrating the hundredth anniversary of the University of Wisconsin is a symposium by twenty-one persons. Eight are professional historians, three (Rupert Vance, Howard Odum, and Louis Wirth) are sociologists, two are historians of art and one of architecture, two are in English, two are in agriculture, one is in government, and one is an administrator per se (Gordon Clapp of TVA). The Foreword by Justice Frankfurter, viewing regionalism from the standpoint of legal cases appearing before the Supreme Court, while short (two pages), is in itself a noteworthy contribution. The work is divided into five parts. The first is a history of the concept of regionalism in the United States. Then comes an analysis of three areas called regions (the South, the Spanish Southwest, and the Pacific Northwest). The third part is an analysis of "cultural" regionalism (writing, painting, architecture, and speech). Part IV is called a discussion of regionalism in practice such as in the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Great Lakes Cutover area, and some problems of the upper Arid West (Great Plains–Missouri Valley). The fifth part is an approach to a theoretical analysis in which Louis Wirth chides regionalists in part for "cultism" and in other parts for attempting to establish unreal social groupings. Howard Odum finishes this section and the work by reaffirming the theory of Brandeis that regionalism must replace sectionalism and by controverting Wirth's paper with the generalization that "regionalism is an areal-cultural concept on a higher level of generalization than a mere uncritical miscellany of disconnected ideologies."

The work is, on the whole, a genuine contribution to an American regional sociology, although it blunders along most of the time without any theoretical framework for guidance and with no common heuristic definition of a region. This is due in part to the fact that most of the writers are historians or subject specialists and have not per se any clear conception of group theory. Since regions, as groups, have life-histories, particularly in growth from nominalism to realism (the development of *social facts* in Durkheimian terminology), little can be gained by historians themselves in a survey of regional thinking from time to time, unless they see each period of increasing regionalism as one associated with enlarging conceptions of the regional group in the minds of an understanding few. This is a point emerging from the paper by Rupert Vance, which is the best theoretical chapter in the work. The neglect to follow this out by others leads to some of the anomalies of the work. Thus Francis Butler Simkins, of Louisiana State, argues that the South be left alone. New England textile manufacturers have been arguing for half a century that the South leave them alone too, but this has not come about. John W. Caughey, of the *Pacific Historical Review*, puts into a synthetic region called

the "Spanish Southwest" (marked off geographically according to him [p. 183] by aridity) only about half of our former Spanish territory and less than half of the Arid region. Lancaster Pollard, of the Oregon Historical Society, puts into what he calls the "Pacific Northwest" mostly the states of Washington, Oregon, and Idaho. He calls it a region or a section (p. 206) in which culture and geography are kin, "an area of relevant accordant change" (p. 188). Pollard's scheme of analysis cannot exclude California from his region, nor can Caughey's justify the inclusion of California with the Arid West or the exclusion of the "Northern Great Plains (and Plateaus)" from a subhumid region.

Particularly praiseworthy are the chapters on literature, painting, architecture, and language in the section edited by John Fabian Kienitz, of Wisconsin. We know now (E. P. Richardson of Detroit) that painting is a universal language and not regional. A regionalism of architecture is largely impossible because it is a universal taste of the masses—like cigarettes (Rexford Newcomb, University of Illinois). A linguistic regionalism exists (p. 299), but it takes time to develop and can hardly be found in western regions where scarcely two generations have inhabited the soil. Further they all now listen to the same radio programs and are taught from standardized books (Hans Kurath, University of Michigan). A regionalism in literature exists (Benjamin T. Spencer, Ohio Wesleyan) but so far is more sectional, except, say, in the Old South or the Appalachian Ozarks.

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN

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Reflections of a Wondering Jew. By MORRIS RAPHAEL COHEN. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950. Pp. viii+168. $2.50.

This volume was published after *A Dreamer's Journey*, Morris Cohen's autobiography. Although the essays contain many personal notes about the writer's life, they are mainly an inquiry into specifically Jewish affairs. There is a casualness in the presentation of difficult problems and profoundly stimulating ideas because some of the essays were addresses which the writer delivered before various organizations. The pungent style and searching mind of Cohen are evident in even the most leisurely of his essays.

Part I deals with "Jews in America": (1) "What I Believe as an American Jew"; (2) "Roads for American Jewry"; (3) "Jewish Education"; (4) "Yiddish"; (5) "Jews in Commerce and the Professions." Part II deals with "Jews and the World": (6) "Philosophies of Jewish History"; (7) "Maimonides"; (8) "The Jew in Science." Part III will delight many readers with its selection of Morris Cohen's beautifully written book reviews of famous works. For instance, the review of Freud's *Moses and Monotheism* is a searching analysis of the internal fallacies in Freud's treatment of the subject and a sharp criticism of Freud's lack of historical knowledge in attempting to establish his main thesis.

Morris Cohen was considered by many to be a towering figure among Jews of all ages. Felix Frankfurter called him "as significant an example of the ministry of the teacher as anyone I have known anything about since Socrates." Benjamin Cardozo "was amazed at the range of his erudition alike in law and philosophy, at the keenness of his perceptions, at the freshness and vigor of his thought."

Despite the greatness of this philosopher, the reader will find in the volume under review a perplexed mind, grappling with a difficult problem. In his analysis of the "Roads for American Jewry," one of the opening essays of the book, Cohen at one point considers assimilation as a natural phenomenon and inevitable, and, at another point, he thinks "Jewish children ought to know Jewish history. They ought to know what Talmudic legislation really meant . . . for no human being can really lead a self-respecting life who is afraid to look at and understand himself." At one place he decries Jewish nationalism, but at another he thinks it "a shame and an outrage that we in this country have not to our credit a single notable achievement in the field of Jewish learning since the publication of the *Jewish Encyclopedia* thirty years ago." These seeming contradictions are in reality the ponderings of a great mind which has no dogmatic answer to the centuries-old problem of the preservation of the Jewish culture. The questions which Morris Cohen raises in this volume have troubled many outstanding students of Jewish life.

Reflections of a Wondering Jew adds still more to the broad dimensions of Morris Cohen as a philosopher, student of human relations, and liberal thinker.

SAMUEL M. STRONG

Carleton College

The Folklore of Sex. By ALBERT ELLIS. New York: Charles Boni, 1951. Pp. 313. $5.00.

This book is an attempt to get at the ideas and attitudes regarding sex of present-day Americans by examining the literature on the subject as it appeared in our chief mass media. The author assumes that a cross-section of the same could be obtained by examining the products of the mass media for one day, and the day he chose was January 1, 1950. While he could not obtain a complete universe of the wanted data, he and his associates did examine a wide variety of sources, as follows: (*a*) of best sellers: fiction, 27, nonfiction, 24; (*b*) magazines: general, 61; humor, 19; men's, 28; women's, 49; religious, 22; and scientific, 46; (*c*) 20 motion pictures; (*d*) 15 plays and musical shows; (*e*) 19 newspapers; (*f*) 64 popular songs; and (*g*) 47 radio and television programs.

The book is divided into eight parts and thirty-four chapters, which cover topics ranging from abortion and adultery to scatology and sex superstitions.

While this is no Kinsey report, the author believes that an analysis of a cross-section of present beliefs about matters of sex will reveal a good deal about the state of our mores on the matter and perhaps give some insight into fantasy as well as, indirectly, into overt conduct. If we accept certain present-day theories about the operation of unconscious projective mechanisms, we might say that American adults and youth put a good deal of their attention on matters sexual. This fact might be interpreted in terms of wishful thinking, need, frustration, anxiety, and various other current psychoanalytic clichés.

The first twenty-seven chapters consist of short extracts from the media examined, with interpretations by the author as to what these show regarding both our conscious and our unconscious considerations of the topics in question. Chapters xxviii, xxix, and xxx, which comprise Part VII, present in tabular form the "number and kinds of sex attitudes expressed by American publications and productions" and various other simple frequency breakdowns of the data.

The book contains a wealth of detail which adds up, in part, to the fact that our present beliefs and attitudes are thoroughly ambivalent and confused. "The findings of this study," concludes the author, "do show—and that fairly conclusively— . . . that in contemporary America most of our official and legal sex bans are *not* very effective, *are* being continually and widely flouted in both theory and practice, and *are* accepted by our citizenry in an incredibly conflicting and confused manner. Under *these* conditions, the behavioral results, when viewed in terms of thoughts, feelings, and actions of the everyday common-garden-variety American male and female, are truly dreadful and depressing. To say otherwise would be completely to contradict the main findings of this study" (pp. 281–82).

The method of classifying and interpreting the data is essentially a form of content analysis. Just how the various categories were determined and just how representative of the whole are the many selections quoted in the text are not made clear. But, for dealing with data of this type, the author probably did about as much as anyone could without involving himself in a highly elaborate procedure which would not necessarily have yielded any more satisfactory results than this somewhat informal approach.

The book is written in a breezy style. Its host of quotable stories will serve to replenish many an individual's present stock of Rabelaisian yarns for years to come.

KIMBALL YOUNG

Northwestern University

A Measure of Freedom: An Anti-defamation League Report. By ARNOLD FORSTER. Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1950. Pp. 256. $2.50.

This book, the result of co-operative research by the Anti-defamation League of B'nai B'rith, deals primarily with a number of aspects of anti-Semitism in the United States. It is based upon the conviction that freedom-minded men must unite and carry on constant warfare against the bigots who would destroy democracy. Therefore, while the discussion is based upon factual data, it is presented in a forceful style in order to arouse the complacent.

At the outset the author faces the dilemma of free speech in a democracy during the present crisis and recognizes that it is an unsolved problem. The chapters dealing with the Ku Klux Klan, the self-appointed patrons of patriotism, anti-Semitic organizations, the trend of anti-Semitic sentiments, and discrimination in education and sports are packed with information which should be available to every intelligent American. In fact, most intelligent Americans would be amazed by this report on the activities of men who utilize the frustrations and latent

hostilities of the masses for their own purposes and perhaps more amazed to learn how these same men are subsidized by reactionary economic leaders. A chapter contains a discussion of the basis of current legislation and of the extent to which legislation can control discrimination against minorities. The conclusion is that law must be combined with education and community action.

The appendixes on anti-Semitic organizations and leaders and on books and leaflets provide sources of information for sociologists interested in minority problems.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

Howard University

Predicting Adjustment in Marriage: A Comparison of a Divorced and a Happily Married Group. By HARVEY J. LOCKE. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1951. Pp. xx+407. $3.50.

Like so many others in recent years, this research monograph is a by-product of the benign and ever widening influence of Ernest W. Burgess, professor emeritus of the University of Chicago, who for a generation has consistently devoted himself to the scientific study of the family.

With the help of the Social Science Research Council and the universities of Indiana and Southern California, Professor Locke undertook a statistical comparison of a divorced and a happily married group in an Indiana county. The enterprise was born of the author's conviction that a representative sample of the general population would yield more valuable results than the customary and easier method of securing volunteers from a college student body.

The names and addresses of divorced and happily married persons were first assembled; the persons were then individually "persuaded" to participate. The sample of divorced persons was obtained from courthouse files. The happily married sample was secured in two ways, apparently; about one-third were nominated by the divorced sample itself; the rest were nominated by a group of householders interviewed in an unselected house-to-house canvass.

The scope of the inquiry included courtship and engagement, parental influences, sexual behavior, children, self-ratings on personality traits (e.g., "directorial" ability, adaptability), general personality patterns (e.g., sociability, conventionality), economic factors, etc. The divorced sample included 201 pairs, plus 123 "singles"; the happily married group comprised 200 pairs, plus 4 single spouses. The same questionnaire was used on both samples.

There is some ambiguity in the report as to how the questionnaire was filled out. The words "interview" and "questionnaire" seem to be used interchangeably. Each subject, it appears (p. 364), was given a questionnaire and asked to fill it out "as frankly and as carefully as possible," by himself, presumably. The author likens his technique to that customarily employed by a physician in securing a patient's own history of his illness (anamnesis). The physician, however, asks all the questions and himself records the patient's answers on a structured schedule. He rarely, if ever, leaves a "questionnaire" with a patient for the latter to fill out by himself.

In order to measure the significant differences between the two samples, Locke first assigned weights to the subject's answers. He then decided, arbitrarily, to accept as significant a difference between the two groups, "if there were only 5 chances or less in 100 that it might disappear in a new sample." He therefore assumed that a critical ratio (C.R.) of 2.0 would establish the level of risk and that, the larger the C.R., the greater the probability that a difference would be real rather than fictitious. He also employed the method of the chi square and again assumed that, the larger its size, the greater the likelihood a difference, thus revealed, would be real rather than apparent.

An excellent feature of the volume is the tabular summary of seventeen previous inquiries. From his own study, Locke concludes that (1) marital adjustment ranges on a continuum; (2) alienation is a slow accumulation of conflicts and disagreements; (3) the ties of affection develop prior to marriage; and (4) marital adjustment involves also accommodation to the mate's parents. His findings regarding sexual relations in marriage are vague and inconclusive.

Locke reports eighteen factors which do not distinguish the happily married from the divorced, three of which will come as a surprise: differences in religion; degree of affection before marriage for mother or father; and state of health of the person before and during marriage. Most students of the problem will wonder why such results run counter to their own observations.

Locke's basic assumption is the dubious

premise that whatever exists can be measured. Hence, his implicit faith that "in the not too distant future . . . a relatively exact science of predicting marital adjustment will be built on the foundation which has already been established." This, one submits, is overoptimistic if not a bit naïve.

The two unique features claimed by Locke for his study—a comparison of marriages ending in divorce with marriages reputedly happy and a representative sample of the general population—unfortunately do not prove the superiority of his methods, as compared with the techniques and findings of other workers.

This reviewer would like to enter a plea for an extension of the field of family research to include such qualitative aspects as patterns of marital adjustment, studies of bachelorhood and spinsterhood, the nature and extent of emotional maturity in married and divorced persons, and the value-systems associated with successful and unsuccessful marriage. Such approaches admittedly call for the interest and ingenuity of the psychiatrist and even the philosopher.

ARTHUR L. BEELEY
University of Utah

The Malthusian Controversy. By KENNETH SMITH. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1951. Pp. x+350. 30*s*.

It is the thesis of this book that the major flaws in Malthus' "principle of population" were discerned by many critics who wrote in Malthus' time and that their views, rather than his, have been justified by the events of succeeding years. The author has evidently labored long and lovingly to "rescue the contemporary critics from an ill-deserved neglect," and his work will probably become a valuable reference for the history of population doctrines.

The prospective reader should be warned, however, that the book performs only the useful function of negative criticism and scarcely essays any positive contribution to the study of population dynamics. It seems to be assumed that the work of Raymond Pearl is the definitive modern statement on this subject.

We know that large portions of the earth's population live in a "Malthusian situation," where population presses on the means of subsistence; where misery is prevalent or recurrent; and where possibilities of explosive population growth exist, contingent on the reduction of certain "positive" checks. But Smith's book makes it abundantly clear—if further clarification were needed—that the Malthusian analytical model is defective as an instrument for studying this situation and its changes. Indeed, the analysis of Malthus' scheme in its ideological aspects seems presently much more rewarding than to take it seriously as a scientific theory. Smith makes a beginning here, with his argument for the proposition that "much of the success of the book must . . . be attributed to the opportune circumstances surrounding its appearance." There remains the task of unmasking present-day Malthusianism.

OTIS DUDLEY DUNCAN
University of Chicago

Probation and Parole. By DAVID DRESSLER. New York: Columbia University Press, 1951. Pp. viii+237. $3.25.

This book seeks to "articulate a rationale of probation and parole" which will fall midway between "the tear-gas and tear-duct" viewpoints in penology. It attempts to fill the need for "a full-length statement on the philosophy, administration, and processes in probation and parole." It is addressed both to professional persons in the correctional field and to "social workers in other fields who want to know something about this related area."

The author has drawn on many years of experience in the field of probation and parole and has generalized his impressions into an integrated picture of parole and probation as it is currently conceived by practitioners trained in an individual case-work approach. Though Dressler is careful to point out that the viewpoint expressed is a personal one, his observations on various phases of probation and parole work are similar to those of many other acknowledged leaders in the field.

Dressler's treatment of causation, prediction work, and research findings in the initial portion of the book is a superficial, uncritical, and inadequate summary of the work which has been accomplished in these areas. It is clear, for example, that he is disposed to evaluate the administrative usefulness of parole prediction tables in terms of their ability to offer "clues" to factors requiring further field investigation and in terms of their accuracy in predicting individual success or failure. This is contrary to a more realistic viewpoint which conceives of prediction tables as a selection device to be used in con-

junction with a variety of other considerations in guiding and checking the individual and overall actions of the paroling authority against objective standards set by past experience. The reader becomes convinced that Dressler included a discussion of these matters simply to round out his presentation. Fortunately, the space consumed is limited.

The strength of the book lies in the author's rather comprehensive, insightful, and thought-provoking discussion of the problems of parole supervision. He presents an excellent discussion of the manner in which the rehabilitative case-work efforts of the parole agent can function effectively within the limits fixed by the agent's role as a law-enforcement officer. The meaning and the intelligent use of authority in the parole situation are carefully analyzed. The resources, skills, and techniques of the trained agent are described in considerable detail, while a continuous effort is made to relate them to the authoritative framework within which they must function.

Dressler's account of the philosophy, techniques, and problems of probation and parole supervision provides a more accurate and stimulating discussion of these matters than the reviewer has encountered elsewhere in the literature. Since the book is devoted largely to this phase of probation and parole work, it should make interesting and enlightening reading for laymen, correctional workers, and academic students of the crime problem.

LLOYD E. OHLIN

Illinois Department of Public Safety

Adaptability and Communication in Marriage: A Swedish Predictive Study of Marital Satisfaction. By GEORG KARLSSON. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri, 1951. Pp. 215.

This excellent book is a report of the second application in a different culture of the United States marital adjustment and prediction techniques, Lewis Smythe's study in China being the first. The study went beyond simply taking items used in previous studies in that the author constructed and tested an index of adaptability and an index of communication.

The author had developed a theoretical frame of reference for marital interaction and marital satisfaction prior to the appointment of the reviewer as visiting professor at Uppsala University. Subsequently the author's theories and the reviewer's experience with empirical techniques were brought to bear on each other.

The sample of 423 persons consisted of four groups of couples: a representative group of the general population, including cases recommended as happily married, as unhappily married, and as separated. Through interviews in their homes the subjects were given the marital adjustment test used in the reviewer's Indiana study, 77 items which were significant in that study, a set of questions on adaptability, and a set of questions on communication. Analysis was on the basis of usual statistical techniques.

One particularly interesting contribution of the study was to test the hypothesis that people recommend couples as happily married who are similar to themselves in social class, age, and other factors. Information in the civil register made it possible to compare the social class and age of the recommender and the recommended. There was a tendency for persons to recommend couples of a higher social class and an older age than themselves.

Those interested in the study of the family will want this book in their personal libraries and available as supplementary reading for their students.

HARVEY J. LOCKE

University of Southern California

The Pattern of Age at Marriage in the United States, Vols. I and II. By THOMAS P. MONAHAN. Philadelphia: Stephenson-Brothers, 1951. Pp. vi+236; 451.

The purpose of this two-volume, planographed Doctor's dissertation was to determine the pattern of age at marriage and its trend over the years, with particular emphasis on an analysis of original data for the state of New Jersey. The second volume is an appendage of materials on occupation, education, nationality, residence, and other items which are indirectly related to age at marriage, plus a hundred pages of references.

The author is extremely critical of historical and existing methods of determining age at marriage. Two of his primary criticisms are the inaccuracies of the data on which age at marriage has been computed and the failure to use adequate methods like those used in the formation of actuarial tables of life-expectancy.

The book will be of use to those who are concerned with the computation of age at marriage

but will have limited value for others. It lacks organization, includes fragmentary data on various nations, and includes a wide variety of topics which are only indirectly related to the subject.

HARVEY J. LOCKE

University of Southern California

Man and the State. By JACQUES MARITAIN. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951. Pp. 219. $3.50.

Jacques Maritain is a writer highly edifying to the faithful in many lands, and here (through the Walgreen Lectures) to the near-faithful, his uncommitted coterie at the University of Chicago. To the critical, Maritain is here, as elsewhere, unctuous, not to say flatulent, and here not above the sincere use of sectarian subterfuge. Both the faithful and the circumspect alike know, however, what Maritain is going to say before he says it, at least before he says it again and again.

In each retelling, under whatever title, the story is the same: man is man, erring child of God and needful of sacerdotal guidance; the state is the state, creature of God and servant of man; and both man and the state achieve their final fulfilment through, if not in, the one and only, the dogmatically true, faith. The reassertion of dogma as cure for ills already largely caused by dogma, however edifying to neophytes, yields the circumspect much cause for grief.

It is grievous to see even a professional apologist rely upon words like "natural law" to beg questions that are important controversies between honest and intelligent men. It is grievous to see the presumptuous logic of sacerdotal monism masquerading as value pluralism, to see articulated the provincial prejudice that the spiritual life is confined to religion, to see strategically maintained the sectarian claim that any one church has primacy over several hundred other churches, equally honorable.

And especially grievous is it to see an advocate of One World divide the present sad world further by insinuating that its unitary complexion must be the same as his own sectarian faith:

> In moments controversial my perception is quite fine;
> I always see both points of view—the one that's wrong, and mine!

It will take more to bring all this off than Maritain's cavalier semantics in renouncing the concept of sovereignty, which he does as though he himself exercised papal authority over the lexicon. "Nor is the state," says he, "sovereign; nor are even the people sovereign," whispers he, "God alone is sovereign."

What is more grievous than all this, what is indeed downright odious, is to see a would-be philosopher not face up bravely to the historic fact and to the prevailing predicament that equally honest and highly intelligent men do radically disagree and that neither sectarian unction nor intellectual presumption can abate by one jot or tittle this ineradicable fact. Not to see this and not to contain it in one's philosophy is to belittle man's liberty and to involve the state in sectarian quarrels.

Maritain is in no sense prepared to face, for all his fair words, the elemental fact that democracy demands, whether in one nation or in the world, the radical and honest acceptance of equally adamant dogmas, of equally stout consciences, of equally loaded "natural laws." This self-nominated apostle to contemporary Gentiles is sophisticated enough to glimpse that religion is one of the things that men still kill one another over; but he is not magnanimous enough to count the other man's, or the other church's, "error" as but that other's way of seeking the "truth." For the strategic hour, yes; but for the long, honest pull, no. "The condemnation of theological liberalism by the Catholic Church," avers he, "will never be amended."

"Religious division among men," he further dogmatizes, "is in itself a misfortune." This need not be true save to a dogmatist. Madison and Jefferson, free men both and national founders both, regarded religious variety for what it still is: the fair fruitage of human liberty.

Maritain, to the contrary, obfuscates himself through many pages to leave the impression that he accepts religious pluralism for our secular age, though it was not permissible, he makes clear, in the "Age of Faith." Eternal principles that were temporally right then are not temporally right now, even though they be still as eternal as ever. Who is simple-minded enough to accept tolerance on the instalment plan from one who constantly indicates mental reservation as to meeting the final payment?

What is not clearly seen by Maritain is that democracy does not require agreement on fundamental faith—not covertly any more than

overtly. To presume otherwise makes, as Jefferson says, "one-half mankind hypocrites, and the other half fools." To tolerate such fundamental differences in good faith is to escape from fanaticism; but to rejoice over religious variety, as over other forms of cultural variety, is to become fully civilized.

This requires of religious men, however, next to the impossible: the admission that the spiritual life is not confined to any or to all religions (as I have shown in *Abraham Lincoln and the Spiritual Life*). It requires the further admission that, in so far as any religion does contribute to the democratic state (whatever may be true of a Catholic theocracy), all religions must be allowed, for good and all, an equal chance to contribute—and this without any mean attribution to any by any of final "error."

Serving notice in his pay-off chapter, "Church and State," of his own addiction to a one-church Christianity, Maritain for a few generous pages relents to speak of "the church or *the churches*"; then he suddenly, crudely, and finally reverts to sectarian type.

He closes with words truly remarkable in a multichurch America, not to say words catastrophical in a multireligion world—and this from one who professes to further One World:

> Today the blind forces which for two hundred years [the years of liberalism, one reminds himself; of liberalism and of multichurch Christianity] assaulted her [the Church] in the name of freedom and of the human person deified, are at last dropping the mask. They appear as they are. They crave to enslave man. . . . The cause of freedom and the cause of the Church are one in the defense of man.

That from one who was himself an ambassador to the Vatican, to Americans who are being edged toward the recognition of a church as a state, which promises to use its accrued power to prevent any other church from being a church!

If all this be philosophy, then Cotton Mather's putrid propaganda of power against Roger Williams was philosophic. If this be propaganda, let its own presumption poison it. If it be propaganda of the faith, then let those who are diversely faithful treat such pious presumption as they will in a society which still is free. This sort of ecclesiasticism has not yet become the evil genius of our national life, though it bids precisely for that place. If it does become so, the soviet of the (Catholic) saints is not likely to yield a better world for freedom than does the soviet of the (Russian) sinners. Presumption is presumption, even when peeping from the folds of piety. Better a secularity that is generous to all than an ungenerous sacerdotalism as nucleus for man, as basis for the democratic state, as hope of a just international order. Propaganda is propaganda, however pietistically it be sliced.

T. V. SMITH

Syracuse University

Numerical Sex Disproportion. By JOSEPH H. GREENBERG. Boulder, Colo.: University of Colorado Press, 1950. Pp. ix+113. $1.50.

On the empirical side, this book is a collation of figures for the cities of the United States, from the Census of 1940. It ascertains that there are "three times as many American cities of female surplus as of male surplus"; that the "cities of heavy male surplus are clustered in the West and North"; that the "communities of male surplus contain unusually large proportion of foreign born whites and 'other races' "; on the other hand, "neither the total nor the male labour force is related to the sex ratio phenomenon," nor is there any relation between sex ratio and crime, divorce, or religion. The decline in ratio of men to women in the United States cities stands out throughout the many citations of census data.

The analysis accompanying the data is common-sense conjecture; no theoretical ordering has been attempted. The contradictions and instability of numerical comparisons, when they are not part of a serious attempt to ascertain the underlying variables, are exemplified at several points.

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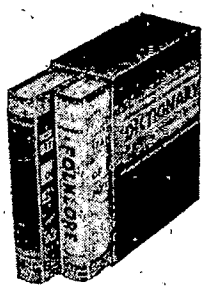

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